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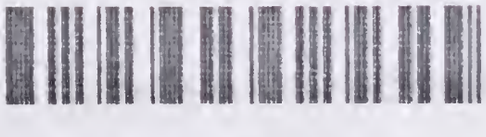
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THE

EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

C. P. KRAUTH, W. M. REYNOLDS & M. L. STOEVER,
EDITORS.

"Es sei denn, dass ich mit Zeugnissen der heiligen Schrift, oder mit öffentlichen, klaren, und hellen Grunden und Ursachen überwunden und überweiset werde, so kann und will ich nichts widerrufen."—LUTHER.

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ARTICLE I.

THE REVIEW: THE CHURCH.

NINE years have passed away since the commencement of our Quarterly, and the tenth is now commenced. With a varied experience, encountering evil report and good, hope predominates over discouragement, and whilst the past sustains the pledges given, and knows no dishonor, the future is to be marked by no faltering and no retreat. The same principles, the same impartiality, the same fearlessness will be our attendants as our course is onward. Truth is mighty and victory is sure. Animated by the assurance that Christ's kingdom will come, and that no weapon formed against it can prosper, our hands relax not, our hearts do not fail. It is our purpose to pray and to labor, to be patient and persevering. Unwavering in the belief that both our theory and practice have been right, they cannot be abandoned, but will be maintained with inflexible firmness. During the period of the existence of the *Evangelical Review*, the history of our church has been eventful. It has been a most excited period. Excitement has abated, but a perfect calm has not been reached. It has been characterized by much controversy, and has taught many useful lessons. Well will it be for the church, if those lessons be heeded and properly applied. It is unquestionable, that a new era has dawned upon us. The era of the General Synod, as it has been called, up to the period now in progress, commencing with the publication of the *Evangelical Review*, was, for our Lutheran Zion, one of great prosperity. It was a reaction against a torpid ortho-

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doxy and a neological tendency, highly salutary, though not always moderate, which has placed the church in a condition far in advance of its previous position.

During the more recent period, within the last ten years, our church has exhibited new phases, and has developed a most interesting series of events. New difficulties have beset her path. Her vocation has not been to release herself from the icy fetters of formalism and a lifeless orthodoxy, but to hold in fraternal union her sons, diverging from each other on doctrinal differences. In this process serious disaster has been threatened, and melancholy forebodings have been awakened, but thus far, through the mercy of God, the storm has been weathered, and a calm sea attained. The agitation is not entirely over, but has not the storm spent its extremest violence, and are not brighter days before us? If wise, if instructed by what has occurred, such must be the result. Our motto should be, In union there is strength. The great question for our church in this country is, can it be a unit, bound together in a common bond? If for unity absolute agreement in all the minutiæ of Christian doctrine, government and ceremonies is necessary, it is certain it is not possible. But if substantial agreement in faith and practice is regarded as sufficient, there can be no great difficulty. In most of our large denominations of Christians, there is more or less diversity of opinion on doctrinal points. The Presbyterian, Congregational and Episcopal churches, are anything but a unit in all points of doctrine and practice. It is not possible, when freedom of thinking and inquiry are enjoyed, that entire uniformity of sentiment on all the questions embraced in revelation, will exist. It may then be assumed as an indisputable principle, that union on such a basis is not practicable. If that part of the church which adheres most tenaciously to the symbols—the so called Old Lutherans—is taken into consideration, it is seen that there are several divisions of them not prepared to march under the same banner, or to advance in compact phalanx against the foe. The important question of the origin of the ministerial office and the organization of the church, is differently decided by the Missourians and Buffalonians. One, in discarding from fellowship all who do not receive every jot and tittle of the symbols, anathematizes the other with no measured bitterness. Others, under the same general designation, with the same general stand-point, claim the privilege of advance in the direction pointed out by the symbols, which

means, that doctrine had not attained its highest perfection in the book of Concord, or that last exposition of Lutheran faith, denominated the Formula Concordiæ. Of the position of the Old Lutherans in Ohio, it is unnecessary to say, that they do not coalesce with their Symbolical brethren. The camp of Symbolism is divided into several, if not hostile, certainly not very friendly, squadrons.

The basis of the General Synod, on which two-thirds of the Lutheran Church in the United States are united, may be regarded as alone adapted to hold together the elements, somewhat discordant, of our Lutheran Zion. This abandoned, division will ensue — one will be separated into many, and our record will be, not one out of many, but many out of one. Such has long been our conviction, and it is strengthened, not weakened, by our recent history, and a survey of the entire field of Lutheranism in this country. There is no other safe ground. The position taken by us in the well known Charleston discourse, and published in the first number of the second volume of our Review, we unhesitatingly re-affirm. We retract nothing, we add nothing. We abide firm and immovable. Our position was defined then, and without hesitation we adhere. For ourselves, we say, that if any in the General Synod cannot sanction the principles there developed, if their Symbolism be so intense that they cannot tolerate those who differ from them, they can go to Missouri, to Buffalo, to Iowa, to Columbus. It is what we would do ourselves, under similar circumstances—no disrespect is meant. On the other hand, if there are others whose antipathy to the symbols is so great, that they cannot endure those who venerate and *ex animo* subscribe them, they should look for some more congenial home. For if, on the one hand, the symbolist is unwarranted in disputing the Lutheranism of him who does not receive every jot and tittle, but who has met the requisitions of the General Synod's basis, so on the other, the latter has no right to dispute the claims of the former to the fullest recognition as a Lutheran. Any attempt to disfranchise either one or the other, and particularly when it assumes the form of legislation, is revolutionary, and ought to be hissed from the stage. The principle of union to which we refer, is comprehensive. It is not suited to the narrow, the exclusive, and those who do not approve have an easy remedy. No hindrance should be thrown in their way. If their preferences are for some other Lutheran organization, they will be cheerfully received, if they carry with them

clean papers, and give the proper watchword to the vigilant sentinels. Should some other form of Christianity, under another name, attract them—*facilis descensus;* if too fastidious to be satisfied with any existing form, they can originate another sect on a narrow or a broad base. Fidelity to the principle of the General Synod is the only guarantee of a peaceful and prosperous church. Entertaining this belief, we have a word for each of the parties. To the strict Symbolist in the General Synod, let it be said, you have united with others on a basis which does not require unlimited subscription to the Augsburg Confession; it admits of diversity on a few points, particularly the Sacraments, whilst you profess to believe everything contained in it, make no exceptions, believe in Baptismal regeneration, the real physical presence of Christ in the Supper, as explained in the Formula Concordiæ and by the older divines, you have consented to associate in ecclesiastical relations with those who do not. You have received your ministry from them, you have acted with them in Synods, in every way you have had fellowship with them. Consistently with all this, you cannot say to these, your brethren, you are not Lutherans, you cannot be recognized as such, you are undeserving of the name, your proper place would be with some other denomination.

Views of this kind may be entertained and expressed in regard to those who do not accept all the doctrines of the Confession, and it may be conceded that if, with a full assent to every article of the creed Lutheranism is constituted, no one deserves the appellation who does not give that full assent. But a different standard has been established, and then the assumption that those who come up to the claims of that standard are chargeable with a misnomer in using its title, is totally unjustifiable. Just so soon as any one's illumination culminates to this point, he ought to prepare himself for departure from the premises which he occupies, and adopting another basis, avoid a distracting influence by new combinations.

On the other hand, he who has received the Confession without an entire adherence to all its doctrines, cannot with any propriety say to the strict symbolist, your position is *unlutheran*, your views are destructive of vital piety, you occupy untenable ground, you ought to be in some other church. He cannot charge him with holding views which would make him contemptible with other Protestants. If such views are entertained and expressed, let their advocates break off from

a union in which they are not cordially united. Mutual toleration is the correct principle. If this cannot be exercised, then let there be a peaceful separation, and those unite who think alike and are prepared to act in perfect harmony.

Whether unity can be maintained with materials such as exist in the Lutheran church in the United States, is a grave question. We have pondered it often and seriously, and have not reached a definite conclusion. We have no hesitation in affirming, that harmony is compatible with considerable diversity of opinion, but there are diversities of so repellent a character, that they cannot easily be kept sufficiently in repose to prevent serious and painful friction. We do not regard those which exist in our Zion as of this character.—Some concession in non-fundamental matters, and forms of worship, and a proper comparison of views on doctrinal differences, would contribute much to smooth movement and peaceful progression. The question is presented to us, not as a theory, for *a priori* determination, but it comes to us as a practical problem. This state of things exists. How it has occurred, remains to be shown; the history has been attempted, it has not been written. What exists has occurred in the Providence of God; it has not come with observation, and on us it devolves to meet the case as it presents itself, and not to speculate on it as an abstract question. There are two modes by which it can be met—one may be called the Symbolical platform, the other the General Synod's platform. Under existing circumstances, our preference is for the latter. Its infallibility may not be asserted, serious doubts may occur in regard to its firmness, its ultimate success, yet hope predominates over apprehension, and what is not unparalleled in the history of the Church, may be repeated by us, and our union, like the great union of our country, notwithstanding diversity of views, be preserved. For this will we toil, both as individuals and journalists, believing the cause to be good, consonant with the spirit of our holy religion, and promotive of the divine glory in the salvation of men. If, disappointed in our expectations, the crisis should come, if this foundation is undermined, or attempts are made to break it down, then will we, if in the church militant, be prepared for the conflict, and try, with what valor we can, to perform our duty.

ARTICLE II.

SELECT ANALYTICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

The writer desires to furnish to the student of the great Confession of our church, the titles of the principal works connected with its history and its interpretation, so classified as to give a clue to their general contents. He feels that the work he proposes to himself is not a very brilliant one, but he is consoled by the hope that it will not be without its uses. An acquaintance, on the part of our church, with her fundamental creed, is essential to her life, her purity and her peace. There is a growing desire in our church in this country, thoroughly to understand her princely Confession, and to endeavor to meet this wish, in some humble measure, is our design. The Bibliography we propose to give, is, as our title implies, not a general one, but is confined to the works which are in the hands, and, with a few exceptions, in the library of the writer. It will be found, however, to embrace all that are of the highest importance, so far as the diligence of the collector, stretching itself over several years, has been able to bring them together.

A. The LITERATURE of the Confession.

I. Notices in works of a *general* character.

Buddei Isagoge (1730) 426, 437.

Noesselt J. A. Anweisung (3d Edit. 1818) II. 272.

Planck G. J. Einleitung (1795) II. 592.

Danz. Encyclopædie (1832) 415.

Walch. Bibliotheca Theologica (1757) I. 327—362. IV. 1099.

Niemeyers. Prediger Bibliothek (1784) III. 63—69.

Noesselt. Kenntniss der Bücher (1790) § 507, 508.

Fuhrmann. Handbuch der Theolog. Literat. (1819) II. a. 500, 507.

Ersch. Literatur der Theologie. (1822) 119.

Danz. Universal Wörterbuch. (1843) 96. 186, 921. Supplem. 22.

Winer. Handbuch. (3d Edit. 1838) I. 323. 752. II. 316. Supplem. (1842) 53.

Kaysers. Index Librorum, Confession, &c.

II. *Special* notices of its literature.

Pfaff C. M. Introd. in Histor. Theolog. Liter. Tubing. 1726. III. 385—416.

Jo. Alb. *Fabricius.* Centifolium Lutheranum (Hamb. 1728—30. II. 8) I. 104—144. II. 583—606.

Bibliotheca *Reimanniana* (1731) p. 403.

Walchii J. G. Introductio in Libr. Symbol. Jena 1732. 196—257.

Walchii J. G. Religions-streitigkeiten der Evang. Luth. Kirche. Jena. 2d Ed. 1733—1739. I. 35. IV. 4.

Walch J. G. Chr. Concordienb. Jena 1750. p. 21.

Baumgarten S. J. Erleuterungen der Symb. Schriften. Halle 1761. p. 54—60.

Walchii C. G. F. Breviar. Theolog. Symb. Eccl. Luth. Göttingen 1765. p. 69—75.

Baumgarten S. J. Geschichte der Religions-partheyen. Halle 1766. p. 1150—1153.

J. W. *Feuerlin.* Bibliotheca Symbolica—edid. J. Barth. *Riederer* (Norimb. 1768. 8. p. 70 seq.

Koecher. Bibliotheca theologiae symbolicae et catecheticæ itemque liturgica. Guelferb. 1751. 114—137.

H. W. *Rotermund.* Geschichte &c. (1829) p. 192—203.

Semleri. Apparatus ad Libr. Symbol. Eccl. Luth. Halae Mag. 1775. pp. 39, 42.

Beck C. D. Commentar. histor. decret. relig. chr. et formulae Lutheriae. Lips. 1801. p. 148, 794.

Tittmann J. A. H. Instit. Symbolic. ad Sentent. Eccles. Evang. Lipsiae 1811. p. 92.

Fuhrmann. Handwörterbuch der Christ. Relig. u. Kirchengesch. Halle 1826. I. 537.

Yelin. Versuch einer histor-liter. Darst. der Symbol. Schriften. Nürnberg 1829. p. 67.

Pfaff K. Geschichte des Reichst. zu Augsburg. Stuttg. 1830. p. V—X.

Bretschneider. Systemat. Entwickelung. Leipz (1804) 4th Edit. 1841. 81—86.

C. A. *Hase.* Libr. Symb. Lips. 1827 (1845) proleg. III.

J. T. L. *Danz.* Die Augsp. Confess. &c. (1829) 1—4.

Köllner. Symb. der Luther. Kirche. Hamburg 1837. p. 150—152.

Guereke H. E. F. Symbolik (1839) 2d aufl. Leipz. 1846. 65—67. 95.

Müller J. T. Symb. Bücher. Stuttg. 1848. XV. XVII.
Matthes K. Compar. Symbolik. Leipz. 1854. p. 76.
Herzog. Real Encyclop. Hamb. 1854. I. 610.
Hofmann. Rud. Symbolik. Leipz. 1857. p. 234.
Corpus Reformatorum, (1857) vol. XXVI. Pars Prior. 101—111. 201—204.

III. Collected works, having an importance in the Interpretation and history of the Augsburg Confession.

Luther. Opera Omnia (Latin) (1556—58). Jena 1579—83. 4 Tom. Folio.

In primum Librum Mose Enarrationes. 1555. Fol.

Schriften und Werke (Boerner u. Pfeiffer). Leipz. 1729—34. 22 vols. Folio. Greiff's Register. 1740. Fol.

Sämmtliche werke. (Walch) Halle 1740—52. 24 vols. 4to.

Sämmtliche werke. (Ammon, Erlsperger, Irmescher, Plochmann) Erlangen, 1826—1857. 65 vols. (German) and 2 vols Register. Invaluable for critical purposes.

Geist, oder Concordanz der Ansichten &c. Darmstadt, 1827—31. 4 vols.

Briefe, Sendschrieben u. Bedenken (De Wette), Berlin, 1826—56. 6 vols. (The last edited by Seidemann.)

Reformatorischen Schriften, in Chronologischer Folge. (Zimmermann) Darmstadt, 1846—49. 4 vols. 8vo.

(Lutherus Redivivus, oder des furnehmsten Lehrers der Augspurg. Confess. D. M. Luther's hinterlassene Schriftliche Erklarungen. . . was der Augspurg. Confess. eigentliche meinung u. verstandt in allen Articuln allezeit gervesen. (Seidel) Halle 1697.)

Melanchthon. Opera omnia (Peucer). Wittenb. 1562—64. 4 vols. Fol.

Opera quae supersunt omnia. (Bretschneider) Halle 1834—1856. 25 vols. 4to. Indispensable to the student of the Augsburg Confession, or of the Reformation in general. The Loci Theologici especially, are edited with a completeness unparalleled in the Bibliography of Dogmatics. The first part of vol. XXVI has just appeared. It contains the Augsburg Confession (Latin).

Melanchthon. Corpus Doctrinae Christianae, das ist, Gantze Summa der rechten Christlichen Lehre, &c. Leipzig, 1560. Fol.

Corpus Doctrinae Christianae quae est summa orthodoxi et Catholici Dogmatis. Lipsiae, 1563. Folio.

Zwinglii Huldr. Opera, Completa Editio prima cur. Schulero et Schulthessio. Zurich 1829—1842. 8 vols. 8vo.

B. Interpretation of the Confession.

I. Official writings which prepared the way for the Augsburg Confession.

1. The visitation articles: the Saxon visitation articles.

a. The Latin Articles by Melanchthon, 1527. These are extremely rare, and are found in none of the older editions of Melanchthon or Luther. Given in the Corpus Reformatorum. Vol. XXVI (1857). 7.

b. Melanchthon's Articles of Visitation in German, with Luther's Preface and some changes by him. 1528. (Last Edition 1538.)

Given in Melanchthon's Werke (von Koethe) I. 83—130. Corpus Reformatorum XXVI. 49—

In Luther's Werke. Jena IV. 341. Leipzig, XIX. 622. Walch. X. 1902. Erlangen XXIII. 3.

These articles are not to be confounded with the Saxon visitation articles of 1592, which are given as an Appendix in various editions of the Symbolical Books (Müller p. 845.)

2. The fifteen articles of Marburg. (October 3d 1529.) cf. Feuerlin 42.

These articles are given in Luther's Werke, Jena IV. 469. Leipzig XIX, 530. Walch. XVII. 2357. Erlangen 65, 88. Reformatorische Schriften von Zimmermann (1847) III. 420. In all these editions the fourteenth article (on Infant Baptism) has been omitted, so that they make only fourteen articles. Walch however (XXIII, 35) gives the fourteenth article among the omissions supplied (compare do. Pref. p. 6).

In the Corpus Reformatorum. XXVI. 121—128. XIVth article given.

Zwingle's Werke (Schuler u. Schulthess) II. III. 44—58. XIVth article given.

Chytraei Historia. 355. The fourteenth article omitted.

Müller J. J. Historie. p. 305—309. Fourteenth article given.

Rudelbach. Reformation Lutherthum und Union (Leipzig, 1839) Appendix 665—668. from Müller, of course with fourteenth article.

They have been *translated* into Latin: Solida ac vera Confess. August. Histor. p. 128—131.

Zwinglii Opera (Schuler et Schulthess) IV: II. 181. cf. Seckendorf II. 138.

In *French* in Le Cop's Chytraeus 463—466.

Into English by Dr. *Lintner*. Missionary, 1857. (Without the fourteenth article.)

3. The XVII articles of Swabach, 1529. (miscalled frequently the Torgau articles.)

For the special Bibliography of these articles, cf. Walch. Bib. Theolog. Select. I. 330, and Introd. in L. S. 163.

Feuerlin 78, cf. Layritii: De Articulis Suabacens. Wittenb. 1719. 4to.

Weber. Kritisch. Gesch. I. 13. K. Pfaff. I. 94. Evangelical Review, I. 246—249 (which presents the confused view of Walch. Introd. in L. S., and of the older writers.)

1. In June 1528, the first convention was held in Swabach. The XXIII articles of that convention are not to be confounded, as they have been, with the XVII articles of the second convention.

2. The second convention at Swabach was fixed for October 16th, 1529.

a. At this convention the XVII articles were presented.

They are given in Luther's Werke, Jena v. 14. Leipzig XX. 1—3. Walch XXI. 681, 778. Erlangen XXIV. 322.

Corpus Reformatorum XXVI. 151—160.

Chytraeus, 22—26. Müller, Historie 442—448. Cyprian, Beylag. 159. most critically in Weber, Krit. Geschicht. Beylagen I. & Corp. Reform.

They have been translated into *Latin*: Coelestinus I, 25. Pfaff, Lib. Symb. Adpend. 3.

French: Le Cop's Chytraeus, p. 19.

English: Evangelical Review, II. 78—84. (With the old title, "Articles of Torgau.")

b. Reply of Wimpina, Mensing, &c., to these articles, 1530. This is given in

Luther's Werke, Jena v. 16. Leipz. XX. 3—8.
" " Walch. XVI. 766.

Cf. Seckendorf lib. II. 152. Cyprian 52. Evangelical Review, II. 83.

c. Luther's answer to the outcry of the Papists on the XVII articles, given in

Luther's Werke, Leipz. XX, 8.
" " Walch. XVI, 778.
" " Erlangen, 24, 319.

Cyprian, Beyl. 159.

4. The Articles of Torgau, 1530. (confounded frequently with the articles of Swabach.

Cf. Seckendorf, II. 151. Müller 441. Cyprian 52, who suppose what we have called the "Articles of Swabach" to be in fact the articles sent to Torgau.

Cf. Salig: I. 158. Walch: Luther's Werke XVI, 681, who suppose the articles of Swabach to have been somewhat changed and sent to Torgau.

Cf. Weber: Krit. Gesch. I. 16—19. Forestemann: Urkundenbuch I. 40—41.

Köllner: Symbolik. I. 156—168.

Corpus Reformator. XXVI. 161—170, who prove the Articles of Swabach and those of Torgau to be totally distinct.

The Articles of Torgau, truly entitled to that name, bear, in a large degree, to the second part of the Augsburg Confession, the relation which the Swabach Articles bear to the first part.

The Articles of Torgau were discovered by Foersteman (1833) and given to the world by him, in his Urkundenbuch, I. 66—84.

Given also in Corpus Reformatorum, XXVI. 171—200.

II. Manuscripts of the Augsburg Confession in the Archives. Cf. Köllner, 321—336.

A. Latin manuscripts. Köllner 323—329. Corpus Reformatorum, XXVI, 213—226.

1. The Weimar MS: (Vin. Weim.) cf. Corp. Reform. l. c. 223. Köllner 323. Foerstemann, Urkundenb. I. 444. Weber I. 79—81.

The variations are given in Weber, Foerstemann, Hase, Müller, Corp. Reformat.

2. The Anspach: (Onold. Ansb.) ut supra.

3. The Hannoverian. Köllner 324. Weber I. 84.

4. Hessian I. Köllner 325; Foerstemann I. 442, gives the variations.

5. Hessian II. Foerstemann I. 444, gives the variations.

6. Dessau (Anhalt). Cf. Weber I. 87, gives the variations.

7. The Nurenberg. Köllner 326; Weber I. 94, gives the variations.

8. The Ratisbon. Köllner 327; Foerstemann 446, gives the variations (Reg.)

9. The Würzburger. Köllner 329; Foerstemann (I. 446) gives the variations.

B. German Manuscripts.

1. The Mentz, copy in the Protocoll of the Empire. This was long regarded as the original, and as such found a place in the Book of Concord (1580). Cf. Weber I. 165; Köllner 306. The editions of it will be described under III. C.
2. Spalatin's (Weimar I).
3. Weimar (II).
4. The first Anspach (I).
5. The second Anspach (II).
6. The third Anspach (III).
7. The Hannoverian.
8. The Nurenberg.
9. The Hessian.
10. The Munich [Münch].
11. Nordlingen.
12. Augsburg. Of all these Köllner, Foerstemann and Weber give full descriptions, and the two latter the variations; so also Müller, under the text of the Editio Princeps.

III. Editions and Translations of the Augsburg Confession.

For the Literature see Fabricius: Centifol, 109, 585–589 Feuerlin: Bibl. Symb. [1st Edit. 44—69] p. 40 seq.

Masch: Beyträge zur Geschichte merkwürdig. Bücher, [1769] I. 159.

Salig: I. 695—737. Koecher: Bibliotheca theol. Symbol. 145—149. Weber Kritisch. Geschichte. Vol. II.

Köllner: Symbol. Luth. Kirch. 226—237. 344—353.

Corpus Reformatum XXVI. 201—264. 337—350.

On the translations, cf. Weber II. IV. Feuerlin 60—64 [66—69]. Rotermund 184. Danz. 38.

The work of Weber, which is classic in the department of the criticism of the text of the Confession, arranges the different editions according to the order of their publication thus:

A. The unauthorized editions of the Augsburg Confession in 1530.

These were issued contrary to the order of the Emperor, and without the knowledge of the Protestant Princes. Weber I. 353—408. Danz. 35—40. There were *seven* editions of this kind.

I. Latin: There was *one* Latin edition. This is described by Weber: I. 405—408, and the variations (Ed. Ant.) from Melanchthon's are given by him in the Beylagen to the second part of the Krit. Gesch. cf. Corpus Reformatorum xxvi 231—234.

II. German.

1. Described by Weber I. 357—366, and the various readings (Ae. Ex. 1.) given. Beylag. z. Erst. Theil. III.

2. Described by Weber: I. 367—372, more correct than the former.

3. Described by Weber: I. 372—375, closely conformed to No. 1.

4. Described by Weber: I. 376—381, closely follows No. 1. cf. Reimmani Catalog. 403. Feuerlin 41.

5. Described by Weber: I. 381—387. cf. Salig. I. 71I. Feuerlin 41.

6. Given by Zeidler in the supplemental volume of Luther's Werke. Halle 1702, p. 346—363*. Described by Weber: I. 387—400, who gives the variations (Ae. Ex. 2).

Compare in addition, Köllner Symbolik 228—231. The whole of these, Weber has shown (400) are probably based on but one MS.

B. Melanchthonian Edition: cf. Köllner, 231, 345. Melanchthon's Praefatis. Salig. I. 471. Weber II. 6.

I. The first of these, the Editio Princeps, is the 4to edition, Latin and German. Wittenberg, 1530 (1531.) Copies of the Confession in this edition, came to Augsburg while the Diet was still in session. Weber I. 356. II. 11. Hase Proleg. v. 3, Köllner 234, cf. Feuerlin No. 253 (205) and above all, Corpus Reformator. xxvi, 234—258.

a. The Latin, accurately reprinted, with various readings, in Weber's Kritisch. Gesch. II. Beylage I. Nothwend. Vertheidig. 1629. 24—223. The Latin of the Edit. princeps is also the Textus receptus of the Symbol. Books. Reinecii Concord. Lips. 1708. Do. Lips. 1730. (A. C. Germ. et Latina cum vers. Graeca.) Pfaff: Lib. Symb. Tubing. 1730) first critical edition.

* A copy of this edition, formerly in the hands of the writer, is now the property of Rev. Mr. Emmery, West Newton, Pa.

Walch. Christlich. Concordienb. Jena 1750. Rechenberg: Concordia Lips. 1732 (1677.)

Twesten: 1816. Winer: 1825. Hase: Libr. Symb. (1827) with various readings.

Francke: Lib. Symb. 1846, with various readings, and compared with the German, Müller: Die Symb. Bücher, 1848.

Tittman: Confessio Fidei &c., ex prima Melanchthonis Editione, Dresden 1830; 8vo. with notes. Weber 1830, with notes.

Foerstmann: Urkundenbuch I. 470—559, with various readings.

Corpus Reformatorum: xxvi. 263—336, with various readings.

From this edition we have the doctrinal articles in Schmucker's Pop. Theolog., 1834, Appendix I. Do. Lutheran Manual, 1855.

Translations.

It has been translated into French: Histoire de la Conf. d'Auxpourg (Chytreus) mise en Francois par Luc le Cop. Anvers, 1582 72—106; cf. Weber II. 212—216. Fabricius Cent. Luth. 588.

In English: An harmony of Confessions, &c. Cambridge 1856.

S. S. Schmucker, D. D., Popular Theology, 1834. In the doctrinal articles the condemnatory clauses are omitted, except in Art. xii, xiii, xvi, xvii.

E. Hazelius, D. D., Discipline, &c., 1841. 5—56. The doctrinal articles only, but with the condemnatory clauses.

On the translations of the Augs. Confess. into English, cf. Weber II. 216—218.

Under the direction of Thomas Cromwell, "who died a Lutheran" (Burnet) the Augsburg Confession and Apology were translated by Richard Taverner into English, and were printed in London, 1536.

b. The German of the Editio princeps (*not* the Text. recept. of the Symbol. Books) cf. Weber II. 16—54; Köllner 346 (Cyprian Cap. x.)

Given in Luther's Werke, Jena vi, 387. Leipzig, xx, 9.

Twesten: 1816.

Tittmann: Die Augsburg Confess. nach den Original Ausgab. Melanchthons. Dresden 1830, with notes.

Müller: Symb. Bücher, 1848. Abdrücke von Melanchthon's erster Ausgabe der Augsb. Confess. 861—904, with various readings.

The variations from the German Text. recept., as given in Baumgarten's Concord. (*Rh*, from Rhaw—the printer of the original edition, and in Walch: Concordienbuch (Wittenberg I.) Weber I. Beylag III.

II. Melanchthon's "improved" edition of the German Confession, 1533, 8vo. cf. Weber K. G. II. 55—81. Feuerlin, 44, 45 (48), Köllner 347.

Given in Corpus Doctrinae. Leipz. 1560. I—XLII.

Weber: Augspurg. Confession nach der Urschrift im Reich's Archiv, nebst einer Ehrenrettung Melanchthon's Weimar 1781 8vo. The mistake of Weber, which led to the issue of this edition, is one of the curiosities of Theological Literature. (cf. Köllner Symb. 294.) It became the occasion of the preparation of his masterly work: The Critical History of the Augsburg Confession.

III. Melanchthon's varied edition of the *Latin* Confession of three kinds.

a. 1531, 8vo. *b.* 1540, 4to. *c.* 1542, 8vo. Weber II. 32—116.

a. Edition of 1531, 8vo. The variations slight. It has never been pretended that they affect the meaning. Weber II. 82—102. Corpus Reformat. XXVI, 337.

Lutheri Opera, Jena (1583) IV, 191—203.

Melanchthon's Opera, Wittenb. 1562, p. 27—38.

Corpus doctrinae, Leipz. 1563, given with that of 1542.

This edition has often been confounded with the edition of 1530, 4to. (I. *a.*), and was actually introduced by Selnecker into the first Latin edition of the Book of Concord. Cf. Weber II. 102; Köllner 348. The variations are given in Hase: Prolegomena XV. Confess. Variat. varietas, and are marked (A.)

b. Edition of the Latin Confession, 1540 4to. The *variata*. Weber II. 103—107.

Corpus Reformat. XXVI, 339. (Edition of 1535, 1538.)

It is given in Corpus Reformatorum XXVI, 351—416, with the various readings.

The variations are given in Hase: Prolegomena XV–LXXIV and are marked (B).

It is translated in "an harmony of Confessions," &c., Cambridge, 1856. It is there called the "first edition." cf. Weber II. 103, Köllner 349.

c. Latin Confession of 1542, 8vo. The variata varied.

Weber II. 108—116, Corpus Reformat. XXVI, 345.

Given in Corpus Doctrinae, Lipsiae 1563. 1—56.

Fabricii Harmonia 1573.

Melanchthonis Opera (Peucer) Witt. 1562. I. 39—58. This has been frequently reprinted, and is sometimes confounded with the Variata of 1540.

The variations are given in Hase, and are marked (C). and in Corp. Reform. (Ed. 4.) cf. Weber II. 108; Köllner 349. It is translated in "an Harmony," &c. It is there called "the second edition."

C. The Augsburg Confession (German) from a collation of the copy in the Imperial Archives (The received German text of the Book of Concord.) Köllner 349; Weber II. 117—192.

Given in Chytraeus: Histor. der Augspurg Confess. (1576) 1580. 59—94.

Coelestinus: Historia Comit. August. 1577. II. 151–167.

Concordia. Dresden 1580. Fol. 3—20. Nothw. Vertheidig 1629. 24—223. Müller Historia 595—649. Reineccius 1730. Cyprian Historia 1730.

Weber's Krit. Gesch. 1783, I. Beylage III, with various readings. Schott 1829, and in most of the histories of the Augsburg Confession.

It is to be found in all the German, and German-Latin editions of the Symbols. With various readings in Reineccius 1708. Baumgarten 1747. Walch 1750. Twesten 1816. Ammon 1829. Müller 1848. Schmucker: Lutheran Manual, 1855. 325—339, gives the doctrinal articles and the Epilogue.

Translations.

The abridged translation of the articles on abuses in Dr. Schmucker's Popular Theology, p. 337, is from this edition.

In the Lutheran Manual, 283—309, a complete translation is given, of the articles on abuses, also from this edition. The Unalt. Aug. Conf. New York, 1847, do. 1848. Phila. 1855 (for the Lutheran Board of Publication.

The Christian Book of Concord. New Market, 1851. Second edition revised, 1854. The Confession was translated by Revs. A. and S. Henkel, for the first edition, and revised by Rev. C. P. Krauth, D. D., for the second.

D. Combined Editions. Cf. Weber II. 193—206. Köllner 351.

a. Latin. Fabricii Leodii: Harmonia Aug. Conf. Colon. 1573, Fol. It contains 1. A text claiming to be the original. 2. The variata of 1542. 3. Various readings from the 4to edition of 1530, and the 8vo of 1531. Cf. Corpus Reformat. XXVI, 225—229.

Corpus Doctrinae, Lips. 1563. 1. The Confess. of 1542. 2. The 8vo of 1531. Translation: An Harmony of Confessions, Cambridge 1586.

b. German. Chytraeus: Historia (1580). 1. The received text from the archives. 2. The text of the Editio Princeps where it differs from the other.

c. German and Latin. Nothwendige Vertheidigung des Aug. Apffels. Leipz. 1619. 24—223. Editio princeps of Latin, Textus recep. of the German. Reineccius 1708. Do. 1730. Walch 1750. Müller 1848. Do. Tittmann 1830, Editio princeps of both. TWESTEN 1816. 1. Ed. princ. of Latin and German. 2. German of the ordinary edition.

e. GREEK, Latin and German (Dolscii) ed Reineccius 1730.

E. VERSIFIED.

Augspurgisches Lehr-leid. The Doctrinal articles only.

In Greek and Latin verse (Rhodomann) 1730.

There is also an English versification of the Doctrinal Articles.

IV. Interpretation of the Augsburg Confession, in Commentaries, Notes and Sermons.

Histoire de la Confess. d'Auxpourg (Chytraeus) par le Cop. Anvers 1582. p. 107—114. The notes are occupied with the citations, and historical allusions of the Confession.

An Harmony of the Confessions, &c. There are added in the ende verie short notes in which both the obscure things are made plaine &c. Cambridge, 1856. p. 593, ad fin.

MENTZER: Exegesis Augustanae Confessionis (1613) Frankfort, 1690. Still retains its position as a work of the highest value.

CALOVIUS: Criticus Sacer vel Commentar. in August. Confess. Lips. 1646. 4to. pp. 920. Do. Theologia sec. tenorem August. Confess. &c. 4to. pp. 1900. These two works only get as far as the first article of the Confession.

ALTING H. Exegesis Logica et Theologica August. Confess. Amstelod. 1647. 5—114.

GOEBEL: Augustana Fidei Confess. das ist die XXI Artikle. . erkläret. Frankf. a. M. 1654, Fol. pp. 1400. Under the title of Sermons, an elaborate Commentary on the Confession.

CALOVIUS: Synopsis Controversiarum &c. secund. seriem Articul. August. Confess. Wittenberg, 1685, 4to. pp. 1104. Lutherus Redivivus. Halle 1697.

HOFFMANN G: Commentarius in August. Confessionem. Tubing. 1717. 4to. pp. 400. A work of great value. The portions of the other symbols parallel with the different articles of the Augs. Confess. are brought together, the Wirtemberg Confession is also brought into the harmony.

CYPRIAN: Historia der Augspurg. Confession. Gotha, 1730. p. 208—227. Specimens of a commentary on the I. XIII. XXII. XXVIII articles.

a. SEELEN: Stromata Lutherana sive var. Script. ad. . . Augustan. Confess. On the V and VI art. on abuses. XII. On the citations of the Fathers. XVI.

Carpzovii: Isagoge in L. Eccl. Luth. Symb. Lips. 1675. 95—763. After the lapse of nearly two centuries, still the best of the eclectic works on the symbols. The Confession and Apology are treated together. cf. Fabricii Histor. Biblioth. IV. 264.

Pfaff: Eccles. Evang. Libri Symb. Loca difficilia explanavit et vindicavit. Tubing. 1730. p. 28—86. The notes are very brief, and very valuable.

Walch: Introductio in L. S. . . observat. histor. et theolog. illus. 1732. 157—408. Classic.

Reinecii: Concordia—adjectis, locis &c. notisque aliis. Lips. 1735. 7—74. The notes mostly critical, or connected

with the scriptural and patristic quotations in the Confession.

Boerneri: Institutiones Theologiae Symbolicae. Lipsiae, 1751.

Baumgarten: Erleuterungen. 2d Edit. 1761. Compendious and rich.

Walchii: Breviarium (1765), p. 75—116.

Semleri: Apparatus (1775) p. 42—127. Tittmann: Institut. Symbol. (1811) p. 91—134.

Tittmann: Die Augsburg. Confession: Confessio Fidei. Dresden 1830. Winer (1825).

Schöpff: Die S. B. mit historischen Einleit. kurz. Anmerk. u. ausführlichern Eröterungen. Dresden 1826. 24—103.

Yelin: Versuch (1829) p. 70—77.

Schott C. H: Die Augsb. Conf. mit historisch. Einleit. u. erläuter. Anmerkungen. Leipz. 1829. The Unaltered Augsburg Confession. To which is prefixed a historical Introduction to the same, by C. H. Schott. New York, 1848.

Weber: Conf. August. animadversionibus, historicis, exegeticis, dogmaticis et criticis. Halis 1830, 4to.

Spieker: Confessio fidei. . . varii generis animadversionibus instruxit. Beroline 1830.

Tittmann: De summ. princip. A. Conf. 1830.

Lochman G., A. M. The History, Doctrine, &c., of the Evang. Luth. Church. Part II, the Augsburg Confession, with explanatory notes and remarks. Harrisburg, 1818.

Schmucker S. S., D. D. Elements of Popular Theology, with special reference to the doctrines of the Reformation, as avowed before the Diet at Augsburg in 1530. Andover, 1834. Do. Lutheran Manual, or the Augsburg Confession illustrated and sustained. Philadelphia, 1855.

Hazelius E. L. The Doctrinal Articles of the Augsburg Confession, with notes; in the Discipline &c. of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of South Carolina. Baltimore 1841.

Beck: Sammlung Symbol. Bücher—Evangelisch. Reform. Kirche. 2d Edit. Neustadt, 1845. II. 353—406.

Francke: Libri Symb. Eccles. Lutheranae. Lipsiae 1847, 9—50.

The Unaltered Augsburg Confession. Philada. 1855. (for Luth. Board.) A few valuable notes by Prof. Schaeffer.

Sermons by Bakius, Goebel, Tholuck, Schleirermacher, Harms and Sartorius.

C. Works on *Dogmatics, and the history of Dogmatics*, of value in the interpretation or defence of the Augsburg Confession, or in illustration of the theology based upon or deviating from it.

Melanchthonis: Opera Dogmatica in the Corpus Reformatorum, vol. xxi—xxiii.

a. Loci Theologici (1521). *b.* Examen ordinandorum. *c.* Catechesis puerilis. *d.* Explicatio Symboli Niceni. *e.* Repetitio Augustanae Confessionis sive Confessio doctrinae Saxonicarum ecclesiarum.

Cf. Galle: Melanchthon (1840) and Augustis, Edit. of the Loci (1821), for Melanchthon's changes in doctrine.

Flaccii: *a.* Catalogus Testium veritatis (1556). *b.* Centurial Magdeburgenses. *c.* Clavis. d. Scholea in N. Test.

Chemnitz: *a.* de vera et substantiali praesentia. *b.* de duabus naturis. *c.* Loci Theologici. *d.* Examen Concil. Trident. *e.* Theologiae Jesuitic. praecipna capit.

Hutter: Compendium Locor. Theologic (1610) et Schutze 1772.

Osiander L: Enchiridion Controvers. (1614.)

Hunnius N: Epitome Credendorum (1625).

Gerhard J: *a.* Loci Theologici (1610) (Cotta). *b.* Confessio Catholica (1633).

Calovius: *a.* Apodixis (1684) *b.* Synopsis Controversianem (1653). *c.* Mataeologia papistica (1647). *d.* Biblia Illustrata.

Koenig: Theologia positiva (1664).

Quenstedt: Theologia didactico polemica (1685).

Bechmann: Adnotationes in Compendium Hutteri (1690).

Buddeus: *a.* Theologia Dogmatica (1723). *b.* De veritate religionis evangelicae 1729. *c.* Religions-streitigkeiten 1724. *d.* Isagoge (1727).

Schmid J. A. Breviarium theolog. polemic (1710).

Lange: Oecnomia salutis (1728).

Reinhard L. Theologia Dogmat. (1733)

Walch J. G. *a.* Dogmatische Gottesgelahr. (1749) *b.* Polemische (1752) *c.* Religions-Streitigkeiten (1724).

Carpov. (1737).

Baumgarten S. J. *a.* Evangelische Glaubenslehre (1759) *b.* Theologisch. Streitigkeiten. (1762) *c.* Religions-Parteyen (1766).

Mosheim: *a.* Streit-Theologie (1763). *b.* Theolog. Dogmat. (1758)

Carpzov J. B. Jr. Liber doctrinalis (1767).

Walch C. W. F. *a.* Geschichte der Lutherischen Religion (1753). *b.* Bibliotheca Symbolica 1770.

Semler: Institutio (1774).

Doederlein (1780).

Seiler: *a.* Theolog. dogmat. polemica (1780). *b.* Doctrin. Christian. Compend. (1779.)

Morus: *a.* Epitome Theol. Christianae (1789). *b.* Commentarius in Epitom. (1797).

Beck: (1801)

Storr & Flatt: Dogmatik (1803).

Reinhard F. V. (1801).

Schott (1811).

Bretschneider: *a.* Dogmatik (1814). *b.* Entwickelung (1804).

Wegscheider: Institutiones (1815).

Twesten (1826).

Knapp (1827).

Nitzsch (1829).

(Schumann): Melanchthon Redivivus, 1837.

Hase: *a.* Dogmatik (1826). *b.* Hutterus Redivivus (1829).

Klein: (1822) Ed. Lange (1835).

Schmid H. Dogmatik d. Evang. Luth. Kirchl, 1843.

D. Works connected with the history of the Augsburg Confession, chronologically arranged.

1530, (and the works of cotemporaries).

1. Luther: Werke (Walch.) xvi. 734—2 145. Leipz. xx. 1—293.

Briefe: De Wette iv. 1—180. vi. 112—128.

2. Melanchthon: Epistolae &c (Corp. Reform.) II. 1–462.

3. Nurenberg envoys: Briefe: Strobels Miscellan. lit. inhalt. II. 3—48. III. 193—220. cf. Fikenscher.

4. Pro Relig. Christ. res gestae in Comit. Augustae Vind. hab. 1530. in Cyprian, Beylage VII. Written by a Roman Catholic during the Diet, and published with the Imperial privilege.

5. Bruck: (Pontanus, Heinse) Vorzaichnus der Handlung. herausgeg. von Foerstemann. Archiv. Halle 1831. (Apologia MS), in refutation of the work just mentioned.

6. Osiandri, Philippi Hassiae; Senat. Noremberg. Literae in Camerani Vit. Melanchthonis, ed. Strobel. 407—414.

7. Spalatin: Berichte. in Luther's Werke, Leipz. XX. 202—212.

8. Spalatin: Annales Reformationis, published by Cyprian. Leipz. 1718. 131—289.

9. Myconius: Historia Reformationis, from 1517—1542, published by Cyprian, 1718, p. 91, very brief.

10. Camerarius: Vita Melanchthonis (1566) Strobel. Noesselt, Halae 1777. 119—134.

1555. Sleidan: The General History of the Reformation, Englished and continued by Bohun. London, 1689. Fol. 127—140.

1574. Wigand: Histor. de Augustana Confessione. Regiomont. 1574, in Cyprian Beylag. X.

1576. Chytraeus: Histor. der Aug. Conf. Rost. 1576. Frankfort 1580.

Do. Histoire de la Conf. d'Auxpourg. mise en Francois par le Cop. Anvers 1582.

Coelestinus: Historia Comitiorum. Frankf. on the Oder, 1576—77.

(Kirchner, Selnecker and Chemnitz): Solida ac vera Confess. August. Historia (against Wolf) translated per Godfried. Lipsiae, 1685, 4to.

1620. Sarpi: Histor. Concil. Trident. London, 1620. 40—45.

1630. Bakius R. Confessio Augustana triumphans: das ist die trefflich-schöne Geschicht der Wahr. Ungeend. Augspurg Confession. Magdeb. 1630.

1631. Saubert: Miracula Aug. Conf. Norimb. 4to.

1646. Calovius: Criticus sacer vel Commentar. sup. August. Conf. Lips. 1646, 4to. p. 19—45.

1654. Goebel: Predigter, 1—119.

1665. Carpzov: Isagoge. 2d Edit. 1675. 90—107.

1669. Arnold: Unparth. Kirchen u. Ketzer Historien. Schaffhunson 1740. 3 vols. Folio. I. 809. 1230.

1681. Maimbourg: Historie der Lutheranisme. Paris, 1680. 178—209.

1686. Du Pin: Bibliotheque. A new Ecclesiastical History of the sixteenth century. London, 1720. Fol. ch. XXII.

Seckendorf: Commentarius de Lutheranismo, 1686. Franc. and Lips. 1692. p. 150—209. Do. Reformations Geschichte von Roos, 1781.

1705. MÜLLERI J. J. Historia von...Protestation...wie auch Augspurgische Confession, 1705, 4to.

1706. Junker: Ehrengedächtniss Lutheri. Lipsiae, 1706, 8vo. § 30.

1708. Loescher: Historia Motuum. 2d Edit. 1723, 3 vols. 4to. I. 158—180.

1715. Hildebrand: Historia Conciliorum. Helmstadii, 1715. 311—314.

1716. Fleuter's Historischer Katechismus. 3d Edit. 1718. 339—365.

1719. Hilaria Evangelica (Cyprian). Gotha 1719. Nachricht. von der Augspurg Confession, p. 551—555.

1727. BUDDEUS: De Colloq. Charitat. Secul. XVI. (Miscellan. Sacra) 1727.

1730. CYPRIAN: Historia der Augsb. Conf. aus den Original-Acten—mit Beylagen. Gotha, 1730, 4to. Racknitz: Flores in Aug. Conf. 1730.

Pfaff: Lib. Symb. Introd. Histor. Cap. III.

Hoffmann C. G. Summar. Betrachtung. der auf Augsp. Reichs-tage 1530. Actorum Religionis, 1730.

Salig: Vollständige Historie der Aug. Conf. 3 vols. Halle, 1730, 4to.

Do. Geschichte der Aug. Conf. aus Sleidan, Spalatin, Coelestinus, Chytraeus, Hortleder, Seckendorff u. Müller. 1730. In the form of a dialogue.

1732. Walch J. G. Introd. in L. S. Jena, 1732. 157–482.

1740. Moreri: Le Grand Dictionaire Historique, 1740. 8 vols. Folio. Art. Confession d'Augsburg, and Diete.

1745. Weismann: Introduc. in memorab. eccles. Histor. Sacr. Halae, 1745. I. 1498—1504.

1751. Boerneri: Institut. Theolog. Symbolicae. 23—55.

1761. Baumgarten: Erlenterungen. 45.

1765. Walchii G. F. Breviarium Theolog. Symb. Ec. Luth. Götting. 1765. 57—75.

1775. Semleri: Apparatus ad Libr. Symb. 36.

1781. Planck: Gesch. Protestant. Lehrbegriffs. Leipz. 1781. 8 vols. 8vo. III. 1. 1—178.

1791. Henke: Geschichte der Chr. Kirche. 4th Ed. 1806. III. 139—143. IX (Vater) 94—97.

1782. WEBER: Kritische Gesch. d. Aug. Conf. Frankf. 1782. 2 vols. 8vo.

1804. Schröckh: Kirchengesch. seit der Reformat. Leipz. 1804. I. 442—482.

1811. Tittmann: Instit. Symbol. 80—90.

1826. Schöpff: Symb. Büch. I. 24.

1827. Hase: Libr. Symb. Lips. 1827. Prolegom III–CXIV.

1829. ROTERMUND: Geschichte des. . zu Augsb. übergeb. Glaubensbek. nebst. . Lebensnachrichten. Hannover, 1829. 8vo.

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Haan: Darstellung, 1829.

Danz: Die Augspurg. Conf. nach ihrer Geschichte, &c. Jena, 1829, 8vo.

Yelin: Versuch 55—60. Hammerschmidt: Gesch. d. Augsb. Confess, 1829. von Ammon: Jubelfestbuch, 1829.

1830. SCHIEBLER: Reichstag zu Augsburg, 1830.

Spieker: Confessio Fidei, &c.

PFAFF: Geschichte des Reichst. zu Augs. u. des Augsb. Glaubensbek. Stuttg. 1830.

Tittmann: Aug. Conf.

FIKENSCHER: Geschichte des Reichst. zu Augsp. Nurnb. 1830, 8vo.

Märtens: Ueber die Symb. Bücher. Halberstadt, 1830. 8vo. 63—80.

1831. Tittmann: Die Evangelische Kirche im 1530 und 1830. Leipz. 1831.

Marheineke: (1831).

1833—1835. FOERSTEMANN: Urkundenbuch. 2 vols.

1835. Bretschneider: Annales vitae Melanchthonis. a. 1530. (2d vol. of Corpus Reform.)

Cox: Life of Melanchthon. Boston, 1835. Ch. VIII.

1837. KÖLLNER: Symb. d. Luth. Kirche. 150—226.

D'AUBIGNE: Reformation (1837).

1838. Audin: Histoire de la vie, &c., de Martin Luther. Paris, 1845. Chap. XXIV. XXV. Translated from the French. Philadelphia, 1841. Chap. XLVII. XLVIII. Translated by Turnbull. London, 1854. Vol. II. 319—353.

1839. Stang: M. Luther: Sein Leben u. Wirken. Stuttg. 1839. 600—687.

RANKE: Reformation (1839).

1840. Wessenberg: Kirchenversammlungen des 15ten und 16ten Jahrhunderts. III: 116.

1841. Rudelbach: Histor. kritisch. Einleitung in die Augsb. Conf. Dresden, 1841.

1842. Stebbing: History of the Church from the Diet of Augsburg, &c. London, 1842. I. 9—56.

1846. Guerike: Handb. der Kirchen-Gesch. III. § 182. (6th Edit.)

Michelet: Luther; translated by Smith. New York, 1846. p. 147.

Neudecker: Die Haupt-versuche zur Pacification der Ev. Prot. Kirche Deutschlands, von der Reformation bis auf unsere Tage. Leipz. 1846. 57—62.

1847. Francke: Lib. Symb. XIII—XX.

1848. Müller: Symb. Büch. LIV. Translated: The Book of Concord; New Market, 1851. XXXIII—XXXVIII. 2d Edit. 1854. 37—43.

1849. Zimmermann: Luther's Leben (Ref. Schr. IV.) 471—481.

1851. Conversations-Lexicon. Leipz. Brockhaus 1851. 10th Edit. II. 51.

1853. Sartorius: Beiträge. 2d Edit. 1—21. "The Glory of the Augsburg Confession."

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Matthes: Comparat. Symbolik. 61—67.

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Bindseil H. E. Corpus Reformatorum. XXVI. Pars. Prior.

ARTICLE III.

THE THREE SAXON ELECTORS OF THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION.

By Charles F. Schaeffer, D. D., Gettysburg, Pa.

No. II.

In a former article (Ev. Rev. April, 1858), we presented a biographical sketch of Frederic the Wise, Elector of Saxony. Our interest in him arises chiefly from the circumstance that the commencement of the great Reformation of the sixteenth century, coincided with his reign—or rather, that divine Providence employed him as an important instrument in promoting that wonderful work in its earliest stages. After having faithfully performed the task assigned to him, he departed in peace on May 5, 1525. He was succeeded by his brother John, the subject of the present article.

The personal or private history of the latter is much less diversified in its events than that of his brother, but the public events with which he became identified during his short reign of somewhat more than seven years, immeasurably exceed in importance, particularly in a religious point of view, all those that had employed the powers of Frederic's vigorous mind. John was the first *Protestant* whom the world beheld; *his* hand was the *first* that signed the Augsburg Confession, in which the pure truth of the Gospel re-appeared in its original splendor, after having been withdrawn from public view during several centuries, by the combined influence of ecclesiastical vices and wide-spread superstition. As we have already described with sufficient fulness, the ancestral history of John, in our former article on his brother Frederic, we proceed at once to consider the events which specially relate to the former.

John the Constant (or *Steadfast*), Duke of Saxony, arch-marshal of the German Empire and Elector, Landgrave of Thuringia, and Margrave of Misnia, was born July 30, 1467. He was the fifth son of Ernest, the founder of the Ernestine line, and of Elizabeth, the daughter of Duke Albert III., of Bavaria. His judicious parents secured for him the same educational advantages which exercised so happy an influence on the character and conduct of their eldest son, Frederic, as we had an opportunity to show in our former

article. These advantages were subsequently increased, when he proceeded to the court of the emperor, Frederic III., the brother of his grandmother, for the purpose of completing his education. He displayed great abilities at an early age, and, like his brother, obtained many liberal and comprehensive views during a series of journeys in which he engaged, and which were designed to aid in the development of his character. On the death of his father, which occurred Aug. 26, 1486, the electoral dignity passed to his brother Frederic, who at once recognized John as his associate in the government of the electoral dominions; this political arrangement was rendered permanent by the uncommon attachment which subsisted uninterruptedly between the brothers during many succeeding years, until Frederic died. As John was, however, very young at the period of his father's death, he resolved to relinquish the exercise of sovereign power temporarily, and acquire a more extensive knowledge of the world, before he actually assumed his position as joint ruler with his brother. Ambitious views, or a love of earthly glory, may have also unconsciously influenced him, for he immediately entered the service of the emperor, and was appointed an officer in the imperial army. He was actively engaged under Maximilian in the various campaigns conducted by the emperor, with a view to the pacification of Hungary, Guelders and Venice, and very frequently distinguished himself, both by his skill and by his bravery. His heroism, however, as a soldier of Christ at a later period, was so distinguished and even sublime, that his mere military achievements on the field of battle, in which he has been unquestionably equalled by many brave men, who never became devout Christians, seem to have well-nigh passed into oblivion. One incident in his history, of this description is, however, preserved, which is characteristic, demonstrating that he possessed a large share of ardor and physical courage. He accompanied Maximilian in 1490, on the occasion of a military expedition to Hungary. The march of the imperial troops was arrested by a strong fortress connected with the royal city of Stuhlweissenburg, (Alba Regalis) on the river Sarviz. When this fortress was taken by storm, John was the first man who scaled the wall; here he successfully maintained his position, waving the imperial standard in triumph, as a token of the capture of the fortress. The peculiar circumstances gave such importance to this exploit, that an old Roman custom was revived on this occasion, and, amid the acclamations of

the army, the head of John was encircled, in an imposing manner, with the *mural crown*, one of the most glorious distinctions ever conferred on a Roman soldier. Little did the exulting young hero imagine, as he held that gay imperial standard aloft, in the presence of the gratified emperor, that at that moment a poor boy of seven years of age, named Martin Luther, was residing in the petty principality of Mansfeld, whom the Lord had appointed to conduct him in after years in a nobler and more holy warfare, or that he himself should, in the ancient city of Augsburg (Augusta Vindelicorum) be honored as the first standard-bearer of Jesus Christ, while boldly defending the Gospel in the presence of another and more hostile emperor.

Such manly qualities in the character of John, naturally won the high esteem of the emperor; that esteem gradually acquired the warmth of a sincere personal attachment, when Maximilian on many occasions observed in John the evidences not only of bravery, fidelity and truthfulness, but also of modesty combined with firmness and energy, and of the strictest temperance and purity in his private life. As he was utterly devoid of all selfish ambition and envious feelings, and exhibited integrity, kind and generous sentiments, and obliging manners in his intercourse with others, he acquired the confidence and respect of all his associates. When he returned from the wars to his brother, he brought home with him not only the laurels with which his military achievements had decked him, but also the more enduring treasure of a knowledge of the human character, and a deeper conviction than he had once entertained, that military glory, and all the pomp of the world are insufficient to satisfy the real wants of the heart.

He was twice married. His first consort was Sophia, the daughter of Duke Magnus of Mecklenburg, who was united to him October 23, 1499. She met with an early death, July 12, 1503, only twelve days after having given birth to a son. The latter was afterwards the third of the Saxon electors to whom the title of our article refers—*John Frederic, the Magnanimous.* Ten years after the loss of his first wife, John contracted a second marriage, November 13, 1513, with Margaret, a daughter of Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt. She was the mother of four children; her death occurred in 1521, eight years after her marriage.

After this second domestic affliction, John devoted his whole attention to the education of his children, and his efforts to

train them up in the fear of the Lord, were evidently attended with the divine blessing. The views which he entertained were happily expressed by him on one occasion, when several persons in his presence reflected in a tone of indirect censure on the decidedly religious character of the education which he was giving to his children. "It is very easy," said he, "to learn how to bestride a horse, to catch a hare, or even to adopt precautions against an enemy or a wild beast; hence my stable-boys readily perform such feats. But if I and my sons are to lead a godly life, to administer the government according to the principles of religion, and to furnish a good example to the whole country, we need the aid of learned men and good books, and, above all, the grace of the Spirit of God." He accordingly spared no expense in order to procure the best teachers for his children, and, at the same time, constantly gave the whole subject his personal attention. The Catechism was diligently studied by his children, the duty of prayer was enforced both by the precepts and the example of their father, and he, besides, instituted regular semi-annual examinations, which were conducted in the presence of the Chancellor and other state officers; at the conclusion, many paternal admonitions were given, and rewards distributed according to the merits of the children. Their progress in the acquisition of religious principles, and their rapid improvement in the study of various languages and of other branches of a complete education, furnished very flattering evidences that John's system was both judiciously framed, and wisely and conscientiously observed.

In his familiar intercourse with Luther, he once remarked with much gratification to the latter: "My son Ernest recently wrote a letter to me in Latin, soliciting me to present him with a deer. I was so much pleased with the epistle, that I at once shot a buck myself and sent it to him, in order to encourage him in his studies." In a will which he wrote Aug. 24, 1529, at Torgau, at a very critical period, amid the trying circumstances which followed his presentation of the celebrated *Protest*, and which led to the preparation of the Augsburg Confession, a distinct image of his soul is reflected. He exhorts his children, first of all, to fear and love God, and to adhere faithfully to the pure word of God, regardless of all the threats of church councils or imperial diets. After recording numerous admonitions of a similar character, which indicate the warmest paternal love, and the most sincere reverence before God, he specially exhorts John Frederic, who

afterwards succeeded him, to watch over his heart, and never to permit the fear of man to seduce him from the path of duty prescribed in God's word. These hopes were gloriously fulfilled when that excellent son was afterwards subjected to those stern trials, the approach of which the practised eye of the father had partially foreseen. John had, like his brother Frederic, been taught to expect nothing but trials and difficulties in the present life. A few years previously, in 1525, he and his brother proceeded from Torgau to Wittenberg in a vessel, at a period of the year when large masses of ice were floating in the Elbe, from which the vessel received several violent blows. The passengers had scarcely disembarked near the castle of Wittenberg, when the bottom of the vessel suddenly parted, and the latter immediately foundered. Both the princes, deeply affected by the Divine mercy which had visibly delayed the catastrophe until they had left the vessel, gazed in silence on the spot where it had disappeared. Then Frederic exclaimed: "Brother, we evidently owe it to God's mercy that our lives have been spared in this case, as well as in others when danger was at hand, and all our gratitude is due to him. But the circumstance that the vessel parted and sunk the moment we left it, is an omen, I fear, that after our death, our vessel, that is, our electoral Saxon house, will meet with overwhelming calamities." This event occurred in the same year in which Frederic died, at a period when the convulsions in the empire, and the disordered condition of the church, had filled his mind with gloom, and made him the prey of the most painful apprehensions.

The war of the peasants was raging at the period of his death. The princes of the empire at length combined their efforts for the suppression of the insurgents, who ultimately suffered a total defeat from which they never fully recovered. John was compelled by the exigences of the times to resume the sword, for the purpose of arresting the disorders created by the rebels, and he did not lay it aside until the repose of the country was secured. While he was absent, engaged in the conduct of these military operations, his brother died in the castle of Lochan (known in history after the year 1573, by the name of Annaburg). As Frederic had never been married, his brother John immediately succeeded to the rank and dignity of Elector of Saxony, and the date of his accession consequently coincides with that of Frederic's death, May 5, 1525. At this period John had almost completed

the fifty-eighth year of his life, having already been associated during a space of nearly forty years with his brother as a reigning prince. This circumstance has unfortunately dimmed the lustre of his virtues to a certain extent; many of the noble acts which are usually assigned to Frederic exclusively, especially those which refer to the encouragement and aid granted to Luther, either originated with John, or were at least performed in conjunction with him. He was far more ready to espouse the cause of the Reformation, and to stand or fall with it, than his brother, and his conduct, as soon as he became sole ruler, attests the superior energy and decision of his character. After his accession, when he was no longer trammelled by the cautious policy of his elder brother, which he was too honorable and affectionate to disturb, he at once identified himself completely with the movements of the Reformation. His own personal history is, indeed, henceforth entirely merged in that of the Reformation, and we shall be compelled, in the remainder of this article, to give far more prominence to the latter, than we did in our sketch of Frederic. If John was overshadowed by his older brother's more lofty position, he himself, on acquiring the same electoral rank, became a far more conspicuous personage, and conferred even greater benefits on the Church than Frederic was permitted to do. "We know of no prince," is the declaration of the eminent historian, Ranke (Deutsche Gesch. III. 212), "of greater merit than John, among all those who devoted their labors to the work of establishing and securing the Protestant Church."

The seven or eight years, accordingly, which constituted the period of John's reign, furnish us with an opportunity to attempt to elucidate, in connection with his own history, two or three historical points, with regard to which indistinct or inaccurate opinions are still entertained by many persons. We refer, for instance, to the Marburg Colloquium, the very name of which seems to many to be a stern reproach uttered by the voice of history against the memory of Luther, as well as of John. We have here a striking illustration of the fact that Luther is not yet always understood by British and American writers, insomuch that when Papists cease to revile him, "Protestants" have resumed the unholy work, and commenced to defame. The true origin and correct application of the term *Protestant*, is another point, which the history of John satisfactorily explains, and which we shall probably consider on a future occasion. But the third and most

important principle, which is unfolded and demonstrated by that history, refers to the true character, composition and contents of the Augsburg Confession. To this subject we propose to recur in another article, containing a sketch of the conclusion of John's reign. In the following remarks we shall adhere to the chronological order of events, and assign the dates of the most important transactions. The singular confusion observable in some writers, respecting the connection or sequence of the events which resulted in the presentation by John of the Augsburg Confession, has induced us to adopt this course. While it may impose a little additional labor in connecting the historical materials before us, it enables us, at the same time, to adopt a somewhat more lucid arrangement, and to exhibit more satisfactorily the intimate relation of cause and effect, which, under the control of Divine Providence, governs the whole series of the events of the Reformation.

It may be sufficient to remark here in general terms, that John's local administrative measures were invariably marked by forethought, a conscientious regard for the temporal and spiritual interests of his subjects, and an enlightened zeal in promoting the glory of God. We have not succeeded in finding any narrative of the precise manner in which he was converted to God, or of the process in his soul by which he ceased to be a papist, and became a genuine Christian. His life, however, demonstrates that a living faith in the Redeemer controlled his whole conduct. The good fruit which he brought forth, conclusively establishes the fact itself, according to the Savior's declaration, that it could have proceeded from a good tree alone.

He supported the University of Wittenberg with vigor, deposed unfaithful pastors, and appointed more competent and zealous men in their place; he furnished these with a more liberal support than they had hitherto received, and instituted a visitation of all the schools and congregations in his dominions, according to a wise and comprehensive system. He abolished the popish abuses that still remained, and adopted every wise measure which the circumstances suggested or allowed, for imbuing all classes of men with reverence towards God, and love for His service. Great zeal combined with wise forbearance, justice and the love and fear of God, were the distinguishing features of his administration. Many of these circumstances belong specially to the personal history of Luther, and are set forth in every well-written biogra-

phy of which he is the subject. Others belong to the general history of the times, and cannot be specially considered here, without occupying more space than we find at our disposal. We accordingly proceed to sketch those leading events connected with the Reformation, in which John was personally interested, or to which he gave a form and a spirit which will in all future ages claim the admiration of mankind. Although we may appear to forget him temporarily, in the following notices of several of his contemporaries, it is our object to describe only those circumstances with which he was connected, and the individuals with whom he came in contact. Such a general view will show that his position between the Catholics and several of the Reformers was singularly embarrassing; it will also show that he was by no means governed by narrow views, nor by religious prejudices, when, like Luther, he could not cordially unite with all the parties that claimed to be evangelical reformers. The remote causes which decided on the particular contents of the Augsburg Confession, (and which alone will be here considered), are seen in active operation during the administration of John.

The Edict of Worms, May, 1521.*

We are compelled to retrace our steps a moment, and refer to an earlier period of John's history. When the pope excommunicated Luther in 1519, and Frederic was sorely troubled, John advised his brother, with equal calmness and decision, to suppress the papal bull entirely, in his dominions. Luther was subsequently summoned to appear at the diet of Worms, and it was John, and not his brother, who supplied the destitute Reformer with funds sufficient to defray the expenses of the journey. The celebrated Edict published at the conclusion of this diet, furnishes a partial solution of many of the remarkable movements to which our attention will be immediately directed. After Luther had appeared in the presence of the emperor Charles V. (April 17 and 18) and refused to retract the religious opinions which he had proclaimed, he left the city; soon afterwards the Elector

* It was at this diet, the political proceedings of which were also very important, that the arch-duke Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, officially (April 28, 1521) received the five Austrian dukedoms; this arrangement established the German line of the house of Burgundy-Austria, afterwards so conspicuous in the history of Germany and eastern Europe (Ranke: D. Gesch. I. 357).

Frederic, the Elector Palatine and other eminent persons also withdrew. Although the diet was virtually dissolved, the Catholic members, according to a secret understanding, remained in the city. To these Aleander, the papal legate, privately presented a document at the residence of the emperor, in the episcopal palace, and not at a public meeting; it was prepared in the form usually adopted in the official proclamations that were published at the close of diets, embodying the decrees and resolutions which had obtained the sanction of the members. This document, known in history as the *Edict of Worms*, was issued in the name of the emperor, and refers chiefly to Luther; it places him under the ban of the empire, that is, it pronounces officially or judicially, a sentence of outlawry on him. It is given in full in the Altenb. edition of Luther's works (Tom. I. pp. 736—741), occupying nearly six folio pages. It denounces Luther in the most violent terms, complains of his contempt for popes, church fathers and councils, of his rejection of Extreme Unction and other strictly popish sacraments, and of his obstinate refusal to recant. It then proceeds formally to impose the ban of the empire upon him, forbids all men to harbor him, to give him food or afford him shelter or aid, commands all his writings to be burned, and includes all his adherents under the same ban, permitting any one, without due course of law, to seize their persons and appropriate the property of such, to their own use; in short, it represents Luther as a polluted outcast, unworthy of dwelling on the face of the earth. The papal party was well aware that such a caricature would never obtain the official sanction of the whole diet, and it was accordingly withheld until the unprejudiced members had departed. It was signed in church by the emperor, and published May 26, but antedated May 8, in order to give it the character of a document presented and adopted at a full diet, previous to the departure of the principal members. This gross and palpable fraud alone was sufficient to deprive the edict of all influence; and although it was not revoked, and Luther was thus actually thrust without the pale of human society, deprived of the protection of the law, and robbed of every personal right, he was molested by none; the arm of God was more mighty than the wrath of man. The validity of this edict was pertinaciously defended by the papists; its supposititious character was maintained with firmness by the evangelical party, and the question of its enforcement perpetually recurred in later years. Several princes (George of

Saxony, &c.) proceeded to execute the provisions of the edict, and Lutheran martyrs, in various places, died in tortures inflicted by the papal party (Guericke: K. Gesch. III. 151). The alarming aspect of the times, and the avowed purpose of the papists to persevere in their efforts, until the edict of Worms should be recognized as a law in all parts of the empire, and the Lutheran faith be extirpated (e. g. the popish convention of Ratisbon, 1524), at length compelled the evangelical party to deliberate on the expediency of forming an alliance for the *defence* of the pure faith (e. g. the Gotha-Torgau alliance of John of Saxony, Philip of Hesse, and others, signed at Magdeburg, June 12, 1526—the first act which gave a compact form to the evangelical party, Ranke, II. 125, 278, 283).

The diet of Spires of 1526.

The feverish excitement in Germany, occasioned by the religious disputes of the day, was not allayed, but sustained and aggravated by the singular relations between the emperor and Pope Clement VII. If these two personages had cordially united in the work of suppressing the evangelical party, nothing but a direct miracle could have averted the extermination of the latter. It was doubtless ordered by Providence that the unhallowed ambition and selfishness of these two potentates, should influence them to assail and neutralize reciprocally, the pernicious influence which each was in a situation to wield, rather than to combine for the purpose of ruining the holy cause of religion. Ranke has detailed the military operations of the emperor and the pope, in his *History of the Popes*, and in his later work, *German History, &c.*, which contains a fuller history of the Reformation. The contest between the imperial and papal interests was conducted with a degree of ferocity which admitted of no pacification. When the heads of the German states assembled during the summer of 1526 in Spires, for the purpose of holding the regular diet, the adversaries of Luther expected an easy triumph, as they commanded a majority of the votes, and hoped to impart new vigor to the Edict of Worms. Both parties, the papal and the evangelical, were already organized, and a decisive conflict on the floor of the diet was naturally expected. Nothing but the confidence of John and his associates in the invisible aid of their heavenly Protector, could have induced them to engage in the apparently unequal contest. John, who did not fail to attend the diet, was never

more fearless and cheerful. His table daily supplied seven hundred persons with food, and on one occasion he entertained twenty-six of the assembled princes at a magnificent banquet. The discussions in the diet were conducted with the utmost warmth; committees were repeatedly appointed, with instructions to prepare reports and embody resolutions expressive of the sense of the diet; but all these measures were ineffectual. The members of the papal party could not accomplish any of their nefarious designs—for God had, in his righteous displeasure, paralyzed the uplifted arm of Popery. A very singular complication of circumstances had intervened. At the very moment when the Pope desired to avail himself, through this diet, of the power of the emperor in Germany, in order to crush the Evangelical Religion, his own troops were advancing into Upper Italy for the purpose of annihilating the same emperor's power in that region. Bigoted as Charles V. might be, it was contrary to all the instincts of his nature that he should attempt, by means of his influence in the diet, to destroy John of Saxony and his associates, in order to gratify the Pope at the precise moment when the latter employed all the resources at his command in an effort to involve Charles in a European war—and here lay the secret of the helplessness of the Catholic party. (Ranke: Hist. of the Popes, p. 46. Deutsche G. II. 290.) Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, who presided at the diet, accordingly received private anti-papal instructions from Charles V., unfavorable to the edict of Worms (Ranke appears to have found them still preserved in the Dresden archives, II. 292). These instructions decided the action of the diet. The edict of Worms was obviously a dead letter in many portions of Germany; the papists who adhered to Charles, could not, on the other hand, actually revoke it without great mortification. A method was eventually devised which rescued them from their humiliating position, but, in the Providence of God, at the same time, secured unexpected deliverance for the Lutheran cause. The diet adopted a decree as a compromise, founded on the principle of the recognized *territorial rights* of independent princes, and imperial or free cities. All the parties assented to it, and it received the official signature of Ferdinand, August 27, 1526. Cyprian (Hist. d. Augsb. Conf. Beyl. III. p. 55) has preserved the appropriate passage of this *recess** or public document. On account of the extraor-

* A *Diet* (Germ. *Reichstag*, equivalent to *empire's day*, whence is probably derived analogically the English name *Diet*, Lat. *dies*, *day*) was,

dinary influence which it exercised, and, consequently, of its great historical importance, we translate it in full: "Therefore, we, and also the Electors, Princes and Estates of the Empire, and the representatives of the same, have come to an agreement at this Diet, and have unanimously concurred herein, together with our subjects, to wit, for the present time, until the Church Council, or else a National Assembly shall be held, that in all [religious] matters that may pertain to the Edict of His Imperial Majesty, proclaimed at the Diet held in Worms, each one shall independently (*eyn yglicher für sich*) so live, govern and act (comport himself, *halten*) as every one may hope and expect to answer therefor (for the same, *solichs*) to God and His Imperial Majesty." The sense of the whole, according to Ranke (Popes, p. 46), is the following: the states may act according to their own judgment in matters of religion, and either sustain or repress the Reformation in their respective territories, and he adds: "The legal existence of the Protestant party in the empire, rests essentially on the decree of Spires, of the year 1526." No legal difficulties now impeded the progress of the Reformation in the territories subject to rulers who were friendly to it. That the state policy and wounded ambition of Charles extorted these concessions from his religious bigotry, is demonstrated by such a formal recognition of the necessity of a Church Council. Clement VII., as a pope, was taught by the history of the Councils of Constance and Basel, to dread these convocations; his perfidious conduct towards Charles awakened in him, in addition, the well-grounded apprehension

as Webster accurately defines the word: "a convention of princes, electors, ecclesiastical dignitaries, and representatives of free cities, to deliberate on the affairs of the empire." But his tenth definition of *Recess* ("Fr. *recez*. An abstract or registry of the resolutions of the imperial diet.—*Not in use.*") is incomplete. The French *recez* is simply a gallicized form of the official Latin word *recessus* (very probably in the sense of *receding, parting, adjourning*), for which the German equivalent is *Abschied*. A *Reichsrecess* or *Reichsabschied* was an engrossed document, prepared and published at the *close* of a diet in the emperor's name, embodying the resolutions or edicts which had been adopted at the convention, as well as the directions of the emperor, who was the executive officer of the diet. These diets, which were convoked by the emperor, who named the time and place of the convention, were not held precisely at regular periods; they were, nevertheless, frequent. If English historians have suffered the convenient word *recess*, in the sense explained above, to be lost by desuetude, they do not appear to have substituted any equivalent of equal value, in the political history of the empire during the medieval period, and particularly the period which immediately succeeded.

that the latter would insist on his deposition as an illegitimate son of Julian de Medicis, duke of Florence—a circumstance which was generally known, and which would, if the ecclesiastical rules had been strictly observed, have prevented his cousin Leo X. from conferring the cardinal's hat on him. But false witnesses were easily procured, who asserted under oath (for a large sum of money) that his mother Floretta had obtained a promise of marriage from her seducer; this promise was assumed, in the emergency, to be sufficient to legitimate him, although it by no means met the established terms referring to the creation of cardinals (Herzog: Real Enc. II. 578, art. CARDINÄLE).

THE FIRST SWABACH CONVENTION, JUNE, 1528.

It is important to distinguish the conference or convention held at Swabach, (a small town nine miles distant from Nuremberg, and not far from the Rednitz) at the instance of George, Margrave of Baireuth and Anspach, June 14, 1528, from a later convention in the same place, with which it is often confounded in the history of John and of his Confession of Faith presented at Augsburg. It was attended by theologians and civilians whom George had commissioned, and by others who represented the city of Nuremberg. The object of the meeting was chiefly to arrange the mode of introducing effectually the Reformation into the territories of the parties, to correct popish abuses, and remodel ecclesiastical affairs in general, according to directions with which Luther had furnished one of his most valued friends, Lazarus Spengler, a civil officer (erster Rathsschreiber) of the city of Nuremburg. This devout Christian, of whom Ranke says (II. 365), that he combined extraordinary skill in the transaction of secular business with the most profound interest in all the concerns of religion and the church, was the author of the noble hymn: "Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt, &c." (Alt: Christl. Cult. I. 446), which subsequently acquired even symbolic authority (see Form. Conc. 642 ult. ed. Rech.—Engl. transl. Newm. 2d ed, p. 601.)—The resolutions or articles of this convention referred principally to local affairs, and had no direct influence on the composition of the Augsburg Confession. (Salig: Hist. d. Augsb. Conf. p. 121, compared with Köllner: Symbolik. Vol. I. pp. 158, 160 n. 5. 164 n. 13). This fact, after much perplexity on the part of older writers, including even Chytraeus and Seckendorf, was at length demonstrated by the discovery of the

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proceedings or articles of this first convention, in the archives of Anspach, and their publication in 1733 by J. W. v. d. Lith. (Köllner, l. c.)

Philip, Landgrave* of Hesse.

The transactions of the elector John and Luther, on the one hand, and of Philip of Hesse and Zwingli, on the other, although they remotely influenced the composition of the Augsburg Confession, have often been misunderstood. Even at this late day, the imperfect and perverted statements of various English writers, to whom the original documents were not accessible, as they have since been to Ranke and others, and whose inaccurate narratives have exposed the revered names of the Elector and the Reformer to obloquy, continue to be credited. For the historical truth of the following statements, which will be found to vary, to a certain extent, from those that are current in many popular works, we refer to Lindner,† whose *Church History* combines the political with the ecclesiastical element, with such fidelity and skill, that it now ranks among the highest authorities. We also refer to Ranke,‡ whose diligent study of original documents not previously examined by historians, and the impartiality and accuracy of whose historical writings, are now well known to English readers, since the publication in England (and Philadelphia, 1844) of Kelly's translation of his *History of the Popes, &c., in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.* We shall generally omit references to older works which we have consulted (Salig, Cyprian, Chytraeus and Seckendorf), as well as the usual Church Histories. Guericke§ has carefully examined the documents relating to the Reformation, preserved in the archives of Cassel, and communicated to Neudecker, who published them in 1836. J. H. Kurtz's

* The title in this case, and in several others, indicates a prince of the German Empire who was invested with sovereign power in his own territories, but was inferior in rank to an elector or duke (Herzog). Thus Philip, as an independent ruler, divided his dominions not long before his death in 1567, among his four sons; such a circumstance illustrates the distinction between a *landgrave* of earlier ages, and a modern French *comte* or British *earl*, although an affinity between the titles is obvious.

† Lehrbuch d. christl. Kirchengeschichte, &c., von W. Bruno Lindner. Leipzig, 1848.

‡ Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation, von Leopold Ranke, 5 Bde. Dritte Ausgabe, Berlin, 1852.

§ Handbuch der Kg. Seventh edition, 1850. (The eighth edition appeared in 1854).

large work (the *Handbuch*), has not yet reached the era of the Reformation.

Philip, landgrave of Hesse, who was born Nov. 13, 1504, and whose territories were governed, after the death of his father, William II., in 1509, by his mother, Anna of Mecklenburg, as regent, took the reins of government in his own hands as early as the year 1518, having come to his majority by a legal fiction, in his *fourteenth* year. The precocious youth was married in 1523 to Christina, daughter of George, duke of Saxony. These events indicate the natural impatience or impetuosity of his character, as well as his fondness for power. He was prompt and vigorous in action, but violent and reckless when his passions were roused. He was one of the first of those who were styled Protestants, and he continued to adhere to the cause which he embraced; but those elevated principles and holy purposes which invariably governed the conduct of John of Saxony, do not appear to have exercised control over the more worldly-minded Philip. Luther recognized him willingly as a friend of the Reformation, but soon ascertained, with his usual sagacity, that Philip was not entitled to entire confidence. Unwilling to express the suspicions which he entertained of Philip's ulterior political plans, and his ambitious aspirations, he characterizes him, somewhat amusingly, when he writes to the elector John in 1529, and indirectly refers to Philip's unsafe propositions, as a "restless young prince" (de Wette: *Luther's Briefe* III. 455) and again, as a "restless man" (ib. 465). The combination of the Catholic princes against the friends of the Reformation, impelled him to organize a similar union of the evangelical princes, and this project absorbed his whole attention. It is usually supposed by Protestant writers that disinterested considerations alone guided him in these movements. His inconsiderate conduct when the alleged discoveries of a popish plot* against the evangelical party, were made by Otto von Pack, would have occasioned a disastrous civil war, if the

* The mystery attending the *Pack plot* is not yet explained. Ranke is disposed to regard the whole as an invention of Pack (III. 36); Lindner thinks it possible that it contained elements of truth (II. 73). It is certain that Philip secretly sent Pack as his agent to Zapolya of Hungary, the enemy of the Lutheran faith, and the ally of the Turks, but, at the same time, the avowed political enemy of Ferdinand. Luther himself suspected at the time that a collusion existed between Philip and Pack. He viewed the conduct of the former with great disapprobation, and does not hesitate to express his suspicions in his private letters to Link and Hess (de Wette III. 347, 351).

conscientious and prudent course of the elector John, suggested by Luther's remonstrances, had not arrested it on the eve of its commencement. Even this transaction, which attached a temporary blemish to the cause of the Reformation, and to which we shall have occasion to recur in a succeeding article, is usually ascribed to well-meant but unwise plans of Philip. In all these warlike purposes and movements of Philip, however, a deeper design lay hidden, which at that early period was shrouded from the view of all save Luther, who intuitively understood the whole. The circumstances indicate that Philip aspired *to the occupation of the imperial throne.* He conceived this ambitious plan under the following circumstances.

The selfish policy of Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand, whose diplomacy and military resources won for him the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, had gradually developed a spirit of opposition to their encroachments, even among Catholic princes. The duke of Bavaria had, like his ambitious predecessors, long aspired to the imperial throne, and eagerly availed himself of the increasing unpopularity of the Austrian brothers, as the means of promoting his design. He engaged in secret negotiations with the principal electors, the king of France, &c. From documentary evidence, which Ranke adduces (II. 294, n. 3. III. 29), it appears that the anti-imperial party designed to procure the assistance of ambassadors from France, Lorraine (then a distinct duchy of the Empire; Koeppen: *Middle Ages* II. 637) and England. It was arranged that these should appear at a diet of the empire, commissioned both to accuse the Austrian house as the cause of all the losses which the state* and the church had suffered, and also to urge the diet to elect another emperor; it was a part of the plan that the new emperor should be a man of ability, competent to repair these losses, as well as a ruler whose sound Catholic principles would alike urge and qualify him to suppress the Lutheran heresies of the day. The Pope and his adherents unquestionably concurred with Bavaria, and also engaged in secret negotiations which referred to the deposition of Charles V. (Lindner, II. 71). Certain expressions of the pope, of his legate, and of Cardinal

* Even as late as the year 1529 (Sept. 26) Sultan Suleiman, "the greatest and most accomplished prince that ever sat on the Ottoman throne" (Hume's England, ch. 30), had penetrated as for as Vienna, and besieged that city. (Ranke III. 158).

Wolsey, implied a hope that they might secure even John of Saxony as a confederate, by means of bribing his counsellors (Ranke III. 30). While these projects engaged the attention of the papists, the evangelical princes and their subjects were allowed to enjoy a period of repose; a defensive alliance which they had formed, received an important accession in the person of Albert of Brandenburg. The active mind of Philip now conceived a plan analogous to that of the house of Bavaria. If he could be elected king of the Romans (a dignity which Ferdinand subsequently acquired, in 1531, usually conferred on an emperor elect, and retained until he ascended the imperial throne), and if he could ultimately acquire the imperial throne, he flattered himself that this brilliant consummation of his labors would enable him to protect effectually the evangelical religion. The execution of the Bavarian project depended on the aid of Catholic princes; Philip expected to gain for his project, not only the support of all the evangelical princes, but also that of various Catholic anti-imperial powers, for instance even France (whither he sent his agent, Dr. Walter), as well as of the exiled Zapolya, the Woiwode (duke, prince) of Transylvania, to whom he sent Pack as his agent in 1528. Zapolya had long sought the crown of Hungary, and obtained it, Nov. 11, 1526, but lost it the following year. It obviously formed an important feature of Philip's plan to secure the accession of the Swiss cantons, whose aid, in a military point of view, would be of inestimable value. Hence it was long a leading principle of his policy, to attract at least the reformed part of the Swiss, and establish an intimate union between them and the German evangelical party. That this far-reaching project, or certainly one not widely different from it, was really entertained by Philip, no longer seems to admit of doubt, when the character and whole conduct of Philip are closely scrutinized (Lindner II. 71, 73 Anm. 77 Anm 78), although we have not been able to find documentary evidence respecting the details of the scheme. In one of Luther's numerous letters to John, urgently advising him to refrain from an armed opposition to the emperor, he remarks: "We should, besides, reflect, that even if such actual resistance to the emperor were lawful, we would be compelled to proceed still further, by expelling the emperor, and *becoming emperors ourselves*, for he would defend himself, and repose could not be secured until one of the parties should be prostrated" (de Wette III. 563). The words which we have italicized,

are supposed to be an allusion to Philip's project, which it would have been unwise to describe with greater circumstantiality. It was quite consistent with these aspirations of Philip, that he should sincerely disapprove of popish doctrines and usages, and, from conviction, unite with the evangelical party. Intelligent men, even in that age, could reject and detest popish errors and follies, without being imbued, as a necessary consequence, with the opposite spirit of Christian faith, humility and love; of this fact the English, French, Italian, Spanish and German *Humanists** of that era furnish many illustrations. The Anabaptists, on the other hand, were even furious opponents of popery, and yet they were far from being humble, enlightened and pure-minded Christians.

We omit all special reference to the later history of Philip. The adulterous relations between him and Lady Margaret von der Saal, and the disgraceful and iniquitous scenes which were the result, not only inflicted a deep stain on the Protestant cause at the time, but were even quite recently (in 1852) brought forward by a papist in Charleston, S. C., in the controversy in which the distinguished Dr. Bachman, the Pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation of St. John's Church, was the successful champion of Protestantism. (See *Defence of Luther and the Reformation, &c.*, by John Bachman, D. D., LL. D., Charleston, 1853). We gladly refrain, too, from glancing at the humiliating attitude of the landgrave, when he appeared before the emperor as a suppliant on his knees, after the battle of Mühlberg. Various inconsistencies are discoverable in his conduct. One of the most striking of these appears in that process of reasoning, which led him to the conclusion, on the one hand, that as a conscientious Christian, he could not profitably receive the Lord's Supper while he maintained an adulterous connection with a female from whom he could not resolve to part, and, on the other hand, that Christian duty required him to hallow that connection by the commission of another outrage—bigamy. The Catholic princes and dignitaries of his day were less

* Of these students of the classic authors, and admirers of polite literature in general, and of their opponents, the *Dunkelmänner* or *Finsterlinge* (benighted advocates of the doctrine - "Ignorance is the mother of devotion"), Brunnow gives a very amusing portraiture in his *Ulrich von Hutten*, somewhat in Wildenhahn's style; while mingling fiction with truth, he seems to furnish a very accurate sketch of these hostile parties.

sorely annoyed by scruples of conscience—their moral principles allowed them quietly to commit the most flagrant crimes in connection with an ostentatious performance of external religious duties. Both they and the landgrave afford mournful evidence of the blindness and wickedness of man's heart, until he is renewed by the Spirit of God.

Zwingli.*

Philip's political plans were vigorously supported by Zwingli, who claims a special notice, before we proceed further. His birth occurred Jăn. 1, 1484, somewhat less than two months after that of Luther, and more than fifteen years before that of Calvin. He possessed an active mind, and a highly cultivated taste; the classic authors constituted the chief subject of his studies. He could not believe that the gift of inspiration had been restricted to Palestine, and held that Plato had shared in that divine influence; he called Seneca a holy man, and specially revered Pindar, whose description of the gods seemed to him to be so sublime, as to demonstrate that a presentiment of a particular divine and holy power dwelled in him. The opinion which he formed that these writers had conducted him to the truth, may have possibly exercised, in succeeding years, a baneful influence on his mode of conceiving revealed truth. In the midst of these studies, he obtained a copy of the Greek New Testament which Erasmus had published (the first edition appeared

* A surprising diversity in the orthography of this name appears both in earlier and in modern works referring to him. His contemporaries, when writing of him in Latin, called him *Zwinglius* (Zuinglius), in German, *Zwingel*. He did not himself observe any uniformity. In the first edition of the articles referring to the Zurich (Turicum, Statio Turiecusis) Disputation, which he published in German. he says: *Ich, Huldrich Zwingli*. The third edition calls him *Herr Vlrich Zwinly*. He signed his *Fidei Ratio*, sent to Augsburg, thus: *Huldrychus Zwinglius*. The modern usage of German writers, which is, doubtless, the most accurate, as these references seem to show, and to which we have accordingly conformed in this article, adopts the form of *Zwingli*. There is less excuse for the practice of English writers who mutilate the name of Philip *Melanchthon*, the son of George *Schwarzerd* (*black earth*). Reuchlin tenderly loved the youth, and furnished him with a Greek translation of his name, *melas* (black), *chthon*, earth. As the letters CH are represented by one character [χ] in Greek, it is as much a barbarism to write *Melancthon*, as it would be, if we elsewhere omitted the aspirate, e. g. *Caos*, Caracter, Cristian, &c. When he himself, at a later period of his life, occasionally wrote *Melanthon*, perhaps for the sake of euphony, he was so far consistent that he omitted the entire Greek character.

in 1516). The attention which he devoted to this volume, gradually made him aware that popery was not founded on the word of God. Political affairs also interested him deeply, and he even accompanied his congregation repeatedly to the field of battle. Zurich ultimately (in 1519) became the scene of his reformatory movements. His eloquence in depicting the abuses of popery was irresistible; his manners were attractive, his habits unostentatious and plain, his disposition was usually kind and generous, and he was endowed with a vigorous constitution, the powers of which his simple mode of life directly tended to preserve.

Ranke, who has collected these and other particulars (II. 46), fully recognizes the essential difference in character which existed between Zwingli and Luther. The doctrine of faith, in its deep and intimate connection with the redemption of Christ, was the guiding principle of the latter, while it was Zwingli's own judgment, rather than deep religious experience, that revealed to him the contrariety between the Scriptures and the doctrines and usages of the church of Rome. Luther obtained peace in God after a severe struggle in his soul, which taught him experimentally the value of the Savior's love. His distress, his longing after God, his inward peace, his rapture when he could in faith apply the Savior's merits to himself, were exercises of the soul, to which Zwingli had remained a stranger. "Not that deep distress, and those conflicts of the soul which sin occasions," says the eminent J. H. Kurtz (K. G. für Stud. p. 413), "but classical studies trained him to be a Reformer." While Luther primarily labored to reform unsound doctrines, as the root of existing vices in the conduct of men (human merit, doctrine of indulgences, &c.), Zwingli, like others who labored with sincerity, but without complete success, because they overlooked the source of the evils which prevailed, directed his attention rather to the correction of errors and vices in the life and manners of those around him. He was not only a religious, but also a political reformer; his opposition to the *Reislaufen*, or Swiss practice of supplying foreign princes with soldiers for annuities or wages, proceeded from a noble, patriotic feeling. "Luther and Zwingli differed not less in their political movements than in their respective systems of faith. Luther's policy, if we can give it that name, was governed by religious considerations exclusively, and simply embraced the principle of self-defence. Zwingli, on the contrary, had from the beginning, also contemplated positive

political objects, radical changes in the *Eidgenossenschaft* (sworn confederacy) &c." (Ranke III. 286). His practical character unquestionably gave a peculiar form and spirit to his religious doctrines, and impelled him to act, while Luther, in a child-like spirit, humbly bowed before God, and was still waiting to receive light. The former was as sincere in his opposition to error as Luther; but the Saxon Reformer possessed a depth of feeling, a sense of dependence on God, a power of self-command, a gift for entering into the very spirit of the divine word, and a keenness of vision, in which he was immeasurably the superior of the former.

Each represented a principle to which later times have attached a deep significance. The *conservatism* of Luther inclined him to retain in religious doctrines and usages, all that was not in opposition to the Scriptures—the *radicalism* of Zwingli urged him to reject all for which an express scriptural passage could not be produced, forgetful of the fact that the liberty of the Church permits, and even counsels the retention of many ancient usages, which the wants of the early church had introduced. The genius of Puritanism, which assumed a distinctive form and name after Zwingli's departure from the world, had been already quickened in him. Moving in a narrow sphere, watching words and forms more than the animating spirit, and adopting principles which proceeded rather from Judaic rigor than Gospel liberty, it attached an undue importance to harmless external matters, and could not ascend to those lofty regions, to that atmosphere of freedom, in which the spirit that animated Luther, loved to dwell. Thus, it inquired mechanically for the chapter and the verse which sanctioned the altar and the organ, and with almost superstitious fear, it hastened to substitute a table for the former, and unaccompanied and undisciplined human voices for the latter; it even silenced the church-bell, which seemed to utter forth loud popish voices. It looked with horror on the pictures and the statues in the churches, which Luther willingly tolerated until the direct influences of the Gospel would render their removal an insignificant event; it consigned alike the rude attempts of rustic artists, and elaborate works of art, to destruction. It detested the frescoed walls of the churches, and dreamed that a simple white-washed surface would materially aid in conducting a spiritual worship of God. It listened with suspicion and fear to the liturgical services, which regularly repeated the living truths of the Gospel, and in which devout and faithful Christians

of a former day had uttered the words of their holy faith—in place of liturgical forms that were hallowed by time and their own Gospel spirit, it substituted prolonged extemporaneous performances, varying in utility and purity with the ever-changing gifts and graces of individuals. Forgetting that the Liturgy and other portions of the service originated at a period anterior to the dark day which the rise of popery ushered in, it triumphantly asked: Where is the chapter, where is the verse in which these popish usages are taught? Happily, Puritanism was illogical in its principles, and inconsistent in its practice. If it should rear its head in our day with new vigor, and attempt to give a full practical development to its premises, it would convulse the church in many a land, by exhibiting its ability to destroy, and its unfitness to reconstruct and improve. It would not only take from the Lutheran his Liturgy, but it would begin by entering his Sunday School, and abolishing an institution for which no chapter nor verse can be produced. It would both close his church when he desired to observe a holy day in the week, devoted to some leading event in the Savior's history, and also disperse the members of his prayer-meeting, for which he could furnish no express scriptural precept. It would not only repulse the infant brought by believing sponsors to the baptismal font, but also banish every female from the table of the Lord. While it has partially succeeded in veiling the brightness and beauty of the *Lord's Day*, by investing it with the name and the attributes of the Jewish *Sabbath*, it only refrains from converting the pastor into a *Rabbi*, and his church edifice into a *Synagogue*, because these terms are not found in its guide for the *Christian* life—the Old Testament. It would not merely wrest from him his clerical habit and the simple gown with which he was ascending the pulpit, extinguish the candles on the sacramental altar, and cover with lime the symbol of his faith, the cross on the pulpit-wall or altar-cloth; these are all unessential objects, which may be retained or rejected by the Lutheran, without harm or loss; but his congregational Bible Society, his congregational school, his lecture-room, with its missionary maps—even his hymn-book and book of anthems, his very stove or furnace and cushioned chair—all would be indiscriminately torn, broken, disowned, dishonored, trampled under foot. For where—*where* do the Scriptures require these things? In this spirit Carlstadt attempted to continue the Reformation in Wittenberg, until his destructive course was arrested by Luther; he

could not comprehend the obvious fact, which Luther at once perceived, that the reformation of the individual must begin in the heart, "from within" (Mark 7 : 21), and that even when the papist's image and his rosary are taken out of his hands, he is a papist still in heart, until the Gospel has enlightened him, and the Divine Spirit given him a new heart. For *such* mercies, the enlightening, converting and sanctifying influences of God's Spirit, Luther accordingly prayed and labored, well aware that when the impenitent man's heart is renewed, the contemptible image, the "holy water," and other appendages of popery, would lose all their power to do harm, and vanish away; surely, these inanimate representatives of Antichrist could not annihilate the power of God's grace in the heart. Carlstadt and Zwingli, without agreeing in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper precisely, found, however, a common bond of union in their opposition to Luther's doctrines, and a close alliance long existed between them.

It certainly cannot detract from the great personal merits of Zwingli, that another was endowed with gifts of a higher order, or was commissioned to perform greater works than those which are connected with his name. While he expressed views that were unfavorable to popery, even earlier than the year 1517, like the Humanists and many other intelligent persons, Ranke regards the question of priority as decided, even if no other argument were adduced than the one embodied in the fact, that at the time "when Rome had already pronounced the sentence of condemnation against Luther, Zwingli was still drawing a pension from Rome" (III. 49. 54). As the details, which are really honorable to Zwingli, are not given by Ranke, we add from Schröckh (Christl. K. G. seit d. Ref. II. 109, 115), where we succeeded in finding them, that as Zwingli's limited income did not allow him to purchase the works of Classic authors, the Church Fathers, &c., the papal legate in Switzerland had granted him a small pension for that purpose; but he voluntarily relinquished it in the year 1520, as he could no longer receive it with a good conscience. Ranke probably refers to this circumstance.

The precise doctrinal views of a man like Zwingli, who occupied so large a space in his day, will always possess a theologico-historic interest; to these the course of our narrative renders it indispensable to advert, as they furnish important aid in explaining the transactions at Marburg, and involve the remote causes, to a certain extent, which decided

on the contents of the first part of the Confession of Faith presented by the elector John at Augsburg. We do not specially allude to his views of the Eucharist. He seems to belong pre-eminently to the school of the intelligent Humanists of his day; as a classical scholar, he was distinguished; he was a public-spirited and influential citizen, and a friend of truth and righteousness; but, as a theologian, history has assigned to him a subordinate position. As his theology lay rather on the surface than in the depths of the divine word, his doctrines on several fundamental points of the Christian system, after being constructed mainly according to the suggestions of his reason, became so meagre and feeble, that they appeared to Luther to be but little more imbued with the spirit of the Gospel, than the opinions of mere human philosophers. He appeared to nestorianize on the subject of the Person of Christ; the doctrine of justification by faith became, in his hands, rather a negative proposition than a holy, positive, life-giving doctrine, irreconcilably opposed to all vain dependence on human righteousness. That he entertained very low views of vital godliness—of the condition of the renewed and sanctified believer, in whose heart and life the fruits of saving faith abound, as contradistinguished from the condition of the moral man, whose human virtues have been developed by educational, social and legal influences—is very probable. Not long before his death, which unhappily occurred at an early period (Oct. 11, 1531), in a bloody battle between the reformed and popish cantons, he wrote a work (*Christ. fidei brevis et clara expos.*, addressed to the king of France), which created an uncommon sensation, when his friend Bullinger published it in 1536. It contains the following extraordinary passage, which we copy from Schröckh (l. c. 162), who very feebly apologizes for it: "There," says he, addressing the king on the subject of eternal life, "There thou canst hope to be admitted to the company of, and to intercourse with, all holy, wise, believing, steadfast, brave and virtuous men, who have lived since the beginning of the world. Thou wilt there see those two who are named Adam, the redeemed, and the Redeemer, Abel and Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Judah, Moses, Joshua, Gideon, Samuel, Phinchas, Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, together with the mother of God, of whom the latter had spoken; David, Ezekiel, Isaiah, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul. There thou wilt see Hercules, Theseus, Aristides, Antigonus, Numa, Camillus, the Catos

and Scipios, likewise thy royal predecessors and ancestors, who left the world in faith. In short, there is no man of integrity, no holy soul, and no believing heart, that thou wilt not find there with God." (We cannot account for the repetition of the name of Isaiah, nor determine whether Antigonus represents Alexander's General, or another of the same name; the identity, or we may, perhaps, more correctly say, the *existence* of Hercules involves a still more difficult question.) Undoubtedly such a combination of names, such a wholesale and indiscriminate admission into heaven, indicates a mind very differently constitued from that of Luther. The learned Rudelbach, while largely quoting from Zwingli's treatise on Providence (which Calvin pronounced to be "crammed with harsh paradoxes, *duris paradoxis refertus*," Herzog: Real Enc. *art.* CALVIN) arrives at the conclusion that the "entire Zwinglian system is a dualistic Pantheism" (Rudelbach: Ref. Luth. u. Union, p. 290). That Zwingli's views of Original Sin were decidedly latitudinarian (somewhat like those of the Arminians, and even the Socinians of a later day), his contemporaries were in some cases aware. Niemeyer has inserted in his well-known *Collectio Conf. in Eccl. Ref. publ.* Zwingli's *Fidei Ratio** or Confession of Faith which he sent to the diet of Augsburg in 1530. He there states his doctrine of Original Sin in full. In the course of his remarks, he concedes that our first father committed a sin in reality, an act that was really a sin, and then proceeds: "But his (Adam's) offspring did not sin in this manner. For, which one of us preyed with his teeth (depopulatus est dentibus) in Paradise on a forbidden apple? We are, therefore, forced to admit, whether willingly or unwillingly, that original sin, as it exists in the sons of Adam, is not properly a sin, as was just set forth, for it is not an offence against a law. It is therefore properly a *disease* and a *state*. — — — Although I do not object, if this disease and state should be called *sin*, after the manner of Paul, &c." (Niem. p. 20). Zwingli's own words on another occasion, as quoted from his works by

* The titles of the contemporaneous English and German translations, as given by Niemeyer, p. XXVI, afford interesting specimens of the state of the two languages in that day. The English, dated 1543, begins: The rekening and declaration of faith - - - sent to Charles the V. that now is emperor of Rome, holding a parlement or cownsaill at Ausbrougk &c. The German title is furnished with a text: Zu Karoln Römischen Keiser, yetzund vff dem Rychstag zu Augspurg, Bekenntnusz &c. Kummend zu mir ir alle, die arbeitend und beladen sind, vnd ich will üch rouw geben, &c.

Matthes (Comp. Symb. Leipzig. 1854, p. 341) are these: "Dass Adam und alle seine nachkommen nach der zerbrochnen Natur nüts (nichts) gutes vermögend, denn sie sind bresthaft. — — Wir verstond hie durch das Wort "brest" einen Mangel, den einer *on sie* (ohne seine) *schuld* von der geburt her hat *oder sust* (sonst) *von zufällen.*" The old German word *bresthaft*, which appears to have been obsolescent at that period already, designated any ailment, defect or bodily injury (Heyse).

Such *easy* views of the true character of fallen man, as the latter stands revealed before the eyes of a holy God, differ widely from the letter and the spirit of all the evangelical confessions of faith of the age of the Reformation. Fortunately for the cause of truth, the influence of Calvin, who received Luther's doctrines on the subject, prevented those of Zwingli from being adopted by the early Reformed creeds. Zwingli's apologist, Dr. Ebrard, who seems anxious to infuse his sectarianism into the German Reformed Church, and to be considered the leader of his party, concedes, with regard to another fundamental doctrine, that Zwingli entertained a "conception (Begriff) of *faith* which was quite different from that of Luther." His attempt to give a favorable explanation is far from being satisfactory* in the eyes of that profound investigator, A. W. Dieckhoff, to whose critique on Ebrard's effort we refer the reader (Evang. Abendmahls lehre &c. Vol. I. p. 471. n.) We need not enlarge on Zwingli's speculations which conducted him to a "fatalistic Predestination," as it has been termed, on his wonderfully loose views

* Still, we confess that Ebrard is more successful in such essays, than he is in the manufacture of puns. "His tone is too confident," says Dr. Schaff, (Germany &c. p. 392) dogmatic, and at times almost arrogant. - - He treats his opponents as if they were mere school-boys, and often indulges in his ironical and sarcastic propensity at the expense of theological dignity and decorum." We will furnish an illustration of this general remark. In Ebrard's Commentary on the Revelation of John, which is offered as the conclusion of the unfinished work of the lamented Olshausen, he omits no opportunity to ridicule Hengstenberg. This eminent biblical scholar had once remarked that, the Greek word *arche* as applied to Christ, possibly alluded to Archippus, mentioned in Col. 4:17. Ebrard's mode (p. 207) of meeting a theological argument advanced by a distinguished servant of Christ, consists in the witticism that a part of the name of Archippus may in the same way be supposed to allude to the author just mentioned, whose name, for an obvious reason, he quotes in the abbreviated form of *Hengst*. He submits this result of his lucubrations to the most refined circle of readers in Christendom, as a happy joke, and does not seem to be aware that he has merely perpetrated an unseemly and vulgar pun.

of the means of grace, &c., as the remarks already made sufficiently illustrate the essential difference between his system of faith and that which Luther had adopted. Calvin candidly remarked to Viret, that in his opinion, Zwingli's doctrine concerning the Sacraments was *profane*. (For the reference, see Kahnis: Abendm. p. 394).

We proceed to consider Zwingli in another aspect. His soul glowed with a lofty patriotism; never did man love his country more ardently or sincerely. In this connection, his political relations to Philip of Hesse, claim our attention. The latter, who was powerless without John of Saxony, had at length induced him to form an offensive and defensive alliance, ostensibly for the protection of the evangelical interests; these two princes associated with themselves, according to a "specially secret understanding," as the words of the document state, the Zwinglian city of Strasburg, the Lutheran city of Nuremberg, and the city of Ulm. It was expressly provided that the alliance referred solely to the protection of the evangelical religion; the contingent of each party was determined, and John estimated that they would need a force, in the aggregate, of at least ten thousand infantry, and two thousand horse. The documents, according to Ranke (III. 133), furnish all the particulars of the agreement. John, who was not fully aware of the ulterior political designs of his associates, to which he could not have conscientiously acceded, was taught to expect the immediate accession and hearty coöperation of the Swiss. Philip of Hesse and the magistracy of Zurich, Zwingli's residence, had already established the most intimate political relations between themselves, and were seriously meditating an effort to restore Ulrich of Würtemberg, whose boundless extravagance and unbridled rapacity had led to his deposition and expulsion. This same measure had already engaged the attention of Francis I. of France. When the Zurich authorities were engaged in discussing the proposed union with France, Zwingli powerfully urged them to associate with themselves that "noble, firm and wise prince," as he described Philip of Hesse. At the same time similar propositions of an alliance with the Swiss, were made to Venice, another Catholic power. These secret proceedings between Philip and Zurich, in reference to a politico-religious anti-imperial party, were for some time withheld from the knowledge of Luther and Melanchthon. At length they too were informed of the true nature of the alliance, which had hitherto appeared to be of a strictly religious

character. The gigantic enterprize of the several parties, their own heterogeneous character, the carnal purposes which could not be entirely veiled, the incongruity of the whole conception with the religious principles of Luther and Melanchthon, and the tremendous convulsions in church and state, which must necessarily ensue, extorted from them the strongest expressions of surprise and horror. Melanchthon even wished for death as a relief from the agony which these revelations caused him to suffer, and he entreated his friends in Nuremberg to prevent a final ratification of the alliance, "inasmuch as," said he (Ranke III. 136) "the ungodly opinion (gottlose Meinung) of Zwingli must, under no circumstances, be defended." Luther, with his usual presence of mind, clearness of vision, and promptitude in action, decided at once that it was a holy duty to attempt to arrest these movements, on which no divine blessing could rest. De Wette has furnished in his collection, numerous letters of Luther, addressed to John and others, in which his view is fully expanded (de Wette: III. 314—323, 332—336, 454, 526, 560. VI. 105, &c.), extending over a considerable period of time, from Pack's plot to the Marburg Colloquium, and even later. We cannot afford space for all his remarks, but merely state the following points of his general argument against any alliance with the Swiss, French, &c., which we throw together loosely, as a summary of the correspondence, after a somewhat rapid inspection of the latter. (1) The whole military movement, viewed as an act of the princes of the empire, would be illegal and unscriptural—illegal, as involving treason; unscriptural, as indicating a weak faith, or doubts in God's fidelity to his promises, since they had not sufficient reason to believe that the cause of religion would fail, if it were not protected by the sword. (2) It would be glaringly inconsistent with the oft-repeated appeal of the evangelical party to a general Church Council, as the first pacific, and possibly, effectual remedy for their grievances—an obvious circumstance; the proposed warlike measures would have given every advantage to the Catholics, and fatally injured the elector. (3) It would completely secularize the Reformation—that work would cease to be the work of God, when man presumed to take it out of his hands. (4) It would unite the various distracted portions of the Catholic body, and, in a human point of view, incalculably strengthen their position. (5) It would flatter the personal ambition of Philip, who could not rationally hope to prevail against the powerful

emperor—his landgraviate was even more feeble than the electorate of Saxony, which, in the view of the wise Frederic at an earlier period possessed such inferior military resources, that he waived his claim to the imperial throne, and voluntarily assigned the latter to the more powerful Austrian house. (6) It would be an attempt to combine materials so discordant in doctrine, so decidedly opposite in feeling and interest, that an early and disastrous rupture must be regarded as inevitable, which would lead to the ruin not only of the parties themselves, but possibly, under the just displeasure of God, to that of their religious interests also. (7) It would, specially, be an attempt to unite parties not only possessing no internal principle of cohesion, but also severally exercising an invincible repulsive power, holding doctrines which were absolutely incompatible with each other. The argument of Luther appears to be the following: if we, the Saxons and the Swiss, while we agree in disowning the pope's spiritual power, cannot cordially unite in doctrine, *a fortiori*, we can never hope to coöperate successfully with foreign papists, that is, the proposed allies of Philip and the Swiss.

The presentation of this subject, when so many unwelcome accessories were clinging to it, leads Luther to give a prominence to the Sacramentarian controversy, which is frequently misapprehended. The controversy between himself and Zwingli, had been unfortunately aggravated by certain foreign matters which the latter introduced into his writings. Luther's aversion to his whole system and spirit, which he never attempted to conceal, and the causes of which were well understood by many of their contemporaries, by no means originated solely in doctrinal differences of an abstract nature. Of Luther's Christian tolerance, as distinct from an unhallowed indifference to soundness of doctrine, of his kind feelings towards brethren whose opinions differed from his own, when he discerned an evangelical spirit in them, and of his magnanimous conduct towards those who, in a Christian temper, attempted to refute his views, his relations towards Calvin, afford a beautiful demonstration. The latter had published a work on the Lord's Supper in French, in the year 1540, which appeared in 1545, in a Latin translation, nearly a year before Luther's death. The latter, who had with all the generosity of his large heart, long ago recognized the distinguished merits of Calvin, and valued his great work, the Institutes, read this later work with pleasure, although its doctrines differed widely from his own, lauded it as an evidence

of the learning and godly spirit of Calvin, and uttered, it is said, the remarkable words: "If Oekolampadius and Zwingli had originally declared their sentiments in such a manner, those protracted discussions in which we engaged, would never have occurred." Calvin reciprocated these kind sentiments, and revered Luther "as a distinguished apostle of Christ, through whose services and agency, at that period especially, the purity of the Gospel had been restored." (Herzog: Real Enc. II. 533. *art.* CALVIN.) Zwingli, on the contrary, freely indulged in personalities, of which it would be easy to furnish instances, and adopted a tone towards Luther, which no one could successfully attempt to justify. Even these personal assaults could have been easily endured, but Luther possessed greater treasures than mere personal dignity and fame; he valued the Gospel above all earthly objects—its doctrines had become so precious to his soul, the Redeemer, whom it had revealed to him, he adored with such fervor, and the Holy Eucharist, in which that Redeemer communicated his true body and blood to him, he regarded with such reverence, such profound gratitude to God, such holy, heavenly joy, that he trembled in dismay, when a profane hand touched those sacred objects. Earthen vessel as he knew himself to be, the "treasure" (2 Cor. 4: 7), the sound doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which God had entrusted to him, after fervent prayer, he did not dare to expose to derision—he could not suffer it to be dishonored, without a stern rebuke. Like the holy apostle Paul, he would have denounced even an "angel from heaven" (Gal. 1: 8), who should have attempted to preach any other save the true Gospel; when a cardinal doctrine of that Gospel, interwoven with that of the Person and work of the God-Man, Jesus Christ,—the doctrine of his "sacramental presence"—was contemptuously disowned, the sanctified spirit of the Reformer beheld such contempt of holy things with indignation. Could a "brother" in Christ —he might mournfully exclaim—*so* deal with conscientious, faithful people of God? Now Zwingli termed Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper a "pest," an "ungodly error," a "frivolous, an impious doctrine, &c." (Kahnis: Abendm. 352), condemned Luther and his associates as idolaters and carnivorous men, applied to them derisively the name of Thyestes, (whom Grecian mythology represented as having, unawares, eaten the flesh of his own son, served to him at a banquet by an enemy's hand—a scene so bloody and fearful, that the sun changed his usual course, refusing to behold it), and

scornfully spoke of their bread-God, &c. (de Wette III. 520). These heavy charges were not retracted, but, on the contrary, continually repeated, until Luther was fully convinced, that even as he could not fraternize with the fanatical Anabaptists, although they concurred with him in denying the pope's authority, so too, he could not fraternize with a man who seemed to him to wield a knife that pierced the very heart of the Gospel. The emphatic manner in which the Redeemer condemns the "hypocrite" (Luke 6 : 42), who thoughtlessly lavishes on another the term "brother," forgetful of its deep significance, arrested Luther's attention. Zwingli had not manifested the spirit or conduct which Luther was authorized to expect, and the latter was gradually taught to regard him as a man who had not yielded his whole soul to the sacred cause of truth. Hence he refrained, in God's presence, from applying the term "brother," in its deep Gospel sense, to Zwingli; his conscience taught him to regard such a use of it as a misapplication.

The Diet of Spires of 1529.

In the meantime, the Pope and the emperor had become reconciled, and had resolved to combine their efforts for the suppression of the evangelical faith. During the three years which had elapsed since the former diet in Spires, they had been unable to take public action on the question of religion. The work of the Reformation was proceeding prosperously; its success increased the animosity of the Catholics, in whom the improved political affairs of the empire now re-awakened a strong desire to adopt measures for arresting the march of the Gospel. Several diets had been appointed, but had either been adjourned, or adopted no decisive measures. At length the Catholic party believed that a favorable period for action had arrived; they could rely on a majority of votes; the members of the diet accordingly assembled in Spires in February, 1529. It was at this memorable diet that the events occurred which resulted in furnishing the evangelical members with the new designation of Protestants. We are reluctantly compelled to reserve for another article the special circumstances in which this term originated, as they are intimately connected with the origin of the Augsburg Confession; the latter subject we propose to sketch in its connection with public events, while we shall complete in this article the personal memoirs which we have commenced, of Philip and Zwingli.

The Marburg Colloquium, 1529.

In the autumn succeeding the diet of Spires, the Marburg Colloquium was held. The scenes which had recently occurred in Spires, seemed to justify Philip of Hesse in adhering to his political projects; the alliance with the Swiss, as an avenue to one with other powers, was indispensable. Now as the elector John and Luther were unfavorably disposed to that alliance, and the evangelical coalition was threatened with dissolution, Philip reasoned that, possibly, a personal interview between Luther and Zwingli, accompanied by their respective associates, might lead to an outward reconciliation of views. To him, any result, irrespectively of union in the faith, that would secure the military coöperation of John and the Swiss, would be welcome. Luther and Melanchthon consented, after much hesitation, to proceed to Marburg, but they could not sympathize with the landgrave. They had, with that exalted faith which guided them, deposited the cause of God in God's own hand, and did not desire the protection of the sword. The persistence of Philip in urging this measure of a conference, which originated in secular views, was painful to them. The objections which they entertained to a union with Zwingli and the Swiss, were not solely of a personal nature, neither were they, by any means, exclusively doctrinal in their character, and it is this peculiar fact which has so generally been overlooked. Thus even quite recently the stereotype lamentations called forth by Luther's supposed obstinacy in defeating the "noble and wise project of the Landgrave," have been again repeated, with distressing inaccuracy in "The Life of Luther, &c., by Arch-Deacon Hare."* The vital question to be discussed at Marburg, was: Shall we recognize the Swiss as "brethren?" The complicated political and religious affairs of the day, extorted an answer in the negative. But on what grounds could Luther and his associates justify a course apparently so uncharitable? Here they were embarrassed; the injunction of secrecy had not been removed—honor and duty compelled them to be silent. And yet even the gentle Melanchthon, who is usually spared when modern writers denounce Luther's conduct at Marburg,

* To the very valuable statement in the "Missionary" of January 14, 1858, by our learned friend, Dr. Lintner, of Schoharie, N. Y., which called our attention to this publication, we shall have occasion to advert in a succeeding article.

positively declared that he would rather be beaten to death than contract the stain of an alliance with the Zwinglians. Such extraordinary language on the part of intelligent, noble-minded and devout men like Luther and Melanchthon, such conduct, deliberately maintained with a good conscience, in God's own presence, on the part of men to whom he had granted an unusual measure of knowledge, faith and love, should have taught their judges of a later day, that wise and hallowed motives were doubtless the source of all. Their real difficulty is now apparent. If they formally recognized Zwingli and the Swiss as "brethren," they could scarcely object with propriety to an alliance with them for the defence of their common faith. But the ties which the Swiss had already formed, would involve the necessity, on the part of Luther's friend, the elector John, of recognizing as additional allies, several anti-papal, anti-imperial Catholic parties, as Venice and France, who were not trustworthy auxiliaries in Luther's warfare with "*spiritual* wickedness in high places" (Eph. 6 : 12). Now such an alliance would virtually amount to a secular rebellion against the emperor, the legal head of the empire, and the Gospel would become merely the cloak for a civil war, designed to gratify the hatred of the foreign enemies of the German Empire. (Lindner: Kgesch. II. 76, 78. Anm.) As patriots and Christians, Luther and Melanchthon recoiled from *such* a "brotherhood." Even the bigoted Jesuit, Maimbourg, confesses in his History of Lutheranism, that Luther declared to John: "The interests of religion ought to be defended, not by arms, but by arguments, Christian patience, and above all, by strong confidence in God." (Cyprian, p. 61). Ranke refers (III. 143) to the defeat of Philip's "political design" which he had in view, when he appointed this colloquium; but as an illustration of the statements here given, we quote from his more accessible work, the English translation of his "History of the Popes, &c.," where the connection of the whole may be found. Referring to a later period, when Philip and his ally, the popish king of France, (from whom the supplies of money came), restored the Duke of Wurtemberg, Ranke says: "Very singular was the combination resulting from the alliance, &c. Francis I. was then on terms of the best understanding with the Protestants, and now becoming so closely connected with the pope, he, to a certain degree, linked together the Protestants and the pope in one system. — — Who could have surmised it? At the moment the pope and the Protestants were pursuing

each other with the most implacable hatred, whilst they were waging a spiritual war against each other that filled the world with discord, they were on the other hand bound together by the like political interests." (pp. 50, 51).

Governed by a holy fear of such "entangling alliances," which were even more foul and dangerous than any against which our own Washington has so solemnly warned us, Luther and Melanchthon were bound in conscience to stifle, as far as God was pleased to give them an opportunity, the germs of a European war; it would have desolated their native country, gratified foreign papists, and yet not have rendered that aid to the Reformation which God alone could afford. When they reached Marburg, they gladly dispensed with the consideration of the political questions of the day, which really constituted one of their objections to the Swiss alliance, and acceded to the proposition that, as theologians, they should discuss theological subjects.* It is well known that a doctrinal agreement could not be effected. Of this result Luther had been previously aware; he could not recede from the doctrines of God's Word, and Zwingli withheld the concessions which were expected from him. Several of the contemporaries furnished narratives of the Marburg Colloquium; unfortunately, no regular minutes of the proceedings were taken on the spot, as Brentz, who was present, afterwards incidentally mentioned in a letter which is still preserved. The narratives that were published, were written from memory, as he remarks ("custode memoria.") From these imperfect statements, later authors have derived the information which is contained in the current church-historical works.† Kahnis, who relates the principal events (Abendm.

* The details of the Colloquium, as far as they refer to the celebrated Articles, usually, but erroneously, supposed to constitute very nearly the substance of the later and still more important Articles of the Augsburg Confession, we propose to reserve for a succeeding number of the Evangelical Review. We shall there, without again referring to the personal affairs of the Reformers, endeavor to give a succinct account of the mode in which that Confession was prepared, under the auspices of John the Constant, who was officially responsible for it.

† We do not, of course, quote from Merle D'Aubigne's romantic "History of the Reformation," as an authority. Independently of other circumstances, his anxiety to produce a dramatic effect, has, as it is well known, neutralized its value, to a considerable extent, as an historical work. That author's transition from a sincere admiration of Luther and his principles, to sentiments which are almost unkind to the Lutheran Church, seems to have commenced before he completed the fourth volume. Towards the end of Book XIII, he furnishes a very curious ac-

374) assigns a high value to the account which Scultetus (Reformed) gives of the discussions, while he exhibits Ebrard's account as unreliable, being derived chiefly from the narrative of Collin, who accompanied Zwingli to Marburg. It appears that this narrative is unintelligible in many places, and that it abounds in one-sided and unfair statements. One of the most interesting, impartial and satisfactory narratives, we find in Rudelbach's "Reformation, Luth. u. Un. p. 345—363. He appears to have had access to the most important documents which are known to refer to the subject. Ranke's

count of the Marburg Colloquium, as we might, indeed, expect, after perceiving that his authorities are almost exclusively the writings of Zwingli, and of those who were identified with the Zwinglian party. Even his biased eye, however, sees the "numerous secret conversations of Philip and Zwingli, with a view to the confederation of Switzerland and Germany," and he makes the remarkable confession, that "the Saxons were not less opposed to Zwingli's politics, than to his theology." Zwingli passed through Strasburg, with the magistrates of which city he had an interview on the subject of a more perfect organization of the confederacy. On his arrival at Marburg, the discussions commenced. By culling from Zwingli's letters, and elsewhere collecting words used at other times and in other places, D'Aubigne has constructed several dialogues, which he gravely presents as actual occurrences. The Lutheran interlocutors usually produce feeble arguments—sharp and direct words are assigned to Zwingli, and the whole theatrical atmosphere in which the scene is involved, is simply ridiculous. Thus, when Zwingli employed that well known rude expression in speaking to Luther: "This passage (John, ch. 6) breaks your neck," and when Luther very justly rebuked him for introducing language which he had learned during his camp-life, D'Aubigne represents Luther as comporting himself much like an angry, tale-bearing school-boy. Indeed, "emotions," "tears," &c. are very liberally distributed by the historian among his actors; he even converts anger into grief, and translates his own quotation: "indignissime affecti sunt," or gives its substance somewhat after the following manner: "their (the Swiss) hearts were ready to burst, &c." Adopting Hospinian's monstrous tale, that Philip became a convert to Zwingli's doctrine, and gravely inferring from a casual word of Zwingli, that Philip had beheld the firmness of Luther with indignation, he forgets to inform his reader that all these representations are diametrically opposed to the facts (Frick's Seckendorf, p. 977). Nevertheless, he regards it as a favorable circumstance that neither Luther nor Zwingli yielded, and thinks that great advantages resulted from the Colloquium. He can forgive Luther's "want of brotherly feeling, and his intolerance, in view of his essential qualities," for "in God's work," which he compares to a drama, "there are different parts." He announces it as his opinihn, in conclusion, that "Luther assumed the air of a conqueror, but Zwingli was so in reality." It is to be regretted that this work, which, we believe, is little esteemed in Europe, should have acquired such unbounded popularity in the United States. It is neither fiction nor history, but a somewhat sprightly religious tale, written by a Frenchman who gathered such materials as would, with a little superficial inquiry, and some effort of the fancy, furnish an entertaining book.

account (III. 138—143) is less full, but also deeply interesting. The details of the discussions, which alone would furnish matter for a long article, as they occupied three days (Oct. 1—3, 1529), we cannot here introduce. Melanchthon furnished two narratives, one for the elector John, and another for Duke Henry of Saxony. In the latter (Altenb. ed. of Luther's works, IV. 561), he remarks that after he had himself held a long discussion with Zwingli on Original Sin, the latter had consented to recede from his published statements. In the same volume (p. 757) Luther's own account is given, as it was introduced by him during the delivery of a course of sermons on the first chapter of Deuteronomy, commenced at Wittenberg, and resumed after his return from Marburg. "On the subject of original sin," he says, "we could not agree." Formally, an outward agreement was effected, but Luther saw with pain that it was only outward and formal. He adds that he had declined to form a "brotherhood" with Zwingli and his associates, that his refusal might possibly be misinterpreted, but that such a brotherhood under these circumstances, seemed to him to be equivalent to a denial of the faith. He prays that God may enlighten them, and concludes by saying that they had parted in amity, that he would gladly render them any office of love, and that he hoped that a brotherly spirit would yet prevail. He expresses similar sentiments of charity in the recital which he gives in a letter to Jacob Probst (de Wette IV. 26, Latin, and Altenb. ed. IV. 801, Germ.). Several other letters referring to the Colloquium, are collected by de Wette, III. 508, &c.

The disputants happily preserved their temper; all were governed by a strong desire for peace. Luther, who regarded harmony in important doctrinal principles, as an indispensable condition of union, proposed that the parties should respectively state their views of the principal doctrines of the Christian faith; to this course Zwingli decidedly objected. Luther's firmness prevailed. The doctrines of the Divinity of Christ, Original Sin, &c., were considered, and on these Zwingli and his friends assented to the Lutheran views, which have since been adopted by all evangelical Christians. But on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, an agreement could not be effected. It constituted the central point in Luther's doctrinal system; he was conscious that God had mercifully imparted rich treasures of truth to his soul, and assigned a great work to him; he could not betray Gospel truth for the

sake of an apparent or external union, which, originating in unfaithfulness to his Redeemer, never could enjoy the blessing of God. He was sorely distressed. Ardently as he desired union, a genuine union, founded on unity in the faith, he felt that Zwingli's whole spirit and character differed widely from his own, and he uttered the words which have since been so often misunderstood: "Ihr habt einen andern Geist denn wir, (Vos habetis alium spiritum, quam nos, de Wette, IV. 28)—*You have a different spirit from ours!*"—Was it not true? Did not Zwingli contemplate doctrinal truth from an entirely different point of view? Was he not actuated, in this whole effort to secure a union, as well by political as by religious considerations? Had he not been willing to retract or modify his views on the subject of Original Sin for expediency's sake, without being convinced, as Luther well perceived? And did he not thus commit an act of dishonesty, of which Luther could not have been guilty? His loose notions of human depravity, although temporarily veiled, all reappeared the next year in his Confession of Faith which he sent to the Diet of Augsburg, when the hope of uniting with Luther's friends had passed away. This temporizing policy, which taught him to express his doctrines according to the exigences of the times, in a cautious manner, "to throw the Gospel-net prudently," and to hope for the arrival of a more propitious season, when it would be safe to dispense with equivocating measures, and "to cut to the quick," he even avowed in a letter to Somius.* All these features in his character were unpleasant to Luther, and his pertinacious rejection of the doctrine of the Savior's sacramental presence in the Eucharist, wrung these words from the bleeding heart of Luther. At length it was proposed to unite on those points at least, on which the parties seemed to concur. Luther was commissioned to prepare articles of agreement; these were proposed, fifteen in number, and with one exception, they were unanimously adopted. Luther gave his hand to Zwingli before they parted,—"we gave him the right hand of peace and love"—and both pledged themselves to avoid thereafter all harsh language in their writings. To Luther's

* Zwinglii epist. ad Somium (Epistol. lib. IV. pag. 172, b): Scio, Te non latere, in Coena Domini nonnisi Sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi cibari, qui jam dudum spiritualiter cibati et saturi fuerint. Sed, ut dixi, mitius et cautius, quædam fuerunt proponenda, et evangelii rete prudenter jaciendum, quo majorem prædam referatis. Dabitur aliquando ad vivum resecandi omnia opportunitas." (Rudelbach, l. c. 363, note.)

letter to Agricola, stating these particulars, Melanchthon adds the following postscript: "They earnestly desired to be styled *brethren* by us. Observe their folly; while they condemn us, they desire us to consider them as our brethren. We were unwilling to assent to such a thing, &c." (de Wette III. 514). The Marburg Articles themselves, we propose to present in another article.

From Marburg Luther hastened to Schleiz, where he met John and the margrave George of Brandenburg. He convinced both that unity in the faith was essential to the vigorous action of any alliance which they proposed to form for the *defence* of religion, and that the blessing of God was of infinitely more value than any alliance with popish powers. The Marburg articles were recognized by them as a statement of doctrine to which they would rigidly adhere, and these constitute the basis of the Seventeen Articles, adopted at the Swabach Convention of October 16, 1529.

We have now sketchod a portion of the history of John's eventful reign. Although we seem to have permitted him to recede from our view, and to have given undue prominence to subordinate personages, the continuation of the narrative will show that Philip's movements, Zwingli's position, and the whole train of events which resulted in the composition of the Augsburg Confession, were materially influenced by the course which John adopted. Philip could not have cherished his ambitious projects, much less have labored to execute them, unless John had conscientiously adhered to his evangelical and anti-popish doctrines; Zwingli would have occupied a position for which he was not adapted, if John had not resolutely declined to ally himself with the Swiss, whose doctrines seemed to him to be incompatible with his own holy faith. If another had occupied his important political position, even his wise, but less resolute brother, Frederic, for instance, then events might have assumed a shape so different, that the Marburg Colloquium, the Schwabach convention, the diets of Spires, and the diet of Augsburg would possess no interest for Lutherans; the Augsburg Confession, which is the converging point of all these events, and which became the model of every later evangelical confession, might still be unwritten. But these events teach *that the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!*

In the next article we propose to resume the subject, and more distinctly exhibit John as a *Protestant* believer. We shall also endeavor to indicate the remarkable manner in

which Providence so guided the events to which we have already referred, that their combined influence ultimately furnished the Church with the Augsburg Confession—a creed, designed, in opposition to all the errors of the day, to state distinctly and emphatically the pure doctrines of God's holy Word.

ARTICLE IV.

CHRIST PREACHING TO THE SPIRITS IN PRISON.

"For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit: by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison; which sometime were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls were saved."—1 PETER 3: 18—21.

This passage of Scripture has always awakened in the mind of the Biblical Student, a deep interest, and has elicited various expositions. The interpretation which is generally adopted, and which seems most natural, is, that Christ by his Spirit, through the ministrations of Noah, proclaimed the message of salvation years ago, to the disobedient of that generation, whose disembodied spirits were then, in the days of the Apostle, confined in the prison of hell, suffering the just retribution of their continued and inflexible impenitence.

In opposition, however, to this interpretation, the dogma has been advanced that Christ, after his crucifixion, while his body yet lay in the tomb, went in spirit to the abode of the departed, and preached the Gospel to those who were held in punishment; "that as he revealed here on earth the will of God, unto the sons of men, and propounded himself as the object of their faith to the end, that whosoever believed in him should never die; so after death he showed himself unto the souls departed, that whosoever of them would yet accept of him, should pass from death unto life;" the Antediluvians being specially designated in the text, in consequence of the multitudes who at that period partook in that terrible destruction.

But let us examine the passage in detail, not for the purpose of advancing any new theory on the disputed question, but to present what we regard as the true meaning of the language employed by the Apostle.

The first expression that claims our attention is the ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ τῷ πνεύματι. We prefer rendering the phrase *quickened in the Spirit.* The words flesh and spirit are found in the original without any preposition, and are obviously employed as antithetic, the one being used in reference to his human nature, his incarnation, and the other in reference to some higher influence, his Divine nature, over which death could have no power. The word ζωοποιηθεὶς is defined *to make alive, to endue with life, to re-animate*, and is not employed, as is sometimes contended, in the sense of *keeping alive* or *maintaining alive.* The word occurs repeatedly in the New Testament. In 1 Tim. 6 : 13, των Θεοῦ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦντος it refers to God who giveth life to all his creatures. In John 5 : 21 τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ ζωοποιεῖ, it has reference to recalling the dead to life. In John 6 : 63 το πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ ζωοποιοῦν it refers to the life-giving power spiritually of the Holy Ghost, or of the doctrines of the Gospel. The meaning of the expression before us evidently is, *giving life* and *raising from the dead.* The Apostle presents to the mind Christ as he suffered and died in the flesh, then as he lay in the tomb, and subsequently his victory over the death, his resurrection from the grave, which is the great sealing fact of the Gospel. "If Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins: then they also which have fallen asleep in Christ, have perished." Τῳ πνεύματι has by different critics been referred to Christ's own soul, to the Holy Spirit, and to Christ's Divine nature. We think it certainly cannot refer to his own soul, because in the former clause of the passage, allusion is made to his human nature, including, of course, all that concerned him as a man, body and soul. His human nature could exert no influence, as such, in raising him from the dead, any more than another human soul. Nor is there reason, either from the text or the context, for introducing in this connexion, as the agent in raising the body of Christ, the third person of the glorious Trinity, for the work of raising the dead is not assigned in the word of God to this agency. His province is to enlighten, convert and sanctify the soul. The reference then is, doubtless, to his own Divine nature, his exalted, eternal spiritual nature, in contradistinction from his human nature.

The idea is that he was preserved alive, when his body died not with regard to his soul, but that he possessed some supernatural agency or power, which reanimated or quickened him when dead. This interpretation is in accordance with similar expressions in the sacred record. Paul, in Rom. 1: 3, 4, says: "Concerning his Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who was made of the seed of David, according to the flesh," i. e. his human nature; "and declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness," i. e. his Divine nature, "by the resurrection from the dead." So also Christ speaks concerning himself, in John 10: 17, 18, "I lay down my life, that I might take it again. No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself, I have power to lay it down and I have power to take it again." In Heb. 9: 14, we also read, that Christ offered himself for us *through the eternal Spirit.* The exposition then, of this phrase is, that Christ, as a human being, was put to death; with regard to the eternal essence of his own Divine nature, here designated spirit, he was restored to life. Although as a man he died, as the Son of God he was reanimated in his own Divine Spirit, and exalted to heaven, "to be the Head over all things to the Church." Εν ῳ, the Divine nature of the Son of God, that, by which he was reanimated after he had suffered death. The thought which Peter seems anxious to convey, is that the same spirit which was the instrument of his restoration to life, was that by which "he went and preached unto the spirits in prison."

The word φυλαχη, translated in the text *prison*, means properly, *watch, guard*; then the place where watch is kept, *custody, prison;* also as a *haunt of demons, a cage of unclean birds. Vide* Rev. 18: 2; Matt. 5: 28; Rev. 20: 7; 2 Cor. 6: 5; Heb. 11: 36. The reference here, without any doubt, is to confinement in the invisible world; the simple idea is that of persons bound fast, as it were, in a prison, a bottomless pit, the haunt of demons and a cage of the souls of wicked men. In opposition to this, we once heard a Divine of some eminence in the church, zealously maintain that the Apostle referred to the Roman soldiery on guard at the time of the crucifixion, to whom the Savior preached in his Spirit, while his body lay in the tomb. There is, however, nothing in the text to warrant this interpretation, which is altogether fanciful.

The phrase πορευθεις εκηρυξεν, rendered in the English version, *he went and preached,* has occasioned some difference

of opinion. It is supposed to favor the interpretation that Christ, after his crucifixion, preached to the departed spirits, who were then confined in the prison of eternal despair. But the language is not at all unnatural. Similar expressions are frequently found in the Scriptures. They occur in classic writers. They are often employed at the present day. The literal meaning is having gone he preached. The sense requires no special emphasis. The expression is pleonastic, and could easily be translated, *he preached*. In Gen. 11 : 5, we read, "The Lord *came down* to see the city and the tower." In Ex. 19 : 20, "The Lord *came down* upon Mount Sinai." In Num. 11 : 25, "The Lord *came down* in a cloud." In our addresses to the mercy seat, we often ask the Spirit, who is everywhere present, *to descend*, *to come down*, *to draw near* and bless us. To the Ephesians (2 : 17), who had never seen Christ in the flesh, Paul says that He "came and preached peace to them when" when they "were afar off," and to them that were nigh. Our Lord did not, however, personally declare the Gospel to them. He preached only by the Apostles. If Christ, then, is said by Paul to go and do what he did by the Apostles, with equal propriety may Peter speak of what He, who afterwards became incarnate, accomplished through the instrumentality of his faithful prophet, Noah. God spake by the prophets, the apostles, and holy men of old, and in a similar manner, now speaks to us the words of eternal life. It is, therefore, perfectly consistent that the sacred record should say that the Redeemer, the Lord of glory, whose proper habitation is heaven, even before his incarnation by his Spirit, went and preached unto the impenitent. No proof can be obtained from these words to indicate that he went, and in his own person, preached to the spirits in Sheol or hell. The Son of God had an existence long before Noah. He existed in the beginning, before the world was. He was the spiritual rock in the wilderness, from which the godly among the tribes drank. His Spirit was in the prophets of old (Peter 1 : 10). It was, therefore, altogether in keeping with the idea of the Apostle, to refer to Christ, the crucified and risen Redeemer, as having preached the Gospel in the time of God's long suffering, to those rebellious and obstinate spirits that are now confined in punishment for their persistent disobedience.

The word πνεῦματί clearly refers to the disembodied spirits now in prison. Peter knew that there were spirits, at the time he wrote, in prison, suffering for transgression against God, and

that to these identical spirits, when in the flesh, the message of salvation had been announced by the Son of God, through his righteous servant. The next verse explicitly declares that the spirits were those "who sometime were disobedient." There is no intimation given in the text, of a cessation of their rebellion at the time of the Apostle's speaking. He designates them as they were, when he penned his Epistle, a former race of men, distinguished for their perverse disobedience, and furnishing a striking illustration of the forbearance of God, under great provocation. The sense then is, that the will of God was made known to the inhabitants of the antediluvian world, who are now in the prison of the lost, where their worm dieth not and their fire is not quenched. God called them to repentance by the preaching of Noah, during the building of the ark. He waited on them one hundred and twenty years, but they continued in a state of incorrigible opposition, they resisted the earnest efforts made for their salvation, until a retributive justice overtook them, and they perished irrecoverably.

But the difficulty has been suggested, why is this digression respecting the deluge, if there be no reference to a mission of the Redeemer to the imprisoned spirits? To this we we reply that Peter's thoughts naturally turned to that most remarkable period in the history of the world, as a forcible exemplification of the position and danger of men at the time of his own preaching. They had revolted from God, just as the antediluvians had done. They too, were exposed to God's vindictive justice. A way of deliverance had been prepared, a plan of escape adopted, of which the ark built by Noah was a type. The same Spirit which had preached to the wicked and guilty generation in the days of Noah, was preaching in the days of the Apostles. If they, however, continued in their impenitent course, the same result awaited them. Two things, although distant in time, were closely associated together in Peter's mind. The flood of water reminded him of the flood of fire by which the world's final ruin is to be effected. "The end was at hand," and while Christians should not be reluctant to suffer for their Master, in imitation of his example, the impenitent, on the other hand, should hasten for safety; for the Spirit, while it might, through the long-suffering and forbearance of God, bear long with them, yet as then, so now, it would not always strive, and swift vengeance would be executed upon the ungodly, just as in the days of Noah.

We ask again, if Christ did, as is by some maintained, after his crucifixion, preach the glad tidings of redemption to those who were in hell, why is there no allusion to this Divine mission by the other sacred writers? This is the only passage in the Bible claimed by the advocates of the dogma. There is no parallel text, no other testimony, direct or indirect, adduced as teaching the doctrine. Paul in 1 Tim. 3: 16, details with great minuteness, the mystery of godliness and its results, but he introduces no reference to a mission of the Savior to the abode of departed spirits. "God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed in the world, received up into glory." A work so extraordinary, if assumed, would certainly not have been passed over in silence by the other writers of the New Testament. The sentiment which the Apostle here clearly teaches, by the inspiration of the Spirit, is that the antediluvians were exceedingly sinful, their crimes were of a most heinous character. In his second Epistle (2: 4, 5) he classes them among the "angels that sinned," whom "God spared not," but "cast down to hell, and delivered unto chains of darkness to be reserved unto judgment." He connects them with the Sodomites and the inhabitants of Gomorrah, and calls them ungodly. In a subsequent verse, he remarks that "the Lord knoweth how to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished." All the representations of the Bible lead us to suppose that the eternal destiny of the soul after death, is forever fixed; if a man dies in an impenitent state, unreconciled to God, the offers of mercy will never be extended to him. The Gospel will never be preached to the lost. As the tree falleth, so it lies. The sentence has been irrevocably pronounced, "He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still."

The argument of the Apstle, in the passage, then is, that Christians should not be discouraged in their Christian course by the trials and sufferings which they were called to encounter in consequence of their attachment to the principles of the Gospel. It was their duty to exercise patience and long-suffering. It was better, if the will of God be so, that they suffer for well doing than for evil doing; that no permanent evil could happen them, on account of their trials and sufferings. In illustration of this fact he cites the sufferings of Christ, who suffered though he was innocent, the just for the

unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, though he had done no wrong, that he might bring us to God. The point, in reference to which he would especially remind them, was that, in this case, the sufferer ultimately sustained no injury, in regard to his great work, from the trials which he experienced. Though he endured the most excruciating sufferings, even the ignominious death of the cross, yet he was quickened in the Spirit; by which same Spirit he once, in an age of great wickedness, for a long period, even one hundred and twenty years, during the time the ark was in process of preparation, preached in the person of his representative, to those unhappy individuals, perverse offenders, who were finally destroyed, and are now confined in the bondage of an everlasting prison. The salvation of those eight persons, mentioned in the text, was the result of Divine grace, which is now exhibited in our deliverance from the greater wrath to come, threatened upon the finally impenitent. We should exercise patience when opposed in our efforts to serve God and to do good. As Christ ultimately triumphed, so shall we, in like manner, be victorious over all our foes, and may hope to triumph in heaven with our once crucified and buried, but now risen and exalted Redeemer.

ARTICLE V.

Mormonism the great Crater for the Fanaticism of all ages; the most stupendous fraud of the nineteenth century. Its origin, progress, present condition, and its future prospects. The duty of the Church in reference to it.

1. *The Book of Mormon, an account written by the hand of Mormoni upon plates taken from the Plates of Nephi. Translated by Joseph Smith, Jun. Third European Edition Stereotyped. Liverpool: Published by F. D. Richards, 15 Wiston Street. London: Sold at the Latter Day Saints' Book Depot, No. 35 Jewin Street, and by all Booksellers.*—1852.
2. *Lieut. J. W. Gunnison's History of the Mormons after a two years residence as a Government Officer in Utah. Philadelphia.*—1854.
3. *Utah and the Mormons.* By Benjamin Ferris, late Secretary of Utah Territory.

4. *Mormonism—its leaders and designs.* By John Hyde, Jun., formerly a resident of Salt Lake City, and an Elder in the Church of Latter Day Saints.—1856.

By Rev. R. Weiser, President of Central College of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa.

When Mormonism first presented itself to the American people, in 1830, it was regarded by all intelligent men as one of the many fanciful religious vagaries that have sprung from the overheated brain of some one of the many theological madcaps that figured so plentifully about that time in Western New York. When the Golden Bible was first announced, and when the name of Joe Smith, of Palmyra, was associated with it, it was considered too ridiculous for serious refutation. The Book of Mormon itself, laying no claim whatever to a Divine origin, and bearing on every page the most incontestable evidences of human imperfection, in its gross historical, chronological, and theological errors, no serious mind could ever conceive how even the most ignorant and deluded fanatic could ever look upon as an inspired volume! But alas! for the vagaries and contortions of the human mind. The Book of Mormon is now regarded as an inspired Book, by perhaps not far from half a million of, (we dare not say rational and intelligent) but immortal and accountable human beings. It has been published by tens of thousands, in different languages and different countries. Such a Book, and the wild and fearful fanaticism it has produced and fostered, may well claim the attention, and elicit the earnest thoughtfulness of all intelligent Christians. It is one of those great moral and intellectual problems, that have not yet been solved. Its history will be an episode in the history of the Church, tragic and farcical indeed, in detail, but nevertheless highly dramatic as a whole.

Mormonism may be looked upon as fanaticism regularly organized, fully ranked, filed disciplined, and equipped. It has, therefore, as an element of great evil, great advantages over all preceding forms of fanaticism. The fanaticism of the earliest ages of Christianity was lame, and loose, and disjointed, when compared to it The fanaticism of the dark ages was unorganized, and therefore weak and impotent. The fanaticism of the pillar saints and the hermits, was altogether spiritual and intellectual; it was isolated and stood by itself, and each poor hermit carried his peculiar form of fanaticism with him to the grave, and there it ended. The fanaticism of the Crusaders was rather a military than a reli-

gious outburst, and lost its life on the well-fought battle-fields of the Holy Land. The wild and fearful fanaticism of Germany in the sixteenth century, had its origin in the bosom of the Romish Church, and may very properly be called the fanaticism of the stomach, for it was a "*Tumultus Rusticorum*," a rising up of the laboring classes. The Romanists have charged these fanatical outbursts in Germany to the influence of Lutheranism. But this is false. Lutheranism has never produced fanaticism, and it never will; it always has been, and is now, the stern and uncompromising enemy of fanaticism. When Luther, in 1517, published his famous ninety-five theses, for some five or six years the heart of Germany was stirred to its very core. Men who before scarcely knew that they were men, began to act, and to think for themselves. This was the time of upheaving and overturning; all the old landmarks were demolished; there was a new creation in the mind of Germany. Between the periods, when the Romish Church lost her influence over the public mind, and until the Protestant religion had fully acquired the ascendancy, there was a kind of ecclesiastical *hiatus*—a frightful moral chasm. The Reformation never could have been brought about, without producing such a moral and intellectual fissure. Nicholas Hausman, a most holy and godly man, concerning whom Luther says, "What we preach, he lives," was the first Lutheran pastor who was pestered with fanatics. Nicholas Storch, Thomas Münzer, Mark Stubner, and Markus Thomas, were all members of his church at Zwickau. These men, like the Mormons, supposed themselves inspired from above. When Luther heard of this outbreak of fanaticism, he said: "I always expected that Satan would send us this plague." Poor Cellarius, one of the Divines at Wittenberg, along with the unstable Carlstadt, caught the infection.

While Luther was a prisoner at Wartburg, through the influence of Carlstadt and Cellarius, fanaticism spread through all Wittenberg liks wildfire. The Bible was thrust aside, and all sought aid from above. He returned to Wittenberg after an absence of nearly one year, on the 7th of March, 1522, and immediately set to work on the fanatical prophets. This was perhaps the turning point—the great crisis in the Reformation—had not Luther been firm in his opposition to a wild and miserable fanaticism, the work of the Reformation would have been blasted, even in the bud. But thank God, he took a stand against it, and good sound sense and reason prevailed.

Cellarius and Stubner challenged Luther to meet them in debate—he met them. When the fanatics found they could do nothing with the Reformer, they shouted out loudly, "*The spirit, the spirit!*" Luther replied by hurling one of those withering thunderbolts of sarcasm at them: "*I will break the snout of your spirit.*" Luther in this, as in every other conflict, triumphed, and the church was safe. In 1525 Luther published his address against the "*Celestial Prophets.*" The same year he published an "*Address to the people at Antorf, to guard against the influence of the fanaticism that was everywhere raging around.*" This latter address would be as good a refutation of Mormonism, as could be produced. Look at his withering denunciation of the leaders of those poor deluded souls; he says, "May God have mercy; and again may God have mercy upon those accursed false prophets who lead those poor and ignorant wretches into such destructive errors, they will destroy soul and body! For be ye well assured that he who dies in this war, will die a traitor to his God and country. Yes, they will perish as traitors, robbers, murderers and blasphemers. Those leaders are not our brethren, but wicked devils." But the poor miserable fanatics would not listen to Luther—they met the army of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, at Mülhausen, May 15, 1525. At their head was Thomas Münzer, who looked to God for help; until, according to Dr. Sartorius, more than five thousand poor deluded wretches lay dead on the battle-field! So we fear it will be with the Mormons. When Münzer was executed, fanaticism had no head, and died. But Mormonism is like the monster of heathen mythology; if you cut off one head, another immediately springs from the trunk.

The Book of Mormon does not teach many of the errors of their system, hence they resort to other sources for confirmation of their doctrines. They have creeds and confessions in abundance; the following are considered their symbolical books, viz: 1. The Bible. 2. The Book of Mormon. 3. The Doctrines and Covenants. 4. The Voice of Warning. 5. The Gospel Reflector. 6. The Times and Seasons. 7. The Millennial Star. 8. The Writings of Joseph Smith the Seer. 9. The Writings of Parley P. Pratt. 10. The General Epistles of the Presidency in Deseret. The Book of Mormon teaches nothing in particular, it is a poor, thoughtless, sapless, empty thing. One can hardly summon up courage enough to read it through. It is no book of instruction.

Don Quixotte teaches more morality, and Gil Blas more wisdom. Its origin is this. In 1813 a Presbyterian Clergyman, by the name of Solomon Spaulding, who lived in Ohio, lost his health, and to while away his time, he wrote this book, and called it the "lost manuscript." It is unique and original. No man, whether Christian, Mohammedan, or heathen, would accuse him of plagiarism. It has no merits whatever. The following are its contents: 1. The first Book of Nephi. 2. The second Book of Nephi. 3. The Book of Jacob. 4. The Book of Enos. 5. The Book of Jarom. 6. The words of Mormon. 7. The Book of Mosiah. 8. The Book of Alma. 9. The Book of Helaman. 10. The Book of Nephi, the son of Nephi. 11. The Book of Mormon. 12. The Book of Esther. 13. The Book of Moroni. 14. The second epistle of Mormon to his son Moroni. This is the Book of Mormon. Mr. Spaulding took the manuscript to Pittsburg to a Mr. Lumsdon, to have it printed. There are gentlemen still living who saw the manuscript. Mr. Spaulding died, and the manuscript was returned to his wife, who removed to Palmyra, New York. It fell into Joe Smith's hands in 1819, no one knows how! About this time a great noise was made about a golden Bible that should have been found in Canada. This first suggested the idea to Joe Smith of getting up a new Bible. Joe Smith was a low, ignorant and vicious fellow—he was born in 1805, of very ignorant and superstitious parents—he had very little education, and no piety. He was withal, lazy, and spent most of his time in hunting money and lost treasures. He had quite a reputation in this line. About this time there were great revivals of religion in western New York. Joe caught the contagion, and in due time professed to be converted. Save the mark! There is no evidence that he was, at any time, even a decent, outwardly moral man. His fanaticism appears in his manner of conversion—he saw a vision.

Smith had a very limited education, but he had a large share of low cunning and sensuality. In one of those religious transports, so common among fanatics, he had a vision; an angel appeared to him, and informed him that he was to be the founder of a new church; this was in 1823. But Smith did not, as he himself informs us, get into full possession of the golden plates till about 1826. The reasons for this delay are very obvious; the people were not yet prepared for so glaring an imposture. Sidney Rigdon, a Campbellite preacher, a man of some considerable natural ability, acted an im-

portant part in this great imposture; it was through him that the church of the Latter day Saints received that baptistic bias which has always prevailed in it. There can be no doubt in reference to the fact that Joe Smith and Sidney Rigdon had some kind of ancient plates, with curious figures inscribed upon them. These plates were submitted for examination to Prof. Anthon, of New York, and pronounced by him to be old Indian glyphs, the remains of either the Aboriginal settlers of this country, or perhaps the records of the Northmen of a later period, who are known to have visited this country more than a thousand years ago. These plates are made of copper, and some of the same kind are now in the Museum at Cincinnati; they were taken from Indian mounds in Pike County, Illinois, in 1843. This is an important fact, and should go far in convincing the deluded dupes of Mormonism that there is nothing divine in old and curious plates, with strange and unreadable figures upon them.

Joe Smith and Sidney Rigdon were in possession of the golden plates and the manuscript of Spaulding for several years; they saw that something could be made out of these two curious things. The golden plates were, in themselves, very remarkable, both in their shape and figures, and mysterious in their origin. The manuscript of Spaulding had all the spice and aroma of Biblical antiquity about it. It had the genuine language of the Bible, many of its set phrases, and professed to give an account of the lost tribes of Israel, a fact taught in the Bible, and quoted largely from the Bible, as we see in the Book of Nephi. In this Book nearly all the acts and sayings of our blessed Savior are recounted. But we will afterwards furnish a full account of the contents of the Book of Mormon. We merely wish now to show the readers why Smith and Rigdon connected the golden plates with Spaulding's manuscript. Rigdon was a great fiery revival preacher, a man of great energy and eloquence; he could throw a whole community of ignorant people into convulsions, and Smith, though a vile sensualist, had the reputation of great sanctity. The thing seems to have been made out between them; Smith was to be the Mohammed of the party, and Rigdon was to become the first convert to the new doctrines. Orson Pratt, one of the leaders of Mormonism, who was shot but a short time since, for seducing another man's wife in Texas, gives the following account of their Bible:—"These records were engraved on plates which had the appearance of gold. Each plate was not far from seven by

eight inches in width and length, being not quite as thick as common tin. They were filled on both sides with engravings in Egyptian characters, and bound together in a volume, like the leaves of a book, and fastened at one edge with three rings running through the whole. The volume was near six inches thick, a part of which was sealed. The characters of the unsealed part were small, and beautifully engraved. With the records was found a curious instrument, which was called the Urim and Thummim, which consisted of two transparent stones, clear as crystal, set in the two rims of a bow. This was used in ancient times, by persons called seers. It was an instrument, by the use of which, they received revelations of things distant, or of things past or future. I need not inform the intelligent reader that this whole story is one of the links in this chain of imposition. When the whole conspiracy against common sense was fully matured by Smith and Rigdon, Smith began to talk about the golden plates—the people had been wrought into a high state of religious excitement—they were prepared for a new revelation. The golden Bible was talked about everywhere, all were anxious to see it. The poor deluded rustics besought Smith in droves to let them see the wonderful book. The news spread like wildfire, far and near, that a new Bible was found. Everybody was anxious to see it; Smith and Rigdon fanned this flame. Some few of the more ignorant were permitted to see this precious treasure, but no unsanctified hands were permitted to touch it. Things moved on quietly for some time at Palmyra. At length, in 1827, the excitement about the new Bible, and perhaps the great contempt of the citizens of Palmyra for Joe Smith, grew into a perfect frenzy—a mob was collected, Joe Smith's house was beset. So great was the excitement and clamor against Smith, that the civil authorities had to be called into requisition. He left for Pennsylvania, but before he left, he hid the golden plates in a barrel of beans on his garret. He came to Tioga County, on the Susquehanna, where his Father-in-law and Sidney Rigdon lived. The time had now come for the translation of those mysterious plates into English. But alas! Joe was not able to write even the English language correctly. What now was to be done? Rigdon dare not take part in this work—he was to be the first witness. In that part of the country lived a school-master, who was a pretty good English scholar, and withal, a very credulous and superstitious character. His name was Oliver Cowdry. Smith became acquainted with

him, and found that he was ripe for his purposes. He was employed as Smith's amanuensis, and afterwards this same Cowdry became one of the witnesses to the verity of the Book of Mormon. The work was thus carried on; Smith stationed himself behind a screen, and looked through the "Urim and Thummim," as he called his curious contrivance, apparently at the golden plates, but in reality at Spaulding's manuscript, which he kept in his hat, so that Cowdry could not see the trick. This work went on during the leisure hours of Cowdry, for several years. According to the dogmatic history of the Mormon theologians, on the 15th of May, 1829, John the Baptist, (whether with, or without his head, the Mormon Chronicles say not) appeared and laid hands on Joe Smith and Oliver Cowdry, and ordained them both into the Aaronic priesthood, and commanded them to baptize each other by immersion, which they accordingly did.

The Book of Mormon was now ready for the press, but how was it to be printed? Smith was poor, and Cowdry had nothing to spare, and without money it could not be published. But Smith was a shrewd, wily fellow. There was an old man in the neighborhood, who had been originally a Quaker, but for want of stability, he had passed through the whole grinding apparatus of sectarianism, and had, in turn, been a Baptist, a Methodist, a Presbyterian, and was now fully prepared to become a disciple of Joe Smith. He was a man of some property. Smith told him all about the golden Bible; he was charmed and delighted with the great discovery; it was food for his strong imagination and his insatiable credulity. He was exceedingly anxious to see this great revelation, but Smith was too cunning to show it to him. He informed him that the ground whereon they stood was not holy enough, but he wrote some of the curious characters on a piece of paper, and gave that to Martin Harris, for that was his name. But although Harris was a confirmed religious fanatic, and had an immense amount of credulity, yet he was close in his dealings, and sharp in a bargain. Smith wanted money, and Harris wanted an equivalent. He took the paper containing the curious characters to New York, and showed them to Professor Anthon, who pronounced the whole thing an unmitigated humbug. But what has sense or reason to do with fanaticism? Luther could do nothing with Carlstadt's fanatical congregation at Orlamünd. When he attempted to teach them religion, they told him to his face that they had forgotten more than he ever knew. They were

ready to stone him, and told him to be gone in the name of the Devil, and very graciously hoped that he would break his neck before he would reach home. This was the spirit of fanaticism then; it is the same now. The disciples of Muncer, Stubner and Carlstadt, were the Mormons of the Reformation. But to proceed, the opinion of Professor Anthon only confirmed Harris that the thing was from God, and he accordingly furnished the funds to have the Golden Bible published.

The Book of Mormon was first published in 1830. The following preface shows us its origin, according to the Mormon Theology: "The Book of Mormon contains the history of the ancient inhabitants of America, who were a branch of the house of Israel, of the tribe of Joseph, of whom the Indians are still a remnant, but the principal nation having fallen in battle in the fourth or fifth century, one of their prophets, whose name was Mormon, saw fit to make an abridgment of their history, their prophecies and their doctrines, which he engraved on plates, and afterwards being slain, the records fell into the hands of his son Moroni, who being hunted by his enemies, was directed to deposit it safely in the earth, with a promise from God that it should be preserved, and should be brought to light in the latter days, by means of a gentile nation, who should possess the land. The deposit was made about the year A. D. 420, on a hill called Cumora, now in Ontario County, New York, where it was preserved in safety, until it was brought to light by no less than the ministry of angels, and translated by inspiration; and the Great Jehovah bare record of the same to chosen witnesses, who declare it to the world." Thus strongly do those unblushing impostors claim a divine origin for their miserable system. And should not intelligent Christians examine those high and lofty pretensions? Has not the church too long neglected her duty in reference to this enormous evil? Here then is the foundation of Mormonism, unquestionably the most stupendous religious fraud ever perpetrated in any age of the world. From this period, 1830, we may date the Church of the Latter Day Saints. The origin and progress of Mormonism near the middle of the nineteenth century, in a land of Bibles, and Sabbath Schools, and Churches; in a land where there are twenty-five thousand churches, and more than twenty thousand ministers, and nearly two hundred religious papers and periodicals, may well challenge our scrutiny. And what hath Mormonism done during the twenty-

eight years of its existence? Must we not blush at the degradation of poor fallen perverted human nature? The Mormon papers claim no less than five hundred thousand converts in the world in 1858. They claim three hundred thousand, more or less, in the United States, and two hundred thousand in Europe, Asia, and the Isles of the sea. They have their elders now preaching in almost every land under the heavens. They go out with the zeal of ancient martyrs, to comfort the disciples of the false prophet, even at the very doors of the mosque, and argue with the priests of Brahma under the shadow of the pagoda. They are found on the burning sands of Australia, and amid the snows of Norway. Christians (by name), Jews, Mohammedans and Pagans, become converts to the Book of Mormon. In a late Mormon paper they claim more than two thousand members of their church on the Sandwich Islands, and are now publishing a paper there. Elder Snow, said to be the best educated man among them, and who was formerly a prominent lawyer in New York, is now sounding the Mormon trumpet in Australia. They have preachers in Russia—in every country in Europe, on the Island of Malta, in Hindoostan, and in Persia. And yet some of our Divines think and say we must not employ the pen to write against so gross an absurdity.

But to proceed with its history. In 1830 the first regular Mormon church was established at Ontario, New York, but Joe Smith was too well known at that place, and he could make little or no impression. The year following he moved to Kirtland, Ohio, where he met with more success. He only remained here a short time, but long enough to be satisfied that his imposition had succeeded, even far beyond his most sanguine expectations. About this time Joe Smith professed to have received communications from heaven that he should remove to Missouri, but not until he had learned that the location was desirable, and that land was good and cheap. The saints now numbered some twelve hundred. They remained in Jackson County, Missouri, until 1835, when the people of Missouri became satisfied that instead of being pious and industrious citizens, as they had hoped to find them, they turned out to be idle and vicious, ignorant and clannish, and governed by the will of one man, the most unprincipled among them. When the people saw these things, they expelled them from their country, as a matter of self-protection. In 1836 Joe Smith, fearing the wrath of an incensed community, and not feeling himself strong enough to make resistance,

led his deluded followers to Clay County, Missouri, where they remained but a short time, for in the fall of the same year, 1836, they removed to Caldwell County, Missouri. Here they continued four years. It was in Missouri that their arrogance first aroused the ire of the community. The organ of their church became obnoxious to the gentiles, the gentiles not having the fear of the Mormons before their eyes, rose up *en masse*, and laid sacriligeous hands upon two of the saints, and tarred and feathered them. Their press was destroyed, and also the house which contained it was demolished. The Mormons now lustily raised the hue and cry that they were persecuted for righteousness sake. This gave them great consideration abroad. Thousands flocked to their standard. In 1840 they were driven from Missouri. They then located in Illinois, at Nauvoo. This is a place of commanding beauty, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi river, fifteen miles above Keokuk, at the head of the lower rapids. The country around is very fertile. If the Mormons had not been wicked and ignorant fanatics, here they might have remained, and prospered as a community. They numbered sixteen thousand in 1841, and Nauvoo, next to St. Louis, was the largest city on the upper Mississippi. Joe Smith was now master of sixteen thousand souls. No opposition dared be offered to his will. Hs was, as we have stated, licentious and immoral in the extreme; he sought only the gratification of his lusts and appetites. He was not only selfish and profane, but revengeful and brutal. One who knew him well, and was under his authority at Nauvoo for years, and who left the Mormons in disgust, informed me that Joe Smith was a very incarnate fiend—a man of good strong mind, but of ungovernable passions, and implacable towards his enemies. In 1840 he organized his club of midnight assassins, called the Danites; their motto was, submission or death; their standards bore the inscription: "The sword of Gideon and the Lord."

Smith now occupied a proud eminence, having been elevated from the lowest walks of life, even from circumstances almost verging on beggary, to a life of opulence and luxury, he became proud and haughty; his inflation and arrogance knew no bounds. He found himself surrounded by sixteen thousand men and women, who considered him an angel of God—as one who had constant intercourse with God, and who could do no wrong. His power was unlimited, his lust and ambition unbounded. In 1841 the Temple at Nauvoo

was commenced. In 1842 Joe Smith seems first to have caught the idea of introducing polygamy. This abhorrent doctrine was the legitimate offspring of his sensuality. The doctrine is not even found in the Book of Mormon, which is an evidence that Joe did not originally contemplate so great an enormity. Success seems to have made him even a worse man than he was at the commencement of his career. He seems to have been aware that in introducing this subject, he was on dangerous ground. For there were still some honest and moral men among his followers, and he feared their influence. Hence he spoke of this thing at first very cautiously. He informed some of his principal men that he had received a revelation from the Lord, but he dare not make it known; for some time he refused to tell them what it was. At length, after much importunity, he made it known. It was a revelation from God, and how could the church reject it? He immediately carried into practice the new doctrine. Brigham Young followed his example; so did H. C. Kimball and all the other leaders, except Hiram Smith, Joe's brother. Joe Smith became more and more licentious and arrogant every day, until his insolence, and the wickedness of his people, could no longer be endured. About this time, too, the Mormons nominated Joe Smith as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. He also had a bank of issue in Nauvoo, and having formed the Nauvoo Legion, and being appointed Lieutenant General by the Legislature, he surrounded himself with a splendid staff of officers. His community was exceedingly prosperous, and thousands were flocking to his standard. No wonder he became vain and ambitious. In 1844, however, the conduct of Smith and his deluded followers became exceedingly obnoxious to the people of Illinois. Nauvoo was now a large and populous city; the surrounding country had to supply the wants of the citizens. It was a place of considerable trade. Frequent difficulties occurred between the Mormons and their neighbors, a number of suits were instituted, and no matter what were the merits of the case, the Mormons always succeeded; then, too, the Mormons became bolder and bolder; they stole a large number of cattle, &c., from the neighbors, and at length even went out into the country and drove the cattle away from the farmers before their eyes, and when they lodged complaint, there was no remedy for the sufferers. About this time, in the spring of 1844, a circumstance occurred, which shows the true char-

acter of Joe Smith, and which had an important bearing on the future destiny of Mormonism, and we will therefore give it entire. Dr. Foster, a leading Mormon of Nauvoo, who although, like the rest of his fellow-citizens, a deluded fanatic, yet retaining some of the moral principles of Christianity, regarded with great abhorrence the recently promulgated doctrines of polygamy. He did everything he could to oppose its introduction. Smith, it appears, had marked Dr. Foster's wife for his prey. She was a very handsome and accomplished lady, and Smith attempted to seduce her. A trial was the result. This trial was held before the Municipal Court of Nauvoo. Foster was the plaintiff, and Joe Smith defendant. The thing produced great excitement among the Mormons, but as Joe Smith was Judge of this Court, as Mayor of the city, the indictment was nullified, but not until after many startling developments had been made.

When Dr. Foster found that justice could not be reached in the court, he, aided by other prominent Mormons, established a paper for the express purpose of breaking down Joe Smith. But they could accomplish nothing; the people were too much under his diabolical influence. Smith was not the man to submit to such an insult in his own dominions. Knowing the devotion of his followers to him, and seeing the absolute necessity of some bold step, he convoked the city council, and had Foster's paper at once condemned as a nuisance, and forthwith ordered the City Marshal (a gentleman with whom I am well acquainted, and who gave me an account of this transaction) to abate this great nuisance at once. The Marshal raised a force, consisting mostly of the Danites, entered the house, destroyed the press, and levelled the house to the ground. Foster, and those who sided with him, had to make a precipitate escape for their lives. They sought the protection of the civil authorities at Carthage, the seat of Justice of Hancock County. The citizens of the county, having borne with the insolence and rapacity of the Mormons until forbearance was no longer a virtue, were just waiting for a pretext to let loose the dogs of war upon them. Here there was not only a pretext, but also a cause for the interference of the law. A warrant was issued for the arrest of Joe Smith, and others of his party, and put into the hands of the Sheriff. The officer went to Nauvoo to serve the warrant, but Joe Smith not recognizing the civil authorities of Hancock County, as having any jurisdiction over him, ex-

pelled the officer from Nauvoo. The Sheriff called upon the militia of the county to assist him in the execution of his warrant. The whole community at once ran to his assistance. The people of Hancock County had many old scores to settle with the prophet and his deluded and immoral dupes. When the Sheriff with his force arrived, they found the Nauvoo Legion, and all the Mormons, ready to receive them; the commanders of the militia not being as well equipped as the Mormons, called upon the Governor of the State for more militia. The Governor, anxious to avoid the shedding of blood, repaired in person to the city of Nauvoo. But the Mormons paid as little attention to the State, as they had to the county officers. This was the second great collision between the Mormons and the established laws of the land. The two parties never came into open conflict; if there had been a battle, such was the hatred of the people against those miserable fanatics, that they would have been extirpated. But their time had not yet come. When Smith saw that he was completely surrounded by immense numbers of deeply excited and outraged people, his heart failed him, and to save his own worthless life, he agreed to surrender to the Governor, on condition that he would protect him and his brother Hiram, as well as other prominent Mormons. The Governor agreed to do so, and had them lodged in the county jail at Carthage. This was the only thing he could do for them. The army was disbanded, and peace seemed to be restored, but on the evening of the 27th of June, 1844, a party of some two hundred men, in disguise, with blackened faces, and grotesque garments, such as fur coats, Indian hunting-shirts, and raccoon skin caps, and armed with guns, pistols and swords, forced the prison doors. The prison officers resisted their ingress, and the prisoners also defended themselves, but all in vain; they entered, and in the melee Joe Smith was shot, being pierced by five balls, showing very clearly that he, and he alone, was the object of revenge. Some of those disguised men are supposed to have been disaffected Mormons; Dr. Foster and others, whose homes had been blighted and blasted by the sensuality of this monster of iniquity, were perhaps among the number.

Joe Smith was dead, but Mormonism still lived; it had not yet run its career of sin and folly. Mormonism is the concentrated and organized fanaticism of the nineteenth century, and it could, therefore, not die out with Joe Smith. Its mission for evil was not yet accomplished. Like the fanaticism

of the Crusaders, it seems to have a work to do, and like that outburst of religious zeal, it must have at least three noted pitched battles, and then its career will end. It has had two conflicts, one at Jackson County, Missouri, one at Nauvoo, and the third and last will be at Salt Lake City, where, it is hoped, an end will be made of this enormous system of fraud and violence. But more of this. When the news of Smith's death reached Nauvoo, the saints were filled with dismay; sorrow and sadness were seen in every countenance; all the bright hopes of those deluded fanatics were blasted. Many had hoped for an earthly Paradise in Nauvoo. Some had come from Europe, and all had freely given their funds into Joe Smith's hands. They were now poor, and many thought the bubble was exploded. But there was one man there who had a stout and brave heart; a heart that beat in perfect unison with Mormonism; a man of more nerve, more intellect, and better education, but in every other respect, except the prestige of his name, equal to Joe Smith. This man was Brigham Young, who now figures so conspicuously at Salt Lake City. After much excitement, and many internal conflicts among the Mormons, Brigham Young was elected President on the 7th of October, 1844. Peace and order were soon restored within, though quiet could not be restored without. The people of Hancock County were so disgusted with the Mormon insolence and immoralities, that they were determined to banish them from their territory. The conviction increased from day to day among the people, that Mormonism and Christian civilization, in any land, were incompatible, and could not, therefore, occupy the same territory. Brigham Young, too, had penetration enough to see that Mormonism could not live in a civilized country, and that if Mormonism would ever be permitted to carry out its dark, vicious and enormous schemes of wickedness, it must go beyond the boundaries of civilization. Some enterprizing Mormon leaders were sent out towards the Rocky Mountains. They beheld the beautiful valley of the Great Salt Lake, and the Lord revealed to Brigham Young, as he said, the necessity of removing thither. Nor was it a difficult matter to prevail upon the Mormons to remove. They all saw clearly that they could not remain in Illinois, although much sympathy had been awakened in their behalf, in consequence of the persecutions they had suffered, yet the great mass of our citizens did not consider it persecution, when a set of insolent, lawless vagabonds, were punished for violating every

law of decency, and of the land, and of God. The outward pressure became so great too, that they could not endure it any longer. They had broken every tie that bound them to their country, their homee and their kindred; they had acquired nomadic habits, and in their wild visions they looked for some earthly paradise. Many of them had been men of property, and had invested their all in Nauvoo Bank stock, or in real estate; now they must leave everything behind. Truth compels us to state that, in respect to their property in Nauvoo, they were treated badly. The laws should have protected their rights.

In February, 1846, the weather being very cold, two thousand Mormons crossed the Mississippi River on the ice, and commenced their weary pilgrimage towards the land of promise. No one that has never spent a winter in the North West, can form any idea of the sufferings those poor deluded creatures had to endure. This company went as far as Council Bluffs, Iowa, where it stopped for a season. In the spring of 1847, a pioneer band of one hundred and forty-three active young men, with seventy-three wagons, started for the valley of Great Salt Lake, where they arrived in July of the same year; others soon followed, and in October, there were four thousand Mormons in Salt Lake valley. Since that period thousands have gone thither, and the bones of thousands now lie bleaching upon the roadside. It is a melancholy picture to pass over the road, and every now and then to see a little hillock, and to be told, "there is a Mormon grave." Perhaps some aged man or woman, whose strength could not endure the journey, or some child, whose tender constitution had given way. The poor deluded fanatic has, verily, a hard life. If there is any merit in human suffering, the Mormons should be admitted into the third heaven. Just think of it; there are now supposed to be from eighty to one hundred thousand of these poor miserable fanatics in the valley of Great Salt Lake. It is said that there are at this very time, not less than forty thousand of these deluded creatures in England, who are too poor to come to this country, but who, if they had the means, would come without delay. Oh! the folly and madness of this accursed delusion; how many precious souls has it not ruined, how much suffering has it not produced. Should not the prayers of God's people every where, ascend up to the throne of the Eternal, in behalf of these poor deluded souls? This monstrous system of iniquity may well excite the indignation, as well as the compassion of

Christians. We may well, therefore, do the cause of truth good, by looking into this sink of sin, and holding it up to the scorn and contempt of all good men. Mormonism "lives and moves, and has its being" in excitement. It is one of those religious excressences that grow out of the overheated religious zeal and fervor of unenlightened enthusiasts. It has always existed in the world. Like the sutlers of an army, this class of fanatics has always followed in the wake of the great army of God. We may always look for such fruits to grow from the tree of life, but they are no more part of that tree, than the gloomy and loathsome parasite that covers the magnificent Cyprus on the banks of the Mississippi, is a part of that beautiful tree. It is the fungus Haematodes of Christianity. It mars it, as the ulcerated cancer does the human face, or as the disgusting Elephantiasis does the symmetry of the human limb. No man can be a Mormon, who is not a religious fanatic, or an adroit and consummate villain; but frequently the Mormon combines both characters in one.—Formerly polygamy was denied, now they make a boast of it. They even support it from the Bible, and Elder Orson Hyde, even profanely says that Jesus Christ had no less than three wives, and that he was married at Cana of Galilee to Martha, and Mary her sister, and that other Mary whom he loved. Can wickednes and infidel profanity go further? This is a fair specimen of Mormon hermeneutics. Low, vulgar, jejune and sensual must be the mind that can be edified with such matter. The man who can put forth such views, should not be reasoned with, but punished. Such are the lengths into which fanaticism drives poor human nature when it once breaks loose from the common sense of the Bible.

Polygamy is a gross and palpable violation of the laws of nature, as well as of the laws of God, and every Christian nation in the world, and sooner or later it will prove their ruin. The polygamy of the Mormon always has been, to my mind, the most hopeful evidence of their speedy downfall. Those eternal principles of justice which are written upon our nature, cannot long be violated with impunity. Under the influence of this adulterous system, they must die out, even if the government of the United States permits them to live. Society, under this wretched system, must fester and rot, and in a few years Mormonism must become one great mass of putrefaction; and it will carry its miserable dupes down to a more loathsome and terrible doom than that which awaited the beastly and polluted inhabitants of Sodom. Po-

lygamy has laid the axe at the root of Mormonism. It is destined to go down in the great vortex of its own filthiness and corruption. But what is to be the *finale* of this terrible fanaticism? Is there any hope for those poor deluded souls? Are they not increasing from day to day, and is not their odious doctrine spreading even to the ends of the earth?—What is to become of them? They are now again, for the third time, in collision with the government under which they live. The United States army is now in their territory. What will follow? Will they wisely submit, or will they fight? Some think they will submit, and quietly leave for the Sandwich Islands, or for the British possessions in North America. Time will show. Some suppose that if our courts were established in Utah, and those courts sustained by our troops, as they must be, to make them efficient, the Mormon women by thousands would seek the protection of our government, and not submit to the detestable system of polygamy, under which they now suffer. They are sick and tired of it. But, in the meantime, would it not be well enough for some of our missionary societies to watch the signs of the times, and the movements of our troops in Utah, and as soon as the government can protect them, send missionaries to that benighted, and worse than heathen territory? In what land are the efforts of the Church of Christ more needed? Should not the Lutheran Church, which has hundreds of her former members there from this country, from Germany, and from Sweden, do something in this great work of benevolence? I sometime since saw several hundred Swedish Lutherans in one body, marching to the promised land, and had a long and interesting conversation with a young Swede, on the subject of Mormonism. He informed me that he did not believe that a man was permitted to have more than one wife; he considered Salt Lake City the most beautiful and blessed city this side of heaven; that he would wade through blood to get there; that nothing but death should ever prevent him from reaching that happy place; if he found it, as I told him he would, a sink of pollution, he would not remain there a day. This is the spirit of fanaticism. It is governed by feeling, not by reason. The finished fanatic does not reason at all; it is the want of reason that makes him a fanatic. A gentleman (no Mormon) who spent several months in Great Salt Lake City, informed me that there were thousands of simple but honest and sincere people there, who would rejoice in the opportunity of worshipping God. The pure Gospel of Jesus

Christ would be music to their ears. These innocent dupes were allured by false representations from their homes and their altars, and having discovered the deceptions practiced upon their credulity by the Mormon preachers, would now be prepared to listen to the Gospel of Christ. He informed me that a pious and intelligent minister could have thousands of hearers in Utah. Is not this natural? Would not the same feeling that impelled them to leave their several churches, again influence them to return? The reasons why we believe that the Gospel, faithfully preached in Utah, to the more serious Mormons, would be received, are these, viz:

1. Because they have now come to the end of their fanatical visions; all the beautiful pictures they had drawn in their heated imaginations, concerning this holy and blessed city, have been dissolved like the beautiful pictures in a Panorama; there is nothing left. If they are sincere Christians, though in error, as many of them perhaps are, they have now found, by sad experience, that they still have wicked and unholy hearts, and that they must strive against flesh and blood in Utah, as they had to do in other places. Hence they will appreciate the good old Gospel which they had set aside for the vagaries of human devices. They are now, more than ever, satisfied that nothing but the blood of Christ can cleanse and purify the soul. If there were any other place in the dominions of Mormonism, where they had not yet been, they would listen to nothing but Mormonism. But as they have now reached the *Ultima Thule*, they can go no further. They have learned that Mormonism, even in the Holy City, cannot save them; hence many of them might now be induced to return to their long neglected Lord and Savior.

2. In going to Salt Lake City, many of them were influenced by the strongest feelings of cupidity and avarice. They had, from their infancy, been groaning under severe poverty, and even sometimes absolute want stared them in the face. The Mormon preachers appealed to their cupidity; they informed them that in Salt Lake City "there was plenty to eat and plenty to wear, and nothing to do." Every laborer on the hill-sides of Wales, every poor miner who was shut out from the light and sunshine of heaven, every emaciated artificer who was shut up in the loathsome workshops in Manchester and Birmingham, and every one who could scarcely obtain a miserable living from this cruel world, was told that in Utah he should be like the gay and envied Lord of yon manor; that he, too, should have his broad acres, and his

splendid equipage. They were told that Utah was as the garden of God, that the saints of the Lord were to inherit the earth, that they should have everything in abundance in this world, and everlasting life in the world to come.

3. They were made to believe that in Utah the odious distinctions between the rich and the poor, were not to be found; that all were equal in America; that no cruel tyrants should oppress them; that no unjust taxes should be imposed; that all things were in common; that all there were happy and contented; that there was no unrighteous government to molest them; and, in short, that Great Salt Lake City was a heaven on earth. Is it any wonder these poor beings should have their strongest desires inflamed by such representations? But now, after incredible toils and labors, they have reached the long-wished for land, but alas, how different from their expectations! Some, I have been informed, when the view of the Holy City first breaks upon them, are completely overpowered with the tumultuous excitement of the realization of their long cherished visions of bliss. But they soon find that "distance lends enchantment to the view;" that Salt Lake City, though inhabited by the saints, is like other cities in which iniquity abounds. They go to the Temple; they hear Brigham Young and other leading Mormons use even profane language from the pulpit. They see the practical workings of polygamy; they see the children growing up in sin and folly; they see Brigham Young riding out with his thirty splendidly dressed wives, and see the same distinctions in Utah that shocked their feelings in England. The dream is over, the bubble has burst; they find that they must now labor for others as they had done in their own country. They sit down and weep over blasted hopes and disappointed expectations.

Are not such prepared to listen to the good old Gospel that perhaps in former days cheered up their drooping spirits? Many of these deluded creatures have run the rounds of fanatical folly, and like Stilling's "Theobald the Fanatic," they are now prepared to listen to the dictates of reason and Scripture. We read somewhere in the history of fanaticism, that a party of deluded fanatics separated themselves from the world, and built a small village in some retired nook, away from all intrusion. They lived some three years in this retired spot, nursing their fanatical feelings, until they became frantic, and in their frenzy shut themselves up in a large

room, and prophesied that they must crucify each other. The spirit told them to nail each other to crosses; they did so. Some five or six were actually nailed to the cross, and were kept there until they died. The affair was brought to the ears of the government; a company of soldiers was sent to their village; the dead were buried, and the living were all taken prisoners. But what was to be done with them? The government regarded them as insane. They were not punished, but kept in prison. A faithful minister was sent to teach them religion. He found it necessary to make them all study the Catechism, and thus he restored them to their right minds. So it may be with these deluded Mormons. Something should be attempted for their salvation. Let Christians pray for them, and as soon as Providence, by the instrumentality of our army, opens the way, let the missionaries be sent to break unto them the bread of life. If the old and confirmed Mormon cannot be saved, his women and children may be rescued from the dreadful destiny to which they are exposed.

ARTICLE VI.

BACCALAUREATE ADDRESS.

No. v.

The members of the Graduating Class at the Annual Commencement, September, 1839, were F. R. Anspach, Charles L. Baker, C. C. Baughman, David A. S. Eyster, William F. Eyster, Charles A. Hay, J. Gœring Harris, John Heck, William Heilig, Charles P. Krauth, John George Leas, James L. Schock, William A. Wadsworth and Philip Willard, and to them the following address was delivered.

YOUNG GENTLEMEN:—Believing that you will never forget the occurrences of this day, that you will recur to them from time to time, so long as you live in this world, I desire to associate with them a practical discussion of an ethical character, which may present itself, in its leading features, with the powerful reminiscences of this occasion, and furnish a stimulus to action, of an enduring and salutary cast. I will propose to you, for your future guidance, a great and leading

principle of immeasurable importance; attention to which will give employment to your powers, both physical and mental, not for a day or a year, but through the whole period allotted to your probation on earth. Whatever you may pursue, wherever you may be, whatever may be your position in the world, its claims are equally great, and will press upon you with equal force. It is, young gentlemen, to exercise yourselves herein; to have always a conscience void of offence towards God and man. There was a young man some centuries ago, who, after he had completed his education in the best schools of his country, and commenced to act his part in the world, presented so much of eccentricity and paradox in his behavior, as to attract great attention, and yet everything developed in his earthly career, was explicable without difficulty, when it is known that he had adopted as the ruling principle of his life, that to which your attention is directed—*mens conscia recti*. It was this that made Saul of Tarsus a great and a good man, and envelops him with the lustre and renown which are attached to his name. It made him a Christian, an Apostle, an eloquent expounder of the Christian religion, a powerful writer on the faith which was once delivered to the saints, a blessing to his generation and to the world, a happy man, a triumphant martyr, and a glorified saint. It was this that sustained the afflicted prince of Idumea in heavier calamities than often fall to the lot of man. "Till I die," said he, "I will not remove mine integrity from me. My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go: my heart shall not reproach me so long as I live." This induced the confidence so strongly expressed by him: "For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth; and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh I shall see God, whom I shall see for myself and not another; though my reins be consumed within me." This, no doubt, led to that result, so propitious to his happiness, the restoration of his possessions, and the vindication of his character. But time does not admit of much detail in regard to the operation of this principle; we must hasten to direct your attention to the thing itself. The nature of conscience you know, the supremacy of it you are ready to admit. We then superadd to instructions elsewhere, and in other connections furnished on this interesting subject, the appeal, exercise, &c.

If we follow the dictates of conscience we cannot err. Its decisions are supreme and final; but then it must be fitted for

its appropriate work by a proper training. Men do wrong, do wickedly with the approbation of conscience, but the guilt results not from obedience to it, rather from failing to present to it the materials of correct decision. Saul persecuted the church, and believed that he was doing God service, but Saul acted wickedly, because he had not prepared himself to form such opinions as would have evoked into proper exercise his moral feelings. His heart would not have swelled with joy, as he contemplated the bleeding, dying Stephen, but would have recoiled with horror, if he had known, as he should, *that that holy man* died in upholding the religion of the Son of God. He viewed, no doubt, the very same event with feelings of complacency or horror, as he was ignorant, or understood what is right. It will result from these statements, that a primary matter with us will be to enlighten conscience. Our lot has been cast in an age, and under a dispensation, when it may not be extravagant to say, that the human mind enjoys the highest advantages for ascertaining all its duties, in all its relations. We live in the very centre of that illumination emanating from the God of conscience, designed to fit it for perfect action in its appropriate sphere. Your relations to God and your fellow-men, must be understood and appreciated, and your duties as written on your hearts, compressed in the decalogue, illustrated and amplified in the discourses of that unrivalled teacher of ethics, Jesus Christ, and manifested in his life, must be understood. The advantages of fidelity to the monitions of conscience, the evils of the contrary, both extending through the whole of our existence in this world and another, in inconceivable pleasure or unmeasured woe, should constantly be held up before us, and then may we regard ourselves as prepared to go forth in the strength of our God, to do homage to the biddings of his monitor within us. To creatures, such as we are, dead in trespasses and sins, it is absolutely indispensable that we should prepare ourselves, by the reception of Christ's purifying blood, to cleanse our conscience from dead works, to serve the living God. I rejoice that most of you have attained this vantage ground, without which nothing effectual could be done in the career pointed out.

In small matters, as well as great, in private as well as in public, when the world frowns, as well as when it smiles, when you will lose, as well as when you will gain, when, to use the language of Scripture, the report is evil, as well as when it is good, require it of yourselves, demand it in a tone

not to be resisted, that your voluntary actions must be conformed to the dictates of conscience, washed in the blood of Jesus Christ, and enlightened by that religion which he gave to our world.

Nothing is more dangerous to our moral purity, than want of rigor in our exactions in regard to the commands of conscience. If we permit ourselves to pause in our career of entire obedience to it, if we turn either to the right hand or the left, by the slightest deviation, our peril becomes imminent. It is extremely doubtful whether we will ever suspend our devious course. The danger is excessive, that our transition will be from one degree of moral obliquity to another, till we are found fairly and fully on the side of those who have no conscience, or whose conscience is seared as with a hot iron, cauterized, so as to be without sensibility, or having the marks, stigma of guilt burnt in upon it. Does not James refer to this danger, when he declares, he that doeth the whole law, and yet is guilty of deviation in one part, is guilty of all? Does he not intend to point out, not only the want of principle which vitiates all our moral action, but moreover, the certainty that the embryo spirit of deviation will become powerful enough to subvert all righteousness? We think he does, and in doing so, furnishes us a lesson which it becomes us to garner up in our hearts. In those cases in which there may be doubt in regard to duty, the decision should be such as most effectually to guard conscience, or to present to it least perplexity. Happy, said a distinguished teacher, is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth, and he that doubteth is damned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith; for whatsoever is not of faith is sin. Careful abstinence from what is equivocal in morals, from that which we are unable to convince ourselves is within the sphere of duty, becomes every one who would approve himself to God and man.

Even in things lawful, if we can, by relinquishing our right to them, without violating any moral rule, promote the best interests of our fellow-men, the possession of a conscience void of offence, would require of us to abandon them. Said the same great teacher, "If meat make my brother to offend, I will not eat meat so long as the world shall stand." You should say, if intoxicating drinks make my brother offend, I will have nothing to do with them, either by using them myself, or supplying them to others. Can that man have a conscience void of offence, who is instrumental in manufacturing

drunkards, who in any way lends his efforts to bring about so frightful a result? The answer is easy, the inference is clear.

Particularly would I urge it upon you to guard against that mode of effecting good which has been so often resorted to in the world, where the attempt is to be supported by violations of conscience. By whatever name it may be called, whether policy, pious fraud, doing evil that good may come, management, finesse, knowledge of human nature, it is odious in the sight of God, and reprobated by sound ethics. It is the wisdom that is from beneath, it is earthly, sensual, devilish. When you see how men in this day endeavor to accomplish their purposes, how numerous and disgusting are the artifices, how multiplied the deceptions, and how gross the frauds, you may prize the end; you cannot, with anything like sound moral feeling, but loathe the means. Charge your souls: "O my soul, come not thou into their secret, and unto their assembly, mine honor be not thou united!" If the cause of truth and righteousness cannot be sustained by truth and righteousness, let it fall; but we speak with no apprehensions of such a catastrophe. It must prevail; righteousness must cover the earth, it may be predicted with safety; nought can impede its triumphant march, except the use of such unholy instruments as we have referred to. Integrity, uprightness, the defence of the ark of God by truth, not by falsehood, by holy, not unholy weapons, these, gentlemen, we recommend to you, and if you fail to render them, then I beseech you to acquit your Alma Mater of any share in your delinquency; when the truth shall at last burn before your eyes, acknowledge that she taught you maxims different from those which influenced you.

If a distinction is to be made between religious and moral duties, your attention must be divided between the two. On the one hand you are to render unto God what is God's, and unto man what is his. Should collision take place between these claimants, the paramount authority is to be honored. God is to be obeyed rather than man. Take care of the fear of man, it bringeth a snare. Take care that in endeavoring to maintain a good name, and to secure the plaudits of men, you do not bring on you the condemnation of God. Take care that the cause of righteousness because persecuted, is not neglected by you, lest that God whose cause it is, should frown you into destruction. We suppose some questions of practical ethics could easily be made plain, which nevertheless are regarded as very obscure, if we would commence our es-

timate with starting from the throne of God. A conscience void of offence requires the love of God, faith in his son, love to him, obedience to his precepts, and particularly to that new law "Love one another;" it requires a life strenuously devoted to the divine glory, to the promotion of godliness, the diffusion of religion, the diminution of human sorrow, and the augmentation of human blessedness. May you, young gentlemen, then exercise yourselves herein, to have always a conscience void of offence towards God and men!

We rejoicce that we can entertain the hope that you will honor your God, yourselves, your species, by such a course, and that you will reflect no discredit on the school in which you have been trained. Go then with our best wishes and our prayers, that you may live long, that you may be honored, be useful, be happy, and that all may say of you: They exercise themselves herein, that they may have always a conscience void of offence towards God and man!

ARTICLE VII.

LITURGICAL STUDIES.

Translated from the German of the late Dr. Hœfling, by Rev. Henry S. Lasar, Pastor of the Lutheran Church in Carrolton, Ohio.

I.—*The nature and idea of the Cultus generally, and of the Christian Cultus of the Evangelical Church particularly.*

The Cultus is a peculiar, natural and necessary element of religious life. In order to gain a correct insight into its nature and idea then, we must necessarily revert to the nature and idea of religion. Religion is communion of man with God. But if it did not also imply a relation of God to man, it would not be a communion. A communion, in the true sense of the word, can not be apprehended as a one-sided relation, but as mutual. Without such communion of God with man, there could be no communion of man with God. Intercourse between God and man in religion, rests upon the revelation and communication of God to man; it is an intercourse of living mutual giving, as well as of receiving. Man could not sustain a relation toward God, receptive and communicative, if God did not hold the

same receptive, as well as communicative relation to man. As God created man after His image, that is, as he partook of His Divine consciousness and life, and received him into His communion from the beginning, an original aptitude of humanity for religion, cannot be denied. By sin, this original consciousness of God and communion of man with Him, would necessarily be disturbed, shattered, and partly abolished, but sin never could entirely destroy and annihilate it. Neither was it possible that God should entirely cast off and banish fallen humanity from his communion, nor could man entirely lose the conviction of his existence. We find, accordingly, with all men, at all times, and in all places, some presentiment, some dark consciousness of the divine, some remnant of the knowledge, worship and service of God, although it cannot be denied, that this original consciousness of God has been so darkened in consequence of the fall, and has run into such confusion and intermixture with the consciousness of the world and of self, that it no longer could properly detach and distinguish between the creator and the creature, and fell into the abominations of superstition and idolatry. The religion of Paganism has lost indeed all objective truth, because it is no more a communion with the known true God, yet we cannot altogether deny to it some experimental subjective truth. The religious wants of human nature, the evidence and effects of divine communion, are here realized too. Heathenism has not only its sacred *symbols*, as the pledges of a communion and covenant with the deity, as signs pregnant with meaning of his nearness and efficacy, but also its religious ceremonies as the verification of a service required by the deity, and well-pleasing to him. The effort everywhere to abolish all that is of a dissevering nature, and the desire to reconcile the offended deity by legal sacrifices and purifications, are but the evidences of the feeling of a communion troubled and disturbed by sin. In order to save fallen humanity from the entire loss of the knowledge and worship of God, as the only true God, already lost to Paganism, and in order to pave the way for an objectively true communion of man with him, God has revealed himself in a special manner, from time to time, to individuals. From the seed of Abraham he chose himself a people, to be the bearer of his revelations and promises, the instrument to execute his plan of salvation, intended for the redemption of all mankind. God made a covenant with the Israelites; he was to be their God, and they his people. He

separated them from the other nations which had been degraded to the worship of nature, led them miraculously by peculiar ways, and preserved them, both within and without, by his law, as that people with whom the honor of his name should dwell, and from whom the blessing of the true religion should yet go forth over all the generations of man. There was in Israel, not only a communion of the only true God with man, but also a communion of man with the only true God made known to them, and a communion of each other in this communion, consequently a *truly objective* religion, though this religion was not yet the absolutely true and perfect, because from the divine plan of education, and the existing capacity, it had still to be trammeled by the limits of nationality and external legality. The prophets, indeed, were glancing already into a time, when these limits should be no more, but they neither could, nor would remove them for the present. The law did not unite Israel with the rest of mankind in the sight of God, but rather separated it from them, and was not able to take away the partition wall which sin had reared between God and man. It could not bring about a true reconciliation, but, on the contrary, the law worked wrath only. It was not destined alone to effectuate a redemption; it was powerfully to awaken a consciousness and feeling of the necessity of redemption, and thus, together with the promise, prepare the way for the future redemption, as a "schoolmaster to Christ." The promise and prophecy, previous to and with the law, and symbolically and typically set forth by it, promised, to some extent, the unity of what sin and the law kept separate. Like the religion of the Old Testament, the Cultus of the Old Testament bore the same restricted and externally legal character. It was prescribed in the form of ceremonial laws, entering into the minutest details, and enjoined as a mediatorial institute necessary in order to salvation. Piety, with its desire after communion with God, and its longing to realize it, was pointed to the exact observance of a multitude of ordinances; piety assumed not the character of childlike freedom, but rather that of servile obligation.

"When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons" (Gal. 4: 4, 5). "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their tres-

passes unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation" (2 Cor. 5: 19). "In Christ we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins" (Eph. 1: 7). "He is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world" (1 John 2: 2). "Neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us" (Heb. 9: 12). "For by one offering he hath perfected forever, them that are sanctified" (Heb. 10: 14). "For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit." "The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death" (Rom. 8: 3, 4, 2). The incarnation of the eternal Son of God, and the atonement which he made by his sufferings and death, accepted by God, removed the middle wall of partition, and perfect communion was restored. This perfect communion and union of God and man exist, indeed, at first only in the person of Christ, though they are made to pass over to all those who are Christ's by faith. Faith in the incarnate Son of God, who "was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification," that living faith in the redemption and reconciliation of Christ, worked in us by the word and the spirit of God himself, makes us members of the body of the Lord, filled and moved by the Holy Ghost, and in whom dwells the spirit of the Lord. By faith we are made one with Christ, as he too is one with the Father in heaven. Therefore the apostle says: "We have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but we have received the spirit of adoption whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God" (Rom. 8: 15, 16). In this sonship of God we know and feel ourselves one, not only with God, but in God also, with the whole humanity in the most vital and intimate communion mediated by Christ. This is the absolutely true, the absolutely perfect religion of Christianity, the heart and life communion of believers with their Redeemer, and through him, with God the Father; the religion, not of a letter that killeth, or a condemning law, but of a free and childlike spirit that giveth life, of justifying and saving faith. The want of another religion for humanity will never be felt throughout all eternity. "There is one God, and one

Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time"—(1 Tim. 2 : 5, 6).

Christ, as the founder of the Christian *religion*, or of the Christian *faith*, is, at the same time, too, the founder of the Christian *Church* and of the Christian *Cultus*. We have, however, not to look for a "new law" in this institution, or in the founder for a "new lawgiver, a second Moses." Christ did not institute his church as a communion of the law, and the Christian cultus as a new, another institution of ceremonial laws to mediate our salvation. We have, therefore, not to represent to ourselves a definitely developed external form and organization, when we speak of the establishing of the church and cultus, but rather "the simplest and most substantial elements, namely the spiritual." We must well distinguish between that which was made over to the church by Christ, and the wants of men and nations at different periods and under different circumstances, for the purpose of leading a life in the communion of Christ, in a manner determined and ordered. If the former is the necessary, the abiding element, ever the same, the latter, according to its nature, is subject to a free development, and changeable.* The visible church with her cultus, appears consequently next as an institution at once divine and human, as it is a work of redeemed humanity, erected upon a substantial, divine basis, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

The first and immediate institution of Christ is not an outward organization of a social and cultus character, but an inward communion of faith and piety. The visible church is not the "prius," but the invisible. The latter is not to be developed out of the former, but inversely, the former out of the latter. But as certain as this is, just as certain is it also, on the other hand, that the communion instituted by Christ in the word and sacraments, had, from the start, also an external side, and that she was destined by her founder himself, to organize herself externally and with freedom, in the way of a process of development from within.

In order to the outward formation of the communion of Christians, possessing as an essential prerequisite, an inward religious character, it required, as Rothe ("die Anfänge der christlichen Kirche und ihre Verfassung," p. 98) correctly observes: "1) a symbol of connection, universally acknow-

* Marheineke Entwurf der prakt. Theol. p. 45, 46.

ledged, and to be externally established, by virtue of which the new society would be circumscribed by its own limits; 2) a basis and root for the communion of worshippers, definitely given, not arbitrarily first to be projected, and 3) such persons as are furnished with the requisite intelligence and authority to arrange and, at first, produce a polity adapted to the wants of the Christian spirit, under existing historical relations." The Redeemer himself, having really made provisions that these three conditions should be present, for the purpose of an outward communion of his believers, he has in this way, not only instituted the invisible church, but also the visible, in its substantial essence. The sign of external connection he has granted in baptism, expressly instituted by him. By the institution of the Lord's Supper, he laid the essential basis for the future, voluntary communion of those who are his, engaged in worship. For the organization, arrangement and guidance of a religious polity, he provided, by preparing the apostles with an illumination and authority requisite for such a work (Matt. 28 : 18—20; 16 : 19; 18 : 18; John 20 : 21).

The substantial, divine basis, and the essential condition for the originating of the visible church, are, at the same time, the root and the divinely given germ of the Christian cultus. The internal invisible communion of believers know themselves one with Christ their head in the Holy Spirit, *not without the means of the audible and visible word, the word and sacraments.* They experience the effects of the Holy Spirit in the word and sacraments; the Lord himself mediates and verifies his communion with them, by the word and sacraments; how should not they, too, prove their communion with him, pre-eminently in the *use* of these external means of grace? The Christian religion, considered as the communion of *God with man* mediated by Christ, and the worship of Christians as the use of the means of grace, a passive receiving of that which is divinely offered, the latter involves from the start, something of an external character. It is impossible to think of an inward Christian piety, which is not produced by the external means of grace, and without the desire for their continued reception and use. The divine appearing in an earthly form, communicating itself to the immediate self-consciousness of man in the word of God, proffered by human speech and in the sacraments, is the means by which that union of God with humanity, mediated by Christ, presents itself essentially to the worshipper. This is

the one necessary side of the true cultus. The other consists in this, that man now present himself too, in his real union with God, through the Holy Spirit mediated by Christ, which is known to take place in the general service, in public *worship*. The one Christ instituted indirectly on the one hand, by the fact that he was the founder of the Christian faith, and Christian piety, and on the other hand more directly, by the promises which he has attached to prayer generally, and to common prayer, the prayer and assembly in his name particularly (Matt. 7 : 7—11; Luke 11 : 9—13; Matt. 18 : 19, 20; 20 : 22; John 16 : 23, 24; Luke 17 : 1).

Devotion, *worship* is certainly pre-eminently something purely inward, a law of the inward man, springing from meditation on and communion with God, a state of the heart, pious emotion of the mind. In this its original and inward character worship, generally speaking, is essentially identical with piety, and Christian worship in particular, with Christian faith and Christian piety. The heart of man cannot possibly know and feel itself in filial communion with God the Father, mediated by Christ, he cannot truly believe in the free grace of God in Christ, he cannot have really come to know and experience it without love, gratitude and confidence in God, without feeling urged and impelled, entirely to yield himself to God, a living and spiritual sacrifice. The surrender of the heart to God, that personal act of a living and spiritual sacrifice, the resolution with all the sentient and active powers, to serve not ourselves or the world, but God alone, and to glorify him, constitute the essence and life of true piety. We cannot conceive of piety and the internal service of God as apart; they are but different sides, nay, but two different significations of one and the same thing. Just as necessary as it is, however, accordingly to consider this service as an inward process, as an emotion of the heart and mind, just as little may or dare we stop short at its inward character, because it itself does not and cannot stop there, but by way of necessity, passes over from it to the external appearance. As in fact everything that moves the heart vitally and powerfully, cannot avoid external demonstration, as the internal ever seeks an expression, and the spiritual a body, because in the way of this, its efficacious verification, it alone reaches its abiding character, a true existence and reality, so too, man may look rather upon every thing else as belonging merely to himself, may keep every thing else for himself, and shut up within himself, than his

religion. All religion, by the very nature of its being, seeks communion, and this holds good in the highest degree, in regard to the Christian religion. Faith in redemption, that faith in the incarnation and death of the Son of God, comprehends all mankind, as the objects of the free grace of God, as one before God. The same ties which unite the believers with Christ, and through him with God, unite them also among each other. As they are one with Christ as their head, so, too, are they one as the members of one body. They cannot, accordingly, celebrate their communion with God, without verifying it at the same time as a communion with one another. They are not merely externally together and connected as a human society, but they are one in the inmost feelings of their heart and life. Why, then, should they desire to have their service, every one for himself? Must not the pious emotion of the mind, common to all, necessarily call forth a common expression; the common wants of the heart, a common satisfaction of them too? Certainly, if the pious emotions of the mind cannot be vital and powerful in the individual Christian, without expressing and representing themselves, we may much less conceive such emotions to exist in a communion of believers, without feeling the impulse and irresistible want, openly to appear, and for the purpose of mutual communication and visibility, to present themselves in an open manner. The inward communion before and in God, of which they are conscious, the organic connection, in which they know themselves to be comprehended, the mutual dependance which they feel, love to God and the brethren dwelling in their hearts—all these, even aside from the glorious and express promise, which the Lord has left to those who assemble and unite in prayer in his name, must incite the Christians to be united in an external service, and to praise God with one mouth as well as one heart.

The internal and external services are so related to each other, that they may indeed be kept distinct, though never separate. They are but two different sides of one and the same thing, mutually related to each other, necessarily going over into, and constantly reacting upon each other, so that this service of God would have no existence whatever, and there would be neither one nor the other, if it were not the union of the two. If it is true, that the subjective, pious emotion of the mind cannot dispense with the demonstration of the real communion of God with man in the externally given means of grace of the church, or with the manifesta-

tion in a public, common and external service, in order to be made sure and certain of it as an actual communion with God, and to reach a truly definite and real character; it is also true, on the contrary, that the external, public and common service cannot have an existence without the subjective pious emotion of the mind, because should this, its ground and origin, be not present, it would be destitute of its requisite truth. In order then to obtain and keep hold of a correct conception of the service of God, we apprehend it to possess neither a merely internal character, nor one that is merely external, but as reacting necessarily upon, and inseparably united to each other. Comp. Marheineke, in the quoted place, pp. 48, 56.

We do not call the service of God *cultus*, so far as it is an internal process, or something of a subjective, private, or of an individually personal nature merely, but so far as it is a public manifestation, a definitely expressed declaration, a self-representation and verification of the common piety of the church for the senses. All cultus is divine service, but all divine service is not cultus. The public and common external divine service existing as cultus, presupposes a religious communion in some way externally constituted, and the Christian cultus accordingly that of the communion of the Christian church.

The application of the words "divine service" to the Christian cultus, has wrongfully been questioned. For although God is sufficient in himself, not standing in need, indeed, of any service on our part, the least of all in an outward point of view, in order to be rendered more perfect or happy; we cannot thence infer that we should have no such want as to serve God. God will have us to serve him, because he desires that the glory of his name should dwell with his rational creatures, and because we can be happy only in the verifying of his knowledge and love, in the living communion with him. The filial and joyful service so little contradicts true freedom, that we are only so far free as we are found engaged in it. If man does not serve God, his Lord and Father, he is a slave of the world or of himself, a bondage he is to flee.

Just as erroneous is the assumption that the passage, John 4: 24, speaks against the formation of the true divine service of Christians into a churchly cultus. To worship God "in spirit and in truth," does not imply the doing of it secretly, torn asunder and separate from communion with others, or to worship God where by praying silently, without

signifying to any other person what is transpiring in his heart. The external, the manifest, the public and common worship of God is not at all opposed to the worship "in spirit and in truth," but alone to *that* worship, the origin of which is not spirit and truth; a worship which is *merely* external, a lifeless hypocritical work of the law. Spirit and truth contradict neither the idea of manifestation generally, nor such manifestation of a common character in particular. On the contrary, it is involved in the very nature of spirit to manifest itself, and that it should be something subjective and individual merely, would altogether stand opposed to the idea of the only saving truth.

After what has been said, it proves to be an entirely erroneous and perverse view, to look upon the cultus as existing merely for the sake of our sensual nature, or the remaining relics of the old man, even in the regenerate and spiritually advanced, consequently, alas! but as a still necessary evil. At this conclusion we must certainly arrive, if we regard the spirituality of the outward service, as involving an opposition to the idea of external manifestation, or if we consider the cultus in its relation to piety in a one-sided way, and as a means to some end beyond it, as is frequently done. If the existence of the cultus has alone this object in view, to beget piety not yet existing, or to promote one imperfect in its vital development, if the cultus is nothing but a means to produce, awaken, vivify and promote piety, then it is clear that it must labor for its own abolition, and its destination can be none other than this, to render itself superabundant and altogether dispensable. According to this view, the more advanced in piety he is, the less would he stand in need of the cultus. And of one perfectly pious, we could expect him not entirely to exclude himself from its participation, simply in order to set a good example to others. If this view, so highly injurious in its consequences, were correct, then we could no longer consider the internal service the "prius," the source of the external. Then the external service would no longer exist by force of the internal, but the latter by the former. But if this were the case, if the external service were indeed the "prius," whence then should it take its origin? Grant that it had come in an outward way from God to man, that it had been prescribed by God in its entire compass and contents, we would then, contrary to our Protestant biblical consciousness, have to acknowledge a ceremonial law of the New Testament. But if we were to deduce its origin

from a well-meant invention and ordinance of man, we would always be referred again to a piety already existing before, and independent of the cultus. The truth is this: the word of God and the sacraments, have, indeed, been given of God; but with the fact that they have thus been given as means of grace in an outward way, the cultus is not at once ushered into existence. As long as the Gospel is preached to unbelievers, there is no cultus. Preaching is first made an act of cultus, when a communion of faith, already called forth by it, is desirous for its regular repetition, and they assemble in order to satisfy this desire. But the desire after the means of grace, their meeting for the common participation of them, presumes already their common faith in them, and accordingly too, their common piety as already existing. From this internal service of desire proceeds at first the external service of meeting together and acting in this assembly. But if this is the case with the cultus, considered as a common use of the means of grace, how much more will it hold good when considered as divine service, properly speaking, as the verification of common devotion and worship. In the latter instance, the internal is most conclusively and in every respect the first, and the external that which proceeds from it, its product. Rather than to consider the external service first a means to awaken and produce the internal, it is the product, the expression of its life, as of something already at hand. As such expression of its life, such verification it is something, however, which, in proportion as the internal life of common piety is the more perfect and potent, can be viewed, not as disappearing, but only as constantly increasing. Yet if we had to reject that view which brings the cultus into some relation to an internal service, first to be produced by it, and not as one already existing, that is, so far as it assumes the first place, and declares itself alone to be of force, it cannot be inferred that this view of the subject is not at all to be justified, not even in the second place. The cultus is certainly also a means to awaken, vivify and promote piety; but it is just this by the fact that, firstly and orignally, it is something other, namely, the product and testimony of the piety already at hand in the church. The life of religion grows like every other life, by the exercise of its own functions, communicating itself by being presented to view. Marheineke correctly says (in the quoted place, p. 57): As the external proceeds from the internal, so it is found to react

upon the latter again. As the product of the inner life, the thought, it has the power likewise to start the internal emotion, even where it does not yet exist, and to tune the mind for reflection and devotion. Whatever is known to move all, cannot meet us as something external, without being verified and corroborated, and if the subject matter of devotion is disseminated over a congregation, those more feebly moved by faith, will also be drawn into the sacred circle of its effects.

The Christian cultus, accordingly, by the very nature of its being, is *representative action.* That which reaches manifestation, that which exhibits itself, the *object* to be represented is the inner religious life of the Christian congregation, or the Christian religion. In agreement with what we have said above about the essence of religion, the Christian religion will have to represent itself, on the one hand, as the communion of God with man mediated by Christ, and on the other, as the mediated communion of man with God, and in such a manner, indeed, that in this communion with God mediated in both directions *for all and in a like manner*, the most intimate communion of believers among each other, seems to be established. As the aspects of communion mentioned, are certainly inseparably united in religion itself, and every act of religious consciousness, so too, will they have to be represented as indissolubly united in each single act of the cultus, and as existing beside each other, with each other, in each other, and by each other. Any one act in which the one or the other side only could be observed, would not be an act of cultus, because in it the indivisible essence of religion, the inseparable unity of religious consciousness and life would not be evident.

With the revelation of God in Christ, with the existence of the word of God and the sacraments, we have indeed one side, one factor of the Christian religion. But we have not then, as we have seen, its entire nature and idea, not yet the Christian cultus. There alone do we find the reality of the Christian religion, where the word of salvation meets with a believing reception into the hearts of men; and the Christian cultus where, in the common reception and eager use of the means of grace, not merely a communion of God with man is verified, but at the same time, too, a communion of man with God. On the contrary, the Christian religion next exhibits itself in the common worship of God in Christ, as the communion of believers with God mediated by Christ; but it is not done without the communion of God with believers,

manifesting itself at the same time, as the prayer of Christians is based upon the word and the express promises of the Lord, and not only born by faith in God's hearing on his part, but also as it is connected with its living experience. Man cannot truly lay hold of and appropriate the means by which God communicates himself, without giving himself away to God by the same act; and again, he cannot give himself away to God without experiencing the communication of divine power and divine life. In this way, as in every instance of religious consciousness and life, the one is always connected with the other, and beside the other in every act of the cultus. But this does not prevent us from acknowledging that religion may be represented pre-eminently in the one act more from this side, in another more from that. As the one or the other prevails, as in any one act of the cultus, God seems pre-eminently to come to man, communicating himself to him, or man approaching God offering himself, it will generally assume either the character of a *sacrament*, in the widest sense of the word, or that of a *sacrifice*.

In this division we follow the *Apology* of the A. C., which divides the specific idea of "ceremonia," the holy service, or acts of the cultus, into sacrament and sacrifice. "Sacramentum," it asserts, "is a ceremonia or external sign or work by which *God gives us* what the divine promise, attached to such a ceremony, proffers." Again, "sacrificium," or sacrifice offering, "is a ceremony or a work, *we give to God*, in order to glorify him." Every one will at once perceive that the external word, given as a means of grace, and to which the matter of the sacrament proper is related, but "as a mirror and confirmation of the word and promise," may be here categorized under this conception of *sacrament;* as it is, too, a "sign of the divine will toward us," a "signum gratiæ," a something which we do not give to God, but wherein he proffers and communicates himself to us.

Speaking of a *sacrifice*, the very thought of an expiatory sacrifice to be offered up in the Christian cultus, is rightfully discarded as altogether contradicting the consciousness of the evangelical Christian, in regard to the all-sufficient power and eternal validity of the only one sacrifice of Christ. Just so do we reject the notion as unchristian, of an eternal sacrificial act effecting salvation, *ex opere operato*, and undertaken by one for the good of others; and consider as true that the Gospel recognizes only personal and spiritual sacrifices, that none are well pleasing to God but "sacrifices of the heart."

These sacrifices, without which Christian piety cannot exist, or be conceived of, are not "propitiatory sacrifices," but "sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving, offered by those already reconciled, and by which they render thanks for obtained forgiveness of sin, and other grace and gifts." Specifically, "confidence toward God, thanksgiving, praise of God, the preaching of the Gospel, crosses and sufferings, and all good works of the saints," are quoted as such sacrifices. Preaching, considered as a sacrifice, we must remember, is not identical with the Gospel itself, with the word of God transmitted in human language. The word of God itself, the subject matter to be declared, taught and testified, does not bear the character of a sacrifice, but that of a sacrament, in a broad sense of the word. But it is different respecting the service of the word, as presented by man on the one hand, and on the other in the reception of it, it may properly be designated as a sacrificial act. The sacrament cannot be received and appropriated, without being rendered a sacrificial act on the part of the receiver, because it cannot be received and appropriated without faith toward God, thanksgiving and the praise of God. Wherefore we read in the Apology, p. 268: "The heart and conscience, feeling its deliverance from such severe distress, anxiety, and terror, it returns heartfelt thanks for so great a treasure, and makes use of the ceremonies or external signs to the praise of God, and evidently receives such grace of God with gratitude, and highly appreciates it. Thus the mass becomes a eucharistic sacrifice, or a sacrifice of praise."

Furthermore, this communion of believers with God and among one another mediated by Christ, is one that belongs as much to the past as the present, and it is involved in *continuing growth.* It is never known at any one stage of the religious consciousness of the Christian, to exist merely in the form of the one, and not at once in that of the other.—This fellowship will, therefore, necessarily have to represent itself according to its aspects, in all the different acts of the cultus. But this will not prevent a predominance in the one act or in the other. The old churchly division of the Christian worship into the "missa catechumenorum" and "missa fidelium," had its reason in the above. The communion of believers is verified in the homiletic elements, according to its abiding character, though still more as subject to growth, and vice versa, in the churchly prayer and the Lord's Supper.

Consequently, the *Christian congregation*, the communion of those who stand in the one and the same relation to God mediated by Christ, can be considered alone as the acting *subject* of the Christian cultus. All true members of this congregation, being believers, belong to this communion of man with God, already developed and now *existing*, as well as still *involved in a process of growth;* and as God himself is *immediately* connected with each single individual by his Spirit, who is at work in his word and the sacraments, so too do all these individuals in Christ enjoy a *direct*, free and untroubled access to God. This is the very distinctive character of Christianity, as the religion of the only justifying faith and of the free and childlike spirit, from the religions of law, that it knows no other mediator between God and man than the one eternal High Priest and mediator, the Godman Jesus Christ, who gave himself a ransom for all; that it knows no ceremonially legal priesthood, and no mediatorial intercession by it, necessary in order to salvation. All who believe in redemption, and are graciously exalted to the possession and use of the right of divine adoption, enjoy the direct intercourse of God their Father, in Christ, to *take* and *receive*, on the one part, as well as to *give* and *proffer* on the other. But as certain as this is, on the one hand, just so certain, too, is it on the other, that we cannot conceive of the worshipping communion of Christians, as a gathering of men without any distinction whatever, and acting altogether without reference to any such distinction. Our whole human life, and all its fellowship, rests upon the juxtaposition of spontaneity and receptivity, and a mutual action between the two, considered as one. The essential equality of Christians before God and their general royal priesthood, the unity of the Spirit which inspires them all, neither excludes the difference of their natural, as well as gracious gifts, nor the difference of the peculiar position and calling of individuals, respecting the verification of the worshipping communion. As some are more disposed by their gifts and education, to go before and lead, so will others, for the same reason, be more ready to be led and follow; some are more inclined to be productive, whilst others more receptive. The unity of the communion of Christian faith, is no sameness. The difference of the gifts of the spirit determines the church to be an organic living body of the Lord, in which the different members have different powers and functions, and together supplementing one another, all laboring for the growth and prosperity of the whole.

The *office* of preaching the word and administering the sacraments, has been divinely instituted in the church, to testify continually, and represent the real communion of God with man by Christ. With this *office* there is not, as in ceremonial ritual, a peculiar *order* established in Christendom, bearing an exclusive commission and divine privileges, in connection with the exercise of its functions. The whole communion of believers is rather *eo ipso*, and originally the owner of the office, and every individual Christian participates perpetually in some degree, according to his particular calling and measure, in its rights and duties. Certain as this is, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the office cannot so much be exercised in its name, but *in the name of God*, and that it regards the members of the church as those in respect to whom it is to be exercised. The worshipping communion, accordingly, will necessarily be divided into correlates, *preachers and hearers of the divine word, of those who administer and those who receive the sacraments.* Although the entire communion of the church is originally the steward, as well as the recipient of the divine means of grace, she cannot exercise both these functions in the totality of her members. If all indeed are to receive and make use of the means of grace, yet all are not called in the same manner, all are not alike qualified to undertake their stewardship and administration for the entire communion. The church, then, requires special organs in order to act, the existence and mode of action of which, she can neither surrender to accident, nor to the arbitrariness of a few. She will feel herself urged to constitute a clerus, and from such among her members whose inward call to lead the congregation, as made evident by the quality of their gifts and state of their Christian education, she feels herself bound too, outwardly to acknowledge and enforce. Respecting their persons, those especially called from among and by the church, in order to act in the church in the name of God, or to administer the means of grace, they are equal with all the other members of the church; but touching the special call and the churchly office entrusted to them, they are above them. Yet it only holds good so long and so far as they actually give evidence that they indeed act in the name of God, and according to his commission, i. e. so long and so far as they preach the word of God pure and unadulterated, and administer the sacraments in correspondence with the institution of Christ.

As far, however, as the communion of man with God, mediated by Christ, is verified in their reception of the means of grace and in the common worship of God in Christ, it is something that concerns all believers alike, and in which all must be directly united. Here then an immediate joint action must take place of all, either by way of *loud* expression, or if indeed, not perceptible by the hearing, nevertheless as really perceptible. We cannot admit any vicarship in the use of the means of grace, though the public and loud worship may be carried on, indeed, in the name of all, by means of representative speaking and action of a *delegated* character, committed to individuals. The church must select persons to this office, whose inward call from the Lord to go before and lead, she has determined, and to whom she has determined to yield the authority vested in her.

Even as in religion and cultus, so too we must well distinguish the two sides in the *clerical calling*. It is, on the one hand, the special organ in the congregation, in order to represent and verify the communion of God with man, mediated by Christ, which representation and verification is transmitted to the church; on the other hand, it represents, in the way of vocal utterance, the congregation, leading her in the representation of their own communion with God, mediated by Christ. The clerus occupies a different position in and to the congregational life, as the one or the other side is rendered more prominent in its separate offices. Our representation of the subject cannot be in the least affected in respect to its fulness, by the fact that by the natural position of the apostles in the life of the Christian congregation, as well as by their ordinances, and by the example of the constitution of the Jewish synagogue, God preserved the church from the necessity of being made wise through difficulties, and to be driven by the felt need to the constituting of a clerus. If the apostles did appoint rulers over the congregations every where, we will bear in mind that the church existed originally in them, and that they proceeded naturally, when they appointed such in the different towns as *first* received the Christian faith, and displayed the greatest religious energy, as a centre of the congregations about to be formed, a nucleus around which should be gathered those who would afterwards believe (Clem. Rom. 1 ad Cor. 42. "Κατὰ χώρας ὧν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθεστανον τὰς ἀπαρχάς αὐτῶν δοκιμάσαντες τω πνεύματι εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακονούς τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν." The particular authority, the peculiar power which the apostles pos-

sessed as the first, original, and *inspired* witnesses of the New Testament revelation, could not be conveyed to other individuals in an external manner. Not a single privileged order should inherit their spirit and authority, so far as such an inheritance at all was possible, but the whole communion of believers. By giving rulers to the organizing congregations, they could not transmit their apostolate, but merely afford an example to the church of a properly organized life in the communion of Christ.

The Christian clerus has nothing in common with the priesthood of the religions of law, because he cannot lay claim to any divine privilege, so as to exercise a mediatorship in a ceremonially legal manner between God and man, nor is his outward calling *directly* from God, but from the congregation. It is, indeed, a necessary requisite of church and cultus order, but by no means an integrating element of the order of salvation. The means of grace have an existence for every single believer, independent of the clerus, and their integrity, their divine power and efficacy is not conditioned by the legitimacy of him who administers them, but vice versa, the latter by the former.

The act by which an individual receives the right as a properly called servant of the church ("rite vocatus," A. C., Art. XIV.) *publicly* to teach and administer the sacraments in their midst, that act, by which the entire church communion, as represented by the organ of a common church government, imparts the authority to an individual, to act publicly *in her name*, and in respect to the administration of the means of grace, *as her delegate in the name of God;* or, in other words, that act, by which any one is elevated from the state of laity to that of the clergy, in the church, is *ordination.* But as the church has to acknowledge, that properly speaking, it is the Lord or the Holy Ghost, that indicates to individuals their position in churchly life by the measure and quality of the imparted gifts, she dare not arbitrarily proceed touching the grant of ordination, but in such a manner that she may have the consciousness of having acted in the name and as an organ of the Lord. This will be the case, whenever, on her part, she imparts the public character of the "properly called" to such alone of whose inward calling by the Lord of the church himself, or the Holy Ghost, she believes herself to be truly convinced, in consequence of a thorough examination and careful observation. But as the church, on the one hand, is no searcher of hearts, and with

the most conscientious examination, is not free from the possibility of deceiving herself, or being deceived, and on the other hand, could not possibly abide in an acknowledged contradiction with the calling of the Lord, the grant of the "legitima vocatio" can ever be but a conditional, never an irrevocable act.

The Christian church or congregation, which we have come to know as the acting subject of the Christian cultus, is, according to the conditions of time and space, under which she exists, on the one hand, the whole or general congregation, on the other the *local*. These do not exclude, but include each other. The congregation, in its totality, exists in the local congregations, and these again are embraced in the unity of the general congregation. The cultus cannot be viewed accordingly as belonging either to the one or to the other merely, but to the two at once, in their vital concrete unity and interpenetration. The local congregation never worships without the activity of the total congregation being manifest in it, nor will the latter dare to assume such an importance in the cultus, as to exclude thereby the action of the local congregation, according to her particular individual circumstances and wants. That which is general, common, and everywhere the same, will not dare to exclude or displace the particular, individual and peculiar, nor the latter division the former. Both will have to be represented as existing beside and with each other, in vital unity and organic connection.

The organ appointed to guaranty to the worship of the local congregation a common churchly character, and to preserve to it this property of being the same as the worship of the total congregation, this, the *liturgical* right, conceded to the total congregation, is the *church regiment*, comprehending in an external unity, all the single local congregations. Yet they have no right to act arbitrarily or tyrannically, but just as the real organ merely, i. e. in the true spirit and sense of the entire church represented by them, and by virtue of the noticed relation of the total congregation to the single local congregations, consequently not without the most conscientious regard of their well-meant wishes and true wants.

The divergence of the *confessions* in the sphere of the religious life of Christians generally, naturally and necessarily conditions, indeed, very particularly a peculiarity too in the sphere of the cultus. Every confession has its own cultus, and in regard to it pursues, by virtue of its own peculiar view

of faith and tendency of life, its own principles. There exits nowhere a universal Christian cultus, lying beyond confessional distinction. Every theory, therefore, of the Christian cultus, will be obliged to attach itself to the principles of some definite confession, and first have but their worship in view.

[To be continued.]

ARTICLE VIII.

Biblical Commentary of the New Testament by Dr. Hermann Olshausen, Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Translated from the German for Clark's Foreign and Theological Library. First American edition, revised after the fourth German edition, by A. C. Kendrick, D. D., Professor of Greek in the University of Rochester. To which is prefixed Olshausen's proof of the genuineness of the writings of the New Testament, translated by David Fordick Jr. Vol. 1–6. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., 115 Nassau Street. Philadelphia: Sold by Smith and English.

Dr. Hermann Olshausen, by whose name this celebrated Commentary is known, which has not yet reached completion, has passed away from earth, and been numbered, for some years, with the sainted dead. His career on earth, though brilliant, was not protracted. He was born on the 21st of August, 1796, at Oldeslohe in Holstein, and died on the 4th of September, 1839, in Erlangen, whither he had been called in 1834, as Professor, &c.

Previously to his residence in Erlangen, he had been Professor of Theology in the University of Königsberg. The first volume of his Magnum Opus, the Commentary, was published in 1830, and is dated Königsberg, 1830, August Wilhelm Unzer. The copy in our possession came into our hands in 1832, and since that time we have been acquainted with the work, and have been in the receipt, from abroad, of the successive portions, as they have appeared. We have had, consequently, much opportunity of holding communion with our author. We will hardly appear before the public as re-

viewers, without acquaintance with the book. Up to the time of Olshausen's death, the Commentary had not been completed. The Gospels, Acts, Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians, had been published and passed through several editions. After his death the fourth volume appeared (1840), which had been prepared, and was ready for the press before the author's death, but had not been put to press, from the desire to make some additions. It contains the Epistles to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, the Colossians and the Thessalonians. It became necessary, after the death of Olshausen, to employ persons properly qualified, and of a congenial spirit, to complete the work. For this purpose the services of J. C. Aug. Wiesinger, Pastor and Dr. John H. A. Ebrard, ordinary Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen, were engaged. Pupils of Olshausen, admirers of his genius, and imbued with his spirit, they addressed themselves to the work. By their joint labors the entire work has nearly been completed. There remains yet to be published, the Epistles of John and Jude, and the second of Peter. The first part of the fifth volume contains the Epistles to the Philippians, Titus, Timothy and Philemon, by Wiesinger, and he has shown himself not an unworthy successor of his distinguished teacher. The second part of the fifth volume contains the Epistle to the Hebrews, by Professor Ebrard, who has a high standing among the divines of Germany, and is known by various works of much learning. The Apocalypse, executed by Ebrard, constitutes the seventh volume; this and the sixth volume have not yet appeared in the English language. The sixth is not yet completed, but will soon be in German. The whole will be embraced in the American edition, we presume, in seven volumes, and it cannot be long before it will be finished. The publication of the American edition has proceeded with great rapidity, and the publishers will not permit themselves to be unnecessarily delayed. We must believe that they have had ample encouragement already to go forward. In regard to the value of Olshausen as a Commentator, there can be but one opinion, there has been but one. He has the rare merit of high standing in his own country, in Great Britain, and in the United States. Several editions of the volumes which appeared during his life, were published, and he is regarded in his Fatherland as a high authority in Exegetical Theology. The selection of his work in Scotland for translation, and the sale of it pretty largely in this country, show the estimate put upon it by the English public. Dr. Kendrick's edition is additional evidence of its standing.

Olshausen has long been a favorite with us, and we turn to no Commentator of any age or of any church, more readily than we do to his, when we desire to study carefully any portion of the New Testament. Bengel's Gnomon and Olshausen's Commentary stand alone *primi inter pares.* Enquiring of a Divine and Professor in Exegesis, recently, what was his estimate of Olshausen, he replied at once: I consider him first of all Commentaters. When I want light on any portion of God's word on which he has commented, he is my first recourse. From such a source, one so well qualified to judge, who had been long and intimately acquainted with the work, this was high but deserved praise.

Dr. Olshausen brought to the interpretation of the Scriptures, not only the professional and philological learning essential to success, but he was deeply imbued with the spirit in which they were written. His piety was deep and pervading, and his exegesis is touched as with a live coal from the altar of God. Said a Divine of our church, who had seen and conversed with Olshausen during his abode in Germany, I look upon him as the most pious man I met in my entire tour. In the prosecution of an agency for the Lutheran Church in this country, he had gone over the Fatherland. He had seen and conversed with great men and good men, but the Königsberg Professor most deeply impressed him with the conviction that he was holding intercourse with a mind of rare gifts and heavenly temper, soaring above earth and dwelling in the Holy of Holies. *O si sic Omnes!* If learning had always come with such a sanctification, and addressed itself to the exposition of the word of God: If Gesenius, with his Oriental scholarship, and De Wette with his fine accomplishments, had united the humility and fervor of an Olshausen, how vastly superior would the Isaiah of the one, and the New Testament of the other be, compared with what they are.

The reader of Olshausen will discover that, as an interpreter, he was disposed to enter deeply into the interior of the word of God, and to bring up recondite truth, which it required a keen gaze to perceive. He published a very interesting tract on this very subject, entitled: Ein Wort über tiefern Schriftsinn. It would have been well to have given this as an excursus or introduction to the work.

Without at all affirming that it would meet general approbation in all its details, or even deserve it, it would throw light on the animus with which he studied the Scriptures, and

furnish important hints in regard to Hermeneutics. Dr. Davidson, not by any means an ultraist, says of this brochure, and that which followed it, entitled: die biblische Schriftauslegung. Sendschreiben an Steudel. Hamburg, 1825. "The former of the productions is of a most interesting and important character. It is true that it has been classed by Clausen, Hartmann, and others, among *the allegorical*, yet the pious and lamented author expresses himself in strong language against the unholy arbitrariness of the ancient allegorists. He points out the distinction between a genuine and false allegoricalness, and maintains, on the highest authority, even the New Testament itself, that a spiritual meaning should be extracted from the shell in which it is enveloped. He justly objects to the phrase *double sense*, and to the idea allegorists generally affixed to it. According to him, genuine allegorical interpretation consists, not in assuming another sense besides the literal, but a deeper-lying sense (ὑπόνοια) connected by an internal, essential union with the verbal signification presented in and with the latter, a sense which necessarily presents itself when the contents of the Scripture are viewed from a higher position, and which may be discovered agreeably to uniform rules. The principles by which the connexion between the deeper sense and its envelope, may be discovered to lie in the law of universal harmony, a law according to which all things in the world of sense and spirit, constitute one great organism. Olshausen lays great stress on the mode in which the Old Testament is explained in the New, regarding it as the rule that should direct all exegesis. Steudel subjected the treatise of Olshausen to a closer examination, which called forth a reply from the latter. The distinguished Commentator on the New Testament, repeats the position contained in his former work, viz, that the law, with all its ordinances, resembles a seed containing in itself the whole plant. There is much truth in these writings of the able Olshausen. We are not inclined to go so far, nor to use exactly the same phraseology, nor to call the method of interpretation recommended, *allegorical;* but the sagacity of the Professor saw far into the nature of prevailing systems of exposition, and the true method as contrasted with their erroneousness. Perhaps he carried his analogies and typical representations to an undue length, although his sentiments are, in the main, correct. The ὑπόνοια for which he contends, is the one, true, spiritual sense uniformly conveyed by the language of the Bible. The dissertations be-

fore us, though not always guarded in their phraseology, or strictly accordant with sound reason, are yet full of instruction. They amply merit the serious perusal of all hermeneutical writers. We have derived from them no small benefit."—Sacred Hermeneutics developed and applied by Samuel Davidson, LL. D. Olshausen, as a Commentator presents the following peculiarities. He does not devote himself to the introduction and refutation of divergent views. He presupposes a knowledge of standard works which preceded him, and therefore omits many points of exegesis, such as grammatical principles, well determined import of words, &c., and lays himself out for an exhibition of the relation of Scripture to Scripture. In tracing out the binding links of the word, he displays great ability and high success. On controverted points, he is very apt to take a man between extremes. As an illustration, we give his views in regard to the temptation of Jesus in the wilderness. He discards as utterly false, all the grosser rationalistic opinions, every one based upon a denial of a Satanic kingdom. The tempter is not a man, a Pharisee, or an emissary of any kind. On the other hand, the appearance of the devil in a human form, and an external development corresponding to the literal narrative, a change of place, conversation, &c., are repudiated; these may be regarded as the opposite poles in the interpretation; between these Olshausen appears and explains: "It is, therefore, doubtless more fitting to lay the scene of the occurrence, as an internal one in the sphere of the soul; we thus obtain a true conception of it, and preserve all its essential features. The temptation consisted in this, that the soul of Jesus was exposed to the full influence of the kingdom of darkness. This kingdom, in the person of its representative, first displayed to the Savior its bright side, and endeavored to seduce him from the narrow path marked out for him on earth.

We meet with analogous appearances in the Old Testament as well as the New. (See Ezek. 8: 3; 11: 1; Rev. 1: 10; 17: 3.) And if we are disposed to connect 2 Cor. 11: 14, Satan is transformed into an "angel of light," with the temptation, that expression by no means requires us to imagine an outward appearance; it can be understood of an inward revelation of Satan, as a good angel, the more surely to deceive."—Vol. I. p. 277, American Edition.

Throughout the work there are many extended, able, and original discussions on important subjects; such as the Demoniacs, the sin against the Holy Ghost, the presence of

Christ in the Eucharist, and the relation of Adam's sin to his posterity. As another illustration of his seeking, in his exegesis, to steer between Scylla and Charybdis, we refer to Romans 5 : 12, and quote: "After these observations, it is clear what ought to be thought of the ordinary Pelagian rationalistic view, that the clause ἐφ᾽ᾧ παντες ἡμαρτον, *in that all sinned*, signifies that the sinfulness of men is not caused by *Adam's* act, but by their own sins. For it is evident that the apostle regards that universal sinning as the consequence of Adam's sin, and adds this clause, merely to show that if any one could have been supposed who sinned not, as was afterwards the case with Christ, then indeed a limit had been thereby set to death, provided he occupied as central a position as Adam and Christ. Aside from this, we could only say that the apostle intends to intimate that the unfaithfulness of men, in not resisting sin even *to the extent* that with the moral powers still left to them, they might have done, diffused the common sinfulness more *quickly* and *generally* than otherwise it would have been. Although, therefore, ἐφ᾽ᾧ is doubtless not to be translated with the Vulgate in quo, in whom, and so forms no *proof* in favor of the representation of the race by Adam, still it furnishes no weapon against this doctrine itself, which, in the connexion of the whole argument is sufficiently established. Grammatically, it can only be taken as conjunctive, as absolutely no antecedent can be traced, to which the relation could be naturally applied. It answers to our 'in that,' and denotes the being connected with and dependent upon another. As to ἡμαρτον, many are of opinion that Paul refers in the word to actual sins which proceed from the peculiar *proclivitas peccandi*. But if the πάντες, *all*, as the tenor of the whole chapter requires, is to be understood in its most proper sense of the entire mass, and so to include children dying in unconsciousness, this view becomes involved in extreme perplexity, and is driven to the assertion that Paul speaks only of individuals capable of sin; an assertion, however, which assuredly draws on the difficult argument, when the capability of sin begins. How entirely untenable this view is, appears by this, its own principal support, in the most glaring light! Augustine's theory, on the contrary, although his translation of ἐφ᾽ᾧ by in quo is wrong, is here in thought impregnable. For the ἡμαρτον signifies 'being sinful,' together with 'committing sin,' and it is only accidental in individual cases, that the latter does not issue from the former, the being sinful remaining nevertheless.

The sense of the words, therefore, is, 'in that (in Adam) all (without exception) sinned,' and with the greater number as consequence thereof, the original sin expressed itself besides in further sinful acts, therefore did death also, the wages of sin, penetrate through to all. Taken so, the *imputatio in poenam et reatum* of the sin of Adam has its truth; taken so, the efficiency of Christ, in whom all, in fact, rose again, just as they had, in fact, fallen in Adam, forms with that truth a true parallel."—Vol. 3, p. 582, Am. Ed.

This via media does not always lead to correct results. It may appear to harmonize conflicting views, but often fails to sustain itself by correct hermeneutical principles. His views on the sacraments, partaking of this admixture of conflicting theories, will not readily find acceptance, though they are always set forth with ability and candor.

The Anticalvinistic element in this Commentary, without being offensive to theologians of that school, is nevertheless unequivocal.

The American Edition of this able Commentary, is a revision of the work as translated for Clark's Foreign and Theological Library. It is on the basis of the latest and best German edition—that by Ebrard. It is unquestionably improved by careful retouching, and moreover, contains annotations by the editor, Dr. Kendrick. We recommend it cordially, as a Commentary of the highest excellence, the work of a pious, learned and diligent student of God's revealed truth, not surpassed by any Commentary known to us, and destined, we think, long to guide the student of Scripture in the interpretation of the New Testament canon.

ARTICLE IX.

LIVINGSTONE'S TRAVELS IN AFRICA.

Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa. By David Livingstone, LL. D., D. C. h. 1 *vol.* 800. *With Maps and Illustrations. Reprinted by Harper and Brothers, New York.*—1858.

This is one of the most important contributions that has ever been made, not merely to our geographical knowledge

of Africa, but to ethnological science, and to clear ideas of the real relations of the various members of the human race to each other. We are now in a fair way to become acquainted with Africa, not only superficially, from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, and from the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope, but, what much more concerns us, with the true nature of the various tribes of mankind by which it is inhabited. Dr. Barth has descended from the Mediterranean to the eighth degree of latitude north of the equator, and Dr. Livingstone, proceeding from the Cape of Good Hope, comes up to the same degree south of the equator. Bruce and his successors have explored Abyssinia and the regions around the sources of the Nile, the Landers, Mungo Parke and others the mouth and valley of the Niger; and Lieut. Burton is now engaged in an effort to pass through that great unexplored tract of eight degrees upon each side of the equator. But other influences still more efficient have, we believe, been put into operation, which will, in the due course of time, open up Africa to the civilized world, and fairly bring its tribes within the pale of the great family of nations.

Dr. Livingstone's work is another instance of the solid benefits conferred upon the world by Christian Missions, not only by opening up regions hitherto unknown, but much more by giving correct views of their inhabitants, and bringing them into their proper relations to Christian and civilized nations. Slow as they are to acknowledge the obligation, and violent as has been the opposition of many of their votaries to these labors of Christian love, even commerce and science are indebted, in a very large amount, to this active development of Christianity. Geography, geology, natural history, botany, philology, history, antiquities, and various other departments of knowledge, have received large accessions from the researches of missionaries, in almost every field in which they have labored in their proper vocation. Egede in Greenland, Schwartz and Buchanan in India, Henry Martin in Persia, Zeisberger and Heckwelder among our North American aborigines, Gutzlaff and Marshman in China, Loomis and Williams in the Pacific Ocean, Perkins and Grant in Khurdistan, Eli Smith in Syria and Arabia, and many others whom we need not here name, have done as much to enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge and the true interests of the enlightened countries which they left, as the great mass of those who have labored more exclusively for this specific

object. We are, however, more immediately concerned with Dr. Livingstone's labors in the double direction of which we speak, that is to say, Christian missions and the general advancement of society in its most important interests. Few men have, perhaps, had a better preparatory training for their work. The son of pious parents, he was trained in those habits of industry and self-reliance which characterize the better part of the poor, but intelligent and virtuous laboring population of Scotland. The glimpses which he gives us of his family, and of his own early life, are highly interesting. "My father," says he, "by his kindness of manner and winning ways, made the heartstrings of his children twine around him as firmly as if he had possessed, and could have bestowed upon them, every worldly advantage. During the last twenty years of his life he held the office of a deacon in an Independent Church in Hamilton, and deserved my lasting gratitude and homage, for presenting me, from my infancy, with a continuously consistent pious example, such as that, the ideal of which is so beautifully and truthfully portrayed in Burns' 'Cottars' Saturday Night.' The earliest recollection of my mother recalls a picture so often seen among the Scottish poor—that of the anxious housewife striving to make both ends meet. At the age of ten I was put into the factory as a 'piecer,' to aid by my earnings in lessening her anxiety. With a part of my first week's wages I purchased Ruddimans' 'Rudiments of Latin Grammar,' and pursued the study of that language for many years afterwards, with unabated ardor, at an evening school which met between the hours of eight and ten. The dictionary part of my labors was followed up till twelve o'clock, or later, if my mother did not interfere by jumping up and snatching the books out of my hands. I had to be back in the factory by six o'clock in the morning, and continue my work, with intervals for breakfast and dinner, till eight o'clock at night. I read in this way, many of the classical authors, and knew Virgil and Horace better at sixteen than I do now. My reading while at work was carried on by placing the book on a portion of the spinning-jenny, so that I could catch sentence after sentence as I passed at my work; I thus kept up a pretty constant study, undisturbed by the roar of the machinery. To this part of my education I owe my present power of completely abstracting the mind from surrounding noises, so as to read and write with perfect comfort amid the play of children, or near the dancing and songs of savages."

The circumstance last mentioned is, in itself considered, small and not uncommon, but it is worthy of attention as a link in the chain of Divine Providences by which young Livingstone was prepared for his future work in the toilsome field which he was to cultivate. It is also evident that the factory labors here imposed upon him were too severe, and it seems little short of a miracle that he was either able or disposed to attend to intellectual culture at all. Only to think of a child of ten or fifteen years spending twelve or thirteen hours in almost unbroken toil, and four or five more in study, leaving nothing for exercise, and but the very briefest period for sleep! How he endured it we can scarcely conceive.—But we trust that our political economists and capitalists will not appeal to this as a proof of the excellency of their system, or its consistency with the demands of nature and the highest development of mind and body. David Livingstone, with his iron constitution and cheerful and vigorous mind, with a pious father and a careful mother, endured the dreadful ordeal: but how many thousands of weaker bodies and less elastic minds, have been crippled and crushed, sent to a premature grave, or consigned to stupidity, ignorance or idiocy, by such a cruel system of overworking? Let all who read Livingstone's story, and rejoice in the good which he has done to Africa and to mankind, protest against that blind and grasping avarice which may deprive the world of a score of Livingstones. But to return to his story—he continues:

"The toil of cotton spinning, to which I was promoted in my nineteenth year, was excessively severe on a slim, loose-jointed lad, but it was well paid for; and it enabled me to support myself while attending Medical and Greek classes in Glasgow in winter, as also the Divinity Lectures of Dr. Wardlaw, by working with my hands in summer. I never received a farthing of aid from any one, and should have accomplished my purpose of going to China as a medical missionary, in the course of time, by my own efforts, had not some friends advised my joining the London Missionary Society, on account of its perfectly unsectarian character."

Having finished his medical studies, he was, after a very severe examination, admitted as a regular practitioner, by the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, and having also received ordination as a minister of the Gospel, was prepared to enter upon his work as a missionary to China. But in order to give the key to his missionary character, we ought, perhaps, to have mentioned what he says of the motives which impel-

led him to that work: "Great pains had been taken by my parents to instil into my mind the doctrines of Christianity, and I had no difficulty in understanding the theory of our free salvation by the atonement of our Savior, but it was only about this time that I really began to feel the necessity and value of a personal application of the provisions of that atonement to my own case. The change was like what it may be supposed would take place, were it possible to cure a case of 'color blindness.' The perfect freeness with which the pardon of all our guilt is offered in God's Book, drew forth feelings of affectionate love to Him who bought us with his blood, and a sense of deep obligation to Him for his mercy, has influenced, in some small measure, my conduct ever since. In the glow of love which Christianity inspires, I soon resolved to devote my life to the alleviation of human misery. Turning this idea over in my mind, I felt that to be a pioneer of Christianity in China, might lead to the material benefit of some portions of that immense empire, and therefore set myself to obtain a medical education, in order to be qualified for that enterprise."—pp. 4—5.

The opium war prevented him from proceeding to China, to the loss, no doubt, of that part of the world, but, we are assured, to the eternal gain of Africa. He reached Cape Town in 1840, and has been laboring for sixteen years for the spiritual and temporal improvement of many tribes among whom Christ had never before been named. He does not give us, in the book now before us, a full report of his missionary labors—that he reserves for a future occasion. His principal object here is, to give an account of the country and tribes north of the Bechuavas, to enlist the sympathies of Christendom in their behalf, and to show how both Africa and Europe may be benefited by the establishment of a legitimate commerce with the interior of Africa. It is to be hoped that the appointment which he has recently received as British Consul at Kilimane, on the eastern coast of Africa, at the mouth of the Zambeze, and most favorably situated towards the region which he has explored, will afford him great assistance in carrying out his enlightened designs.

Dr. Livingstone's associations in Africa, were highly favorable for the prosecution of the work in which he was engaged. He first proceeded to the field occupied by Mr. Moffat, so favorably known by his labors in Southern Africa, and by his various publications and narratives of the same. But it is equally a proof of his sagacity and self-reliance, that after

having remained with him a short time, he withdrew from him and took up his abode with a tribe of Bakvenas, among whom no English was spoken, in order to make himself perfectly acquainted with their language. It was some time after this, we believe, that he married a daughter of Mr. Moffat, who appears to be just such a wife as he needs to aid and encourage him in his benevolent work.

His first field of missionary labor was in the country of the Bakwains at Lepelole, a little north of the twenty-fifth degree of south latitude. But from this he was soon driven by an irruption of Barolongs, who drove away the tribe to which he had attached himself; this attack was providentially made whilst he was absent at Kuruman, one of Mr. Moffat's stations, some two hundred miles to the southwest. He recommenced his labors on the Mabotsa, in a village of the same name, among the Bahatla, in latitude 25° 14′ south, and longitude 26° 30′. But a long-continued drought of several years dried up the stream, whereupon the tribe moved some forty miles northwest, to the river Koloberg, where (in 1843) he built his third house, assisting the natives also to dig canals for the irrigation of their fields. This was the seat of his mission until 1852, when the place was attacked and utterly destroyed by the Boers, descendants of the original Dutch settlers at the Cape of Good Hope, who, together with other outlaws, have withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the English, and undertaken to set up a government of their own.

From this place, however, he had, in the meantime, made various excursions into the interior and towards the north, for the purpose of exploring the country, and becoming acquainted with the people. His first journey was to the tribes called Bakaa, Bamangevato and Makalaka, between 22° and 23° south latitude. Next, in 1849, he crossed the great Kalahari desert, and on the 1st of August, in company with Messrs. Oswell and Murray, two English gentlemen of fortune, reached lake Ngami, which they first made known to the civilized world. In the following year, accompanied by his wife and family and the chief Sechele (head of the tribe among which he was settled, and a most intelligent convert to Christianity), he penetrated still further in the same direction into the country of the Makololo, where he discovered the Leeambye or Zambeze river, flowing from west to east between 16° and 18° south latitude. Having returned with his family to the Cape, he sent them thence to England, and in the begin-

ning of June, 1852, again turned his face towards the north. Reaching once more the Zambeze river, he there gained great favor with the Makololo chief Lekeletu, who, like his father, Lebituane, before him, was very anxious to become acquainted with white men, in order to establish trade with them. In accordance with Dr. Livingstone's advice, Lekeletu now sent a party of nearly thirty men with him, for the purpose of seeing whether a route could not be opened to the west towards the sources of the Zambeze, so as to communicate with the Portuguese settlement at Loanda, south latitude 9°, longitude 14° west. It took this party, under the command of Dr. Livingstone, nearly seven months to pass from Linyanti (latitude 18° 17′ 20″ south, longitude 23° 50′ 9″ east) to the Atlantic coast, at the point just mentioned. Having spent seven or eight months in the region of the Portuguese settlements, it was about two years before they again reached the country from which they had set forth, and where they were received with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy, as though they had arisen from the dead (July 27, 1855).

Finding this route to the Atlantic very tedious, and almost impracticable for carriages, as well as obstructed by the jealousy of tribes excited by the slave trade, Dr. Livingstone proposed another expedition to the east, down the Zambeze, in the direction of the Portuguese settlement at Kilimane. To this Lekeletu again assented with great readiness, and very liberally supplied him, not only with as many attendants as he desired, but also with provisions and a considerable amount of ivory and rhinoceros tusks, begging him to get for him a sugar-mill, gun, clothes and other useful articles, in return for which he assured Dr. Livingstone that all the ivory in the country was at his disposal. Starting again on the 3d of November 1855, in about four months they reached the Portuguese settlement at Zete or Zette, about three hundred miles inland from Kilimane. This was, for the present, the end of his long wanderings in Africa, whence he sailed in a British man-of-war for England, on the 12th of August, 1856.

Dr. Livingstone had, from time to time, sent to Europe accounts of his most remarkable discoveries, which attracted a great deal of attention. His return to England was hailed almost as a national triumph, and all sorts of attentions were showered upon him, alike by distinguished men of science, public societies and the British ministry. The scientific results of his explorations are regarded as of the very highest

importance. Of this, the following passage from the book before us, may serve as a specimen: "Among other things," says he (p. 539), "I discovered that my friend Sir R. Murchison, while in his study in London, had arrived at the same conclusion respecting the form of the African continent as I had lately come to on the spot (see note p. 512); and that, from the attentive study of the geological map of Mr. Bain and other materials, some of which were furnished by the discoveries of Mr. Oswell and myself, he had not only clearly enunciated the peculiar configuration as an hypothesis in his discourse before the Geographical Society in 1852, but had even the assurance to send me out a copy for my information. There was not much use in nursing my chagrin at being thus fairly 'cut out' by the man who had foretold the existence of the Australian gold before its discovery, for here it was in black and white. In his easy-chair he had forestalled me by three years, though I had been working hard through jungle, marsh, and fever, and, since the light dawned on my mind at Delolo, had been cherishing the pleasing delusion that I should be the first to suggest the idea that the interior of Africa was a watery plateau of less elevation than the flanking hilly ranges."

But it is with the light here thrown upon the inhabitants of Africa, their relations to other parts of the human family, and the influence of missionary labors upon them, that we are most interested, and to which we propose devoting the remainder of this article. If any writer has heretofore so fully appreciated the African character, we are not aware of the fact. Pritchard has, indeed, conclusively shown the intimate relation, both physical and intellectual, between the inhabitants of Africa and other parts of the world, and exposed the gratuitousness of the assertion that "all the woolly haired races in Africa are uniformly inferior in intellect to other tribes of men," by adducing abundant testimony of travellers to the "vigor and acuteness of understanding displayed by the Amazula, Amakosah, Bechuana, and other Kafir nations."* Mr. Moffat and other Christian missionaries, have also shown their high degree of susceptibility for Christian instruction and civilization. But we nowhere else meet with such clear developments of the intellectual, social, industrial and national characteristics of the negro, and which so completely identify him with races of men that are regard-

* Researches into the physical condition, &c. Vol. II., pp. 347, 348.

ed as having attained the highest development, individual and social, yet known among mankind. Dr. Livingstone has evidently written without any design of this kind, and is manifestly intent upon giving a simple and unvarnished statement of facts; but this only makes his testimony the more valuable.

Before proceeding to illustrate the points that we have in view, it may be well to specify the tribes of which Dr. Livingstone speaks, in order that there may be no dispute about race, &c., with which our modern ethnologists constantly endeavor to break the force of every argument. Show them anything human in any part of the world, or in almost any nation under heaven, and they will exclaim, "Ah! they are Caucasians," and in their zeal to take away humanity from the negro, they have almost depopulated Africa of its negroes whom they have changed into Caucasians, not only in Egypt, but all over the continent—leaving only a few fragments as the connecting link between the ape and the—Caucasian.

Besides the Bushmen and other tribes in the region of the Cape and of the Orange river, Dr. Livingstone became acquainted with the following: 1. The Bechuanas; 2. The Bakalahari; 3. The Metabele, or Kafirs; 4. The Makalaha, or Balonda. The Bechuanas and Kafirs have long been regarded as kindred races. The former are now spread over a vast interior region, extending from the Orange to the Zambeze; the latter stretch along the eastern coast, and to a great distance into the interior southwest. The Bakalahari are found in the desert of the same name, west of the other Bechuana tribes, to which they also evidently belong. The Makalaha, along the Zambeze and other rivers (from the *tenth* to the *eighteenth* degree of south latitude) are genuine negroes. They are thus characterized by Dr. Livingstone: "The Balonda" (one of their largest tribes) "are real negroes, having much more wool on their heads and bodies than any of the Bechuana or Caffre [Kafir] tribes. They are generally very dark in color, but several are to be seen of a lighter hue; many of the slaves who have been exported to Brazil, have gone from this region; but while they have a general resemblance to the typical negro, I never could, from my own observation, think that our ideal negro, as seen in tobacconists' shops, is the true type. A large proportion of the Balonda, indeed, have heads somewhat elongated backward and upward, thick lips, flat noses, elongated *ossa calcis*, etc., etc.; but there are also many good-looking, well-shaped heads

and persons among them."—p. 315. "But," he adds in another place (p. 408), "the reader would imbibe a wrong idea, if he supposed that all these features combined, are often met with in one individual. All have a certain thickness and prominence of lip, but many are met with in every village, in whom thickness and projection are not more marked than in Europeans. All are dark, but the color is shaded off in different individuals, from deep black to light yellow. As we go westward we observe the light color predominating over the dark; and then again, when we come within the influence of damp from the sea air, we find the shade deepen into the general blackness of the coast population. The shape of the head, with its woolly crop, though general, is not universal. The tribes on the eastern side of the continent, as the Caffres, have heads finely developed and strongly European. Instances of this kind are frequently seen, and after I became so familiar with the dark color, as to forget it in viewing the countenance, I was struck by the strong resemblance some natives bore to certain of our own notabilities. The Bushmen and Hottentots are exceptions to these remarks, for both the shape of their heads and growth of wool are peculiar; the latter, for instance, springs from the scalp in tufts, with bare spaces between, and when the crop is short, resembles a number of black pepper-corns stuck on the skin, and is very unlike the thick frizzly masses which cover the heads of the Bolonda and Maravi. With every disposition to pay due deference to the opinions of those who have made ethnology their special study, I have felt myself unable to believe that the exaggerated features usually put forth as those of the typical negro, characterize the majority of any nation of South Central Africa. The monuments of the ancient Egyptians seem to me to embody the ideal of the inhabitants of Souda better than the figures of any work of ethnology I have met with."—pp. 408, 409.

We may here remark in passing, although it takes us somewhat out of the direct line of our thought, that this idea of resemblance between man in Egypt and in Southern Africa, is several times presented by our author. Thus, in speaking of the mode of weaving in Angola, he says that both here "and, indeed, throughout South Central Africa, it is so very like the same occupation in the hands of the ancient Egyptians, that I introduce a wood cut from the interesting work of Sir Gardiner Wilkinson. The lower figures are engaged

in spinning in the real African method, and the weavers in the left hand corner have their web in the Angolese fashion." pp. 433, 434. Connect with this the resemblance between the Kafir and the ancient Coptic or Egyptian language, and it will be difficult to arrive at any other conclusion than that we must refer the ancient Egyptians and the modern Africans and negroes to a common source—they evidently belong to the same great family. But the ancient Egyptians are, by the confession of even such men as Gliddon and Nott, Caucasians.

But to return to Dr. Livingstone's description of the inhabitants of Central Africa; he tells us further (pp. 366, 367) that "the people who inhabit the central region, are not all quite black in color. Many incline to that of bronze, and others are as light in hue as the Bushmen, who, it may be remembered, afford a proof that heat alone does not cause blackness, but that heat and moisture combined, do very materially darken the color. Whenever we find a people who have continued for ages in a hot, humid district, they are deep black, but to this apparent law there are exceptions, caused by the emigrations of both tribes and individuals; the Mahololo, for instance, among the tribes of the humid central basin, appear of a sickly sallow hue, when compared with the aboriginal inhabitants; the Batoka also, who live in an elevated region, are, when seen in company with the Batoka of the rivers, so much lighter in color, that they might be taken for another tribe; but their language, and the very marked custom of knocking out the upper front teeth, leave no room for doubt that they are one people.

Apart from the influences of elevation, heat, humidity and degradation, I have imagined that the lighter and darker colors observed in the native population, run in five longitudinal bands along the southern portion of the continent. Those on the seaboard of both the east and west are very dark; then two bands of lighter color lie about three hundred miles from each coast, of which the westerly one, bending round, embraces the Kalahari desert and Bechuana countries; and then the central basin is very dark again. This opinion is not given with any degree of positiveness. It is stated just as it struck my mind in passing across the country, and if incorrect, it is singular that the dialects spoken by the different tribes, have arranged themselves in a fashion which seems to indicate migration along the lines of color. The dialects spoken in the extreme south, whether Hottentot or Caffre,

bear a close affinity to those of the tribes living immediately on their northern borders; one glides into the other, and their affinities are so easily detected, that they are at once recognized to be cognate. If the dialects of extreme points are compared, as that of the Caffres and the tribes near the equator, it is more difficult to recognize the fact, which is really the case, that all the dialects belong to but two families of languages. Examination of the roots of the words of the dialects, arranged in geographical order, shows that they merge into each other, and there is not nearly so much difference between the extremes of east and west, as between those of north and south, the dialect spoken at Tete closely resembling that in Angola."

So much for the relations of the different African tribes to each other; the following may exhibit their relationship to the rest of mankind:

Sechele, the chief of the Bakwains, was the first convert to Christianity under Dr. Livingstone's instruction, and it would be difficult anywhere to find a more noble specimen of a man. Dr. Livingstone says that they formed a mutual friendship almost from their first acquaintance. Of his progress in study he gives the following account: "As soon as he had an opportunity of learning, he set himself to read with such close application that, from being comparatively thin, the effect of having been fond of the chase, he became quite corpulent from want of exercise. Mr. Oswell gave him his first lesson in figures, and he acquired the alphabet on the first day of my residence at Chenusne. He was by no means an ordinary specimen of the people, for I never went into the town, but I was pressed to hear him read some chapter of the Bible. Isaiah was a great favorite with him, and he was wont to use the same phrase nearly, which the Professor of Greek at Glasgow, Sir D. K. Sandford, once used respecting the apostle Paul, when reading his speeches in the Acts: "He was a fine fellow, that Paul!" "He was a fine man, that Isaiah; he knew how to speak." Sechele does not seem to have been inferior to the Scoth Professor, either in taste or in correctness of expression.

Sebituane, the chief of the Makololo, was a man of still greater energy of character. "He was about forty-five years of age; of a tall and wiry form, an olive or coffee-and-milk color, and slightly bald; in manner cool and collected, and more frank in his answers than any other chief I ever met. He was the greatest warrior ever heard of beyond the colony;

for, unlike Mosilekatse, Dingaan, and others, he always led his men into battle himself. A great variety of fortune followed him in the northern part of the Bechuana country; twice he lost all his cattle by the attacks of the Matabele, but always kept his people together, and retook more than he lost. He then crossed the desert by nearly the same path that we did. Suffering intensely from thirst, he and his party came to a small well. He decided that the men, not the cattle, should drink it, the former being of most value, as they could fight for more should these be lost. His narrative resembled closely the "Commentaries of Cæsar," and the "history of the British in India." The resemblance to the great conquering races is here pretty fairly developed, and we do not think that Sebituane, as presented in Dr. Livingstone's sketch, suffers at all when brought into comparison with the greatest of Roman conquerors—we do not speak of the greatness of their exploits, but of their personal character.

Traits equally human, sometimes good and sometimes bad, are exhibited by other individuals, in every tribe with which Dr. Livingstone came into contact. But we have not space for any further details. We must content ourselves with some traits of tribes. We are sorry that he has not told us something more of the Bushmen, but even the little that he does say, contains an important correction of the vulgar notions in regard to them: "Many are of low stature, though not dwarfish; the specimens brought to Europe have been selected, like costermonger's dogs, on account of their extreme ugliness; consequently English ideas of the whole tribe are formed in the same way as if the ugliest specimens of the English were exhibited in Africa, as characteristic of the entire British nation."—p. 55.

"The Bahalahari are traditionally reported to be the oldest of the Bechuana tribes, and they are said to have possessed enormous herds of the large horned cattle mentioned by Bruce, until they were despoiled of them, and driven into the desert by a fresh migration of their own nation. They retain in undying vigor, the Bechuana love for agriculture and domestic animals. They hoe their gardens annually, though often all they can hope for is a supply of melons and pumpkins. And they carefully rear small herds of goats, though I have seen them lift water for them out of small wells with a bit of ostrich egg, or by spoonsful."—pp. 55, 56. These Bakalahari are a very timid and peaceful race, so that

Dr. Livingstone calls them "the Quakers of Africa," though evidently belonging to the same stock with the warlike Kafirs.

The Balonda are far inferior to the Bechuana tribe, called Makololo, by whom many of them have been conquered. Most of them are idolaters and gressly superstitious. Yet they exhibit all the ordinary traits of humanity. "Sheakando," one of their chiefs, "could speak the language of the Barotse well, and seemed awe-struck when told some of the words of God." He manifested no fear, always spoke frankly, and when he made an asseveration, did so by simply pointing up to the sky above him. The Balonda cultivate the manioc or cassava extensively; also dura, ground-nuts, beans, maize, sweet potatoes and yams, here called "lakoto." Another tribe, the Banyeti, or Manyeti, are spoken of as "very industrious, annually raising a great quantity of grain, expert hunters of the hippopotamus and other animals, and very proficient in the manufacture of articles of wood and iron."

As the position and treatment of women among various races of men, has recently been brought forward by the prominent writers on this subject, as a distinct proof of their "moral and intellectual diversity,"* we must not overlook some developments in this direction, which we find among some of these negro tribes. Some of the Barotse (in the western valley of the Zambeze) have female chiefs who seem to exercise about the same authority as their male compeers in the same position. One of these, called Manenke, is represented by Dr. Livingstone as rivalling "Good Queen Bess," or even the famous Mrs. Caudle, in her power of scolding. Her uncle, Shinte, was the principal chief in that region, notwithstanding which, when he had received from Dr. Livingstone the present of an ox, "she came forward to us with the air of one wronged, and explained that 'this white man belonged to her; she had bought him here, and therefore the ox was hers, not Shinte's.' She ordered her men to bring it, got it slaughtered by them, and presented her uncle with a leg only. Shinte did not seem at all annoyed at the occurrence.'"—p. 319. Among the Banyai, a tribe onthe eastern course of the Zambeze, women are held in very high esteem.

* See "The Moral and Intelleotual Diversity of Races," by Count A. de Gobineau, edited by Messrs. Hotz and Nott. Philadelphia, 1857,—Lippincott & Co. pp. 384—390.

A man, when asked to do anything, will frequently say, "Well, I shall go and ask my wife." If she consents, he performs the work required, but if not, no amount of coaxing or bribery can prevail upon him to do so. It may be interesting to us Americans, who are sometimes twitted by our European brethren for our excessive politeness to the ladies, to learn that "the government of the Banyai is a sort of feudal republicanism."—p. 660. We commend these facts to the attention of Mr. Hotz, who has devoted the long note which we have just cited from Gobineau, to the statement of this argument, and maintaining that "our barbarous ancestors assigned to woman the same position we assign her now; she was the companion, and not the slave of man." According to this, we suppose that even Messrs. Hotz and Nott will begin to cherish some hope of the future civilization of the genuine negroes who occupy the region of the Zambeze and other tropical and interior streams of Southern Africa explored by Livingstone.

As to the moral characteristics of these tribes, and their religious susceptibilities, the following may suffice: "On questioning intelligent men among the Bakwains, as to their former knowledge of good and evil, of God and the future state, they have scouted the idea of any of them having been without a tolerably clear conception on all these subjects. Respecting their sense of right and wrong, they profess that nothing we indicate as sin ever appeared to them as otherwise, except that it was wrong to have more wives than one; and they declare that they spoke in the same way of the direct influence exercised by God in giving rain in answer to prayers of the rain-makers, and in granting deliverances in times of danger, as they do now, before they ever heard of white men. The want, however, of any form of public worship, or of idols, or of formal prayers or sacrifice, make both Caffres and Bechuanas appear as among the most godless races of mortals known anywhere. But, though they all possess a distinct knowledge of a deity and of a future state, they show so little reverence, and feel so little connection with either, that it is not surprising that some have supposed them entirely ignorant on the subject."

In reference to the influence of Christian teaching, the following extracts are as satisfactory as they are instructive: "The Bakalahari, who live at Motlatsa wells, have always been very friendly to us, and listen very attentively to instruction conveyed to them in their own tongue. It is, how-

ever, difficult to give an idea to a European of the little effect teaching produces, because no one can realize the degradation to which their minds have been sunk by centuries of barbarism and hard struggling for the necessaries of life: like most others, they listen with respect and attention, but, when we kneel down and address an unseen being, the position and the act often appear to them so ridiculous, that they cannot refrain from bursting into uncontrollable laughter. After a few services they get over this tendency. I was once present when a missionary attempted to sing among a wild heathen tribe of Bechuanas, who had no music in their composition; the effect on the risible faculties of the audience was such that the tears actually ran down their cheeks. Nearly all their thoughts are directed to the supply of their bodily wants, and this has been the case with the race for ages. If asked, then, what effect the preaching of the Gospel has at the commencement on such individuals, I am unable to tell, except that some have confessed long afterward that they then first began to pray in secret. Of the effects of a long continued course of instruction, there can be no reasonable doubt, as mere nominal belief has never been considered sufficient proof of conversion by any body of missionaries; and after the change which has been brought about by this agency, we have good reason to hope well for the future; those I have myself witnessed behaving in the manner described, when kindly treated in sickness, often utter imploring words to Jesus, and, I believe, sometimes really do pray to him in their afflictions. As that great Redeemer of the guilty seeks to save all he can, we may hope that they find mercy through His blood, though little able to appreciate the sacrifice He made. The indirect and scarcely appreciable blessings of Christian missionaries, going about doing good, are thus probably not so despicable as some might imagine; there is no necessity for beginning to tell even the most degraded of these people of the existence of a God, or of a future state, the facts being universally admitted. Everything that cannot be accounted for by common causes, is ascribed to the Deity, as creation, sudden death, etc. 'How curiously God made these things!' is a common expression; as is also, 'He was not killed by disease, he was killed by God.' And when speaking of the departed, though there is naught in the physical appearance of the dead to justify the expression, they say, 'He has gone to the gods,' the phrase being identical with '*abiit ad plures.*'"—pp. 175—6.

We are sorry that we have not room for the insertion of Dr. Livingstone's closing reflections, showing the hand of Providence in the various steps taken in his explorations, and indicating that the time to labor for the regeneration of Africa has undoubtedly come. But we commend this, as well as the whole of this deeply interesting volume, not only to the Christian reader, but also to the Political Economist, and to the Statesman. Still further, we desire for this work the most extensive circulation possible among American readers, in every part of our country, as peculiarly seasonable at this time, when some of our States propose to resubject to slavery the mixed race of Africo-Americans who form the population commonly called "free negroes;" whilst others propose to re-open the African slave-trade, which the laws of our country have, for the last half century, branded as piracy, and thus to desolate Africa from its centre to its circumference, by the most barbarous of all wars, as well as to fill up our southern and tropical states with an African population, whose future fortunes no human foresight can pretend to predict. Do not these facts assure us that, though the wide Atlantic rolls between Africa and America, the people of the two continents are still most intimately united in their interests and destiny, and that the establishment and progress of Christianity there, is, in a great degree, dependent upon its genuineness and permanence here?

ARTICLE X.

A Manual of Church History. By Henry E. F. Guericke, Dr. and Professor of Theology in Halle. Translated from the German by William G. T. Shedd, Brown-Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Ancient Church History, comprising the first six centuries. Andover, 1857.—pp. 422.

We have repeatedly given our opinion in this Review of *Dr. Guericke*, as a writer of Church History, and expressed our gratification at the prospect of a translation of his great work (*Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*) into English. This wish has here been met in a rather unexpected quarter. It certainly never occurred to us that the historian who, more

than any one else in our day, identifies Lutheranism and Christianity, should find an admirer in the leading school of New England Puritanism. But it is even so, and here we have a translation of Guericke's first volume, from the hand of Prof. Shedd, of Andover Theological Seminary. It is true, that the Puritan translator has not, as we shall presently show, done anything like full justice to the old-fashioned Lutheran historian, but it is interesting to see how greatly he has been influenced by the sterling excellences of our author, and the very fact that a gentleman in Prof. Shedd's situation should undertake such a work, is no ordinary compliment.—Had Prof. Shedd undertaken to translate Gieseler, or Hase, or any writer of that class, we should have thought it nothing unusual, but where a work based upon a system so different from that to which the translator has been trained, is selected in preference to all others, we cannot doubt that it must have very great merits and unusually strong points, by which it is recommended. Some of these are very well stated by Prof. Shedd himself, in his Preface, the whole of which we should be glad to give in this place, as a very fair specimen of the translator's vigor of thought and ability to do justice to his subject. But we must content ourselves with the following extracts:

"Guericke's Manual of Church History has passed through eight editions in Germany. The demand for so many reissues of this hand-book, within the space of a little more than twenty years, in a country distinguished for the fecundity of its authorship, and the fastidiousness of its scholarship, affords strong presumptive evidence of its intrinsic merits. During the last twenty-five years, the German mind has been remarkably active in the department of Ecclesiastical History, and the growth of German literature, in this direction, has been luxuriant; and yet the manual of Guericke continues to hold a place among the very first, as a book for students and lecture-rooms."

He then proceeds to specify the leading characteristics of the work, which he thinks establish its claim to the attention of the American and English public, and justify the labor which he has expended in its translation.

"1. The author is in hearty sympathy with the truths of revelation, as they have been enunciated in the symbols, and wrought into the experience of the Christian church from the beginning. Belonging to the High Lutheran branch of the

German church . . . . he cordially adopts all the cardinal doctrines of the Reformation, as they throbbed in the heart of Luther, and were organized into the oldest, and in some respects, the warmest of the Reformed symbols—the Augsburg Confession. Such a living interest in the evangelical substance of Christianity, and such an intelligent and thorough reception of it into his own personal experience, it is needless to say, can alone prepare the historian of the Christian church to enter vividly into its whole varied career." . . . .

"2. As a consequence of this interest in the evangelical doctrines, this historian places the highest estimate upon the internal history of the church. The reader will, indeed, find the work a repository of information upon all points and subjects that belong to ecclesiastical history—packed densely and full, with names and dates, and all the indispensable citation of the department—but he will feel at every step that the causes and principles, the dogmatic ideas and moral forces, are ever foremost in the writer's mind." . . . .

3. This manual will be found to be characterized by accuracy and learning. . . .

4. Guericke's work, if we are not mistaken, hits the mean between the full and flowing narration of history proper, and the mere meagre synopsis or epitome." . . .

After such a strong commendation of his author, and apparent appreciation of his character, and sympathy with his leading principles, notwithstanding a disparaging clause about his sharing to some extent in the recent narrowness of "Lutheranism in Germany," we certainly expected a faithful presentation of Guericke's work, if not in its form, certainly in its substance, and however widely different in the letter, yet fairly identical in spirit. So much we think is clearly promised in the statement upon page eight of the translator's preface: "Whoever shall compare the version with the original, will not find it an *ad verbum* translation. To have merely *construed* this German author, would have been to have produced an unintelligible book. The work from beginning to end has been recast, so that while *the author furnishes the substance*, the translator hopes that the form, style, and diction exhibit, in some degree, the traits and qualities of the English mind."

This is a very satisfactory *theory* for the reproduction of such a work, and we have no doubt, from the specimen which Prof. Shedd has given us in his preface, and other productions of his pen which we have had the pleasure of perusing,

that he is abundantly competent to carry this theory into practice. But in the work before us we are constrained to say that he has entirely failed to do anything of the kind. He has, indeed, given us some specimens of correct and even elegant translation, and of very good English composition, which we admire the more as we are well aware of the great difficulties presented by Guericke's peculiar style; perhaps we might say, had we not the original work of Guericke before us, he has given us a very respectable compend of the history of the church for the first six centuries, but whatever else he has done, *he has not given us a full and fair translation of Guericke's work*, whether as regards its spirit or its scope. The translater's sins, alike of omission and of commission, are almost innumerable. The whole theory of Guericke's work is changed, and instead of the Lutheran idea of the Christian church and its development, which Guericke necessarily evolved and portrayed from his stand-point, we have the Puritan idea, as developed in New England, and taught at Andover. Now we have no quarrel at all with Puritanism, but, on the contrary, greatly admire its sublime simplicity and manly and practical, though somewhat rough and stern virtues; simply regretting that it has, in some points, fallen short of the fulness and freeness of the Gospel of Christ. But his Puritan principles are no apology for a translator's unfaithfulness to the obligations, whether expressed or implied, which he owes to the author whom he undertakes to render and interpret to the people who speak with another tongue. We have not either time or inclination to go into details confirmatory of the judgment which we are here compelled to render. Let one or two specimens suffice.

On the second page of the translator's work, we find the following definition of the church: "The *Christian Church* is the union of all who are called and chosen (an ἐκκλησία internally as well as externally) through the Word and Spirit of God, to be the possession of the Lord κυριακόν, kirk, church); who are united together by the public confession of a common faith in the Redeemer; and whose destination it is to promote each other's edification, and coöperate towards the spread of this faith, for the illumination, sanctification and blessedness of humanity, and the ever-widening manifestation of the kingdom of God in it." We cannot but regard this as a deliberate and intentional change of the author's meaning, for we see too clear evidence of the translator's acquaintance with the language of the original, to believe that he can re-

gard this as a faithful version of the words, "Der Verein nehmlich, aller aus der sündigen Welt durch Wort und Sakrament Gottes zum Eigenthum des Herren (zum κυριακόν, zur κυριακή, Kirche) berufenen und erkohrenen," etc.

Still more unsatisfactory is the form in which the translator presents the first section of § 38, on "*Religious days and Festivals.*" It would be difficult to find elsewhere a more satisfactory exhibition of the true import of the Christian Sabbath, and so clear a statement of the causes of the transfer of the Sabbath from the seventh day of thee week to the first, or Lord's day, as Guericke has here given. But his translator omits almost the very kernel of his argument. He has also entirely omitted the part explanatory of the nature and design of *church festivals.* We miss also the pregnant note which Guericke has attached to his explanation of the institution of the Lord's day.

In the following paragraph (§ 39) he has not only omitted the preliminary remarks upon the sacraments in general, but has greatly modified his views on *baptism*, whilst he completely ignores and suppresses the author's views in regard to the doctrine of the *Lord's Supper.* Here he throws out three or four pages of text and notes, as though he were a censor especially appointed for the purpose of preventing such heresy from coming before the world. We say nothing about the orthodoxy of such a presentation: we only speak of its want of fairness and of the first elements of faithful translntion. If the views of Guericke upon this and other subjects, are unacceptable to Prof. Shedd, and those for whom he writes, his remedy is easy; he can let the book alone: he was under no obligation whatever, to translate it. But if he do translate it, or profess to translate it, surely courtesy to his author and justice to his readers, alike demand that he should give the author's meaning to the very best of his ability. It may be all very fair in war, to take an enemy's cannon and turn it against him, but when a friend has received us into his fortress and supplied us with provisions, as well as with arms and munitions of war against our common enemies—to turn these against him, is certainly not Christian, but Punic faith.

We speak thus plainly upon this subject, because so much of this work has already been done. Volume after volume issues from our American press, professing to be a translation from some eminent German theologian. We purchase it, and are surprised at the meagerness of its statements, the omission of sentiments which we supposed him to entertain, and

the introduction of ideas to which we had believed him a stranger. We get the original, and find that it is "the tragedy of Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet left out," and that of Jack Cade inserted in its place. We do not know who set this disgraceful fashion. Maclaine, as translator of Mosheim's Church History, is the earliest that we recollect, and we are sorry to say that Dr. Murdock, who professes to amend the errors of his predecessor, is not much better. Dr. Woods' translation of Knapp's Theology is still worse, and Mr. O. W. Stearn's edition of Sartorius' "Person and Work of Christ" (endorsed by Dr. Sears) is beneath criticism in its execution, and without conscience in its pretence of being an adequate presentation of the ideas of the original. We are afraid, from some intimations which we have seen, that many parts of Herzog's Encyclopædia (published by Messrs. Lindsay and Blakiston) are to fare no better. We are sorry to put Prof. Shedd in such company, for we had hoped better things from him and the school to which he belongs; for to Andover, under the lead of the veteran Stuart, belongs the honor of having opened the rich treasures of German literature and theology to the American, if not to the English world.

Besides his omissions and additions to the text, we have likewise to object to Prof. Shedd's method of treating his author's notes. Here he has carried the process just mentioned, still further. He not only leaves out and inserts authorities *ad libitum* (we should not by any means object to the latter, if judiciously done, and properly designated as the *translator's* work), but he also omits whole pages of elucidation, argument and authority, as, for example, in § 30, where (on p. 109 of the *translation*) having first *inserted* a statement different from the position taken by his author, he next proceeds to obliterate all trace of his sentiments on another point, by omitting his long and elaborate note. Doubtless, a great many notes might be omitted, where the object is to condense and abbreviate the work. But Prof. Shedd's first volume is about as large as Guericke's (the number of pages is less, but the size is larger), so that we have a right to expect a full and fair presentation of the original. That we have not this, we can only again express our regret. But we are compelled to say that, in our opinion, Prof. Shedd would have done himself much more honor, by producing an entirely original work, and using Guericke only as a model, or as an authority, and not converting the most Lutheran of church historians into a half-way Yankee.

ARTICLE XI.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Tholuck's Commentary on the Psalms. A translation and Commentary on the Book of Psalms, for the use of the Ministry and Laity of the Christian Church. By Augustus Tholuck, D. D., Ph. D. Translated from the German: with a careful comparison of the Psalm-text with the original tongues. By the Rev. J. Isador Mombert. Philadelphia: Martien.—1858.

This is a delightful and most welcome work. Of all books of devotion, the most refreshing and most edifying is the Psalter. We never grow weary of it. The more familiar it becomes, the better we understand it, and the more fully we enter into its spirit, the better do we find that it answers its heavenly design of lifting our souls up to God, enabling us to hold communion with Him, delivering us from the temptations and pollutions of the world, and filling us with joy, and peace and confidence in the God of our salvation. Luther has well satd (in his Operat. in Psalm I. 9) "This book is, in my judgment, altogether different from other books of Scripture. For in other books we are taught, both by word and example, what we should do; but this one not only teaches, but also gives us habits and manners wherewith to fulfil the word and imitate its examples. For it is not within our power to fulfil the law of God, or to be conformed to the example of Christ, but to desire and pray that we may so do, and to praise and thank God for whatever we have attained." We welcome, therefore, anything which makes us better acquainted with our favorite book, nor has any one, for a long time, put us under greater obligations in this respect, than Dr. Tholuck. We have long admired and employed, for our special edification, his "*Stunden christlicher Andacht,*" many of the most delightful chapters of which are based upon the Psalms, on several of which they give a running commentary, and when we first read them, we wished for a full exposition of the whole book from the same pen. Nor are our antieipations disappointed in the work before us. It is essentially a book of devotion, with all the critical and explanatory aids that we require, but still making these subordinate to the great end in view, the edifieation and religious wants of the reader. So the author tells us: "I have written this Commentary with a view to the great boon whieh these songs have been for more than three thousand years, to pious Jews and Christians, and with the elevating knowledge that even now, there are mil-

lions of human beings, who just in the words of the Psalms, express in their prayers the longings of their souls and the gratitude of their hearts to God. May it tend to give to all who lack it, the firm conviction that the Psalter comprises, indeed, a treasure of the most diverse, and of the most holy religious experience, and that it deserves to continue, in every epoch of time, the Prayer-book of the Christian world."—Pref. p. 13.

Yes! that is it—David's is the true "*book of common prayer*," not for the members of a particular communion, but for all generations of the people of God—for those who worshipped in the gorgeous temple of Solomon, and no less for those who worship in the second temple, whose Shekinah once blazed in the manger of Bethlehem, but is now the glory of the New Jerusalem, where they have no need of any other light than that which streams from the thorn-crowned head of the Sun of Righteousness. Aye! this is the book "set forth to be used in all the churches," or at least in every house, in the wild wilderness, on the pathless ocean, wherever a contrite heart is found, enjoined not by act of Parliament, or by the canons of Conventions, but by the Holy Ghost and the infallible wisdom of the indivisible Trinity. Well did our great Redeemer say: "*All things must be fulfilled that are written in the Psalms concerning me*," Thus making himself their centre, as well as giving us his own prayer, as their summary, just as his Golden Rule also is of the law which he had come to fulfil.

Dr. Tholuck's "Introduction," prefixed to this volume, is appropriate and satisfactory beyond most things of the kind, and did we not believe that all of our readers would procure it for themselves, we should be disposed to insert it in our Review, as a contribution at once to sound criticism, and to practical theology. It consists of the following parts:—I. The Psalter in the Christian Church. II. Of the form, division, design and use of the Psalter in Old Testament times. III. Of the authors of the Psalms. IV. Of the doctrine and ethics of the Psalms: which are also treated under the following heads: I. God and the government of the world. II. Man and sin. III. Piety and morality of the Psalmists. IV. The future. V. The Messiah. All these subjects are treated in a highly interesting and satisfactory manner. His illustrations of the use of the Psalter, and the esteem in which it has been held by some of the wisest and best of men, are particularly rich and appropriate—making us wish that he had given us a volume on that subject.

The Commentary itself consists of an introduction to each psalm, then the text, and finally an exposition of the psalm in detail. The text was, of course, that of Luther, as it is difficult to think of a German reader being edified by any other, just as English readers habitually resort to our received English versions. Still, he does not give it a slavish adherence, as though his understanding of the divine word were bound

up in a fixed formula. Praying with the devout Milton, "What in me is dark illumine," he endeavors to perform the same service for his readers, and therefore occasionally departs from Luther's phraseology where he thinks that he has "not given the sense correctly, or where the connection is dark."

For the same reason, we approve of the plan of the translator who found this his great difficulty in putting the work into a form useful to the general English reader. He has done this by taking the received English version for his text, never altering when the two versions correspond in sense. But when the original Hebrew warranted a rendering different from the English, and adopted by Dr. Tholuck, he has either put it in brackets in the text or in a foot-note. As a sample of the manner in which he has done this, we refer to the *nineteenth Psalm*. Here we have the following translation of verse four:

> "It is not a speech or a language,
> The voice whereof is not heard."

This is undoubtedly an improvement upon our authorized version. But we cannot say the same of the sixth verse;

> "Which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber,
> And rejoiceth as a hero to run the race."

Here we can see no advantage in the substitution of "hero" for "strong man;" on the contrary, we think that it at once weakens the sense, and renders it less intelligible. Neither do we see any advantage in substituting in verse ten, "*more precious*" for "*more to be desired.*" Nor are we more favorably impressed with the changes in verses twelve and thirteen, which he renders thus:

> 12. (But) who can mark his errors?
> Cleanse thou me from unknown faults.
> 13. Keep back also thy servant from intentional sins;

We have not access to the original of this work, but we are assured from the style, both of language and of thought, and from the translator's statement in his Preface, that he has performed his work well, and so as to be creditable alike to his author and to himself. "I have endeavored," says Mr. Mombert, "to follow closely the sense of the original, and having caught the German idiom (idea) to express it in an English idiomatic form. . . . It has been my humble endeavor to do justice to Dr. Tholuck, and to the British public, but must not be considered to subscribe to all the views set forth by the author."

The translator's style is not very polished, but, so far as we have examined, it is sufficiently clear and intelligible, and we most cordially commend the book to all our readers, both lay and clerical.

Introduction to Structural and Systematic Botany, and Vegetable Physiology, being a fifth and revised edition of the Botanical Text-Book. Illustrated with over shirteen hundred wood cuts. By Asa Gray, M. D., Fisher Professor of Natural History in Harvard University. New York: Ivison & Phinney, 321 Broadway. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co., 111 Lake Street.—1858.

Manual of the Botany of the Northern United States. Revised edition; including Virginia, Kentucky, and all east of the Mississippi: arranged according to the Natural System. By Asa Gray, Fisher Professor of Natural History in Harvard University. (The Mosses and Liverworts by William S. Sullivant.) With fourteen plates, illustrating the Genera of the Cryptogamia. New York: Ivison & Phinney, 321 Broadway. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co., 111 Lake Street.—1858.

Dr. Gray is too well known in this country as an eminent naturalist, that his works should require any extended notice or special commendation at our hands. The fact that the former of the two works named above has reached its fifth edition, is proof sufficient of its substantial value, and of the appreciation which it has met with among the votaries of that interesting department of natural science whose principles it unfolds, and whose laws it discusses and illustrates. Its design is "to furnish classes in the higher Seminaries of learning, Colleges, and medical schools, as well as private students generally, with a suitable text-book of Structural and Physiological Botany, and a convenient introduction to Systematic or Descriptive Botany, adapted to the present condition of the science." The thorough study of a work like this is an indispensable prerequisite for any student who intends intelligently to botanize—to apply the principles of classification and a correct knowledge of the structure of plants, to the investigation of the plants which grow spontaneously around him, or in searching for which he may roam from state to state. The work opens with a general view of the science of Botany, and then proceeds to exhibit the subject in two parts: I. Structural and Physiological Botany: II. Systematic Botany. In the first part the nature of plants, the nature, relations and functions of their various elements and several parts are fully exhibited, with great amplitude and clearness of statement, under a great number of subdivisions, and admirably illustrated by means of a multitude of wood cuts. The second exhibits the principles of classification, the natural system of Botany, &c. The second of the above named works contains a compendious Flora of the Northern portion of the United States, and forms a Manual such as

every student of Botany needs quite as much as his eyes. We do not profess to be a botanist ourselves: in our youth we dabbled in the science: a cursory examination of the pages before us has served to show us how much has been since done to conform the theories and the method of classification to nature, and how greatly the knowledge of the North American flora has since then been improved and extended. Both works are most creditable to the author, and afford most satisfactory and encouraging evidence of the progress which natural science is making in our country, and of the extent and success with which it is pursued. To all lovers of nature, to students and instructors, we heartily commend these large and most carefully elaborated works, as doubtless the best which our country has yet produced in this particular branch of study.

History of the Origin, Formation, and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States; with Notices of its principal Framers. By George Ticknor Curtis. In two volumes. Vol. II. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square.—1858.

About four years ago the first volume of this important and valuable work appeared, and we then gave it an extended notice, to which we now refer our readers. Deeply interesting as was the first volume, the interest of the present is, if possible, greater and more varied. Whilst the first led us, with the hand of a well-informed and trusty guide, through the perils, the struggles, errors and disappointments of the earlier years of our constitutional history, the second introduces us to that memorable assembly to which those remarkable vicissitudes ultimately led, and exhibits in full the discussions and labors, the great difficulties and solemn transactions, which resulted in the formation of our present glorious constitution, and its gradual adoption by all the thirteen states. In order fully to set forth the character of the work, it would be necessary to present an analysis of its contents, and for this we have not room here. That the work has been ably done, is vouched for by the author's eminent qualifications for the task: that it has been done with conscientious fidelity, is guarantied by his well-known character: that it has been done with candor, and with impartial justice to all parties interested, we are willing to certify. It is the product of patient and laborious research, guided by a clear perception of the sort of information needed by the American people, and by a discriminating judgment in the selection, arrangement and use of ample materials. It is a work that ought to be in the possession of every educated citizen of our country.

Commentary on the Original Text of the Acts of the Apostles. By Horatio B. Hackett, D. D., Professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Institution. A new edition revised and greatly enlarged. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 59 Washington Street. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard.—1858. For sale by Smith & English, Philadelphia.

Our exegetical literature is receiving very important accessions, and not slowly. Translations of important German works, together with works not translated, but largely indebted to German sources, are making their appearance. It is a sign of the times which we hail with joy, believing that it will eminently conduce to a knowledge of the sacred oracles and the glory of God. Dr. Hackett, whose Commentary in its first edition we have consulted occasionally for some years, and with the conviction that, although not writing from our stand-point (the Dr. is a Calvinist and Baptist), he is, nevertheless, a well qualified and skilful Exegete, now presents us with a second and improved edition, and as we considered the first valuable, we regard the second as more so.

Elementary German Reader, on the plan of Jacobs' Greek Reader; with a full Vocabulary. Composed, compiled and arranged systematically. By Rev. L. W. Heydenreich, Graduate of the University of France, and Professor of Languages in the Moravian Female Seminary at Bethlehem, Pa. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 346 & 348 Broadway.—1858.

Professor Heydenreich's Reader has received from the most competent judges the highest praise, and none qualified to judge, can examine the work without the conviction that the praise is deserved. His Reader, so well suited for the purposes for which it was designed, must come into favor, and be generally employed wherever the noble language of our ancestors is studied, and there is no language more deserving of it. We hope the esteemed author will not be without a more substantial reward than praise for his self-denying labors.

Annals of the American Pulpit; or Commemorative notices of distinguished American Clergymen of various denominations, from the earliest settlement of the country to the close of the year 1855. *With Historical Introductions.* By William B. Sprague, D. D. Vols. III & IV. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.—1858.

The first two volumes of this great work were issued about a year ago, and were noticed by the press with unprecedented favor and unqualified

approbation. Two more massive and attractive volumes are now given us, and, sure are we, they do not fall below the preceding. If possible, they rather exceed the others in interest and value. The former volumes were devoted to ministers of the Congregational Church; these contain the record of eminent men connected with the Presbyterian pulpit, honored and cherished names in the history of the religion and literature of our country, who having advanced the church by their learning and their labors, and adorned it by their Christian virtues, deserve to live in the memory of the future.

The plan of the work is, that after a brief and authentic biography of each character introduced, reminiscences are given from some well known and reliable individual, who knew the subjects while living, or has received by tradition, facts that bring to view those characteristics which personal acquaintance alone will preserve. These original letters have been written by some of the ablest men of the country, statesmen living and departed, clergymen and literary men well known to fame, and give great variety and interest to the volumes. The work is free from all denominational predilection or bias. There is a faithful outline of the life of each individual given, without any justification or condemnation of the opinions he entertained. The subject of the memoir is permitted to speak for himself, by means of extracts from his writings, and where no expression of his opinions has been left on record by him, a substitute has been procured from some one of his intimate friends.

We have already spoken of the value of Dr. Sprague's labors, and his eminent abilities for the task undertaken. On every page the volumes furnish proof of great care and discrimination, of accuracy and taste, industry and perseverance, and of the author's genial and catholic spirit, worthy of all praise. The volumes abound with information rich and instructive, with striking anecdote and vivid incident, calculated to interest and profit the present reader as well as the future historian. The work, in its character is unique, in its design general, and in its execution impartial and successful. It is worthy a place in every library. We trust the life and health of the author may be spared to complete the work he has so successfully commenced, and a grateful public appreciate his laborious and valuable efforts.

Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy. By William Archer Butler, M. A. Late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. Edited from the Author's MS., with notes by Wm. H. Thompson, M. A. In two volumes. Philadelphia: Parry & McMillan.—1857.

The author of these volumes filled with distinguished success the chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin, and deservedly ranked as a man of marked ability and extraordinary attainments. The lectures

were delivered in the course of his regular duties, and prepared before he had attained his thirtieth year. With all the disadvantages of a posthumous publication, as they were not only not intended for publication, but written in haste to meet the immediate emergencies of the class-room, they exhibit great learning, a keen philosophical insight into the subject, and a rich and forcible style. The thorough and masterly review of the Platonic philosophy is the most original part of the work, and the best exposition of the subject in our language. It is "the result," as the author tells us, "of a patient and conscientious examination of the original documents." It appears to be the ripe product of his intellect, and may be regarded as a perfectly independent contribution to our knowledge of the great master of Grecian wisdom. The work is an important addition to our literature. It supplies a felt want, and will be found a valuable aid in the study of ancient philosophy.

Two Lectures on the History of the American Union. By Henry Reed, LL. D. Late Professor of English History in the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Parry & McMillan.

These lectures were delivered before the Smithsonian Institute, and have been published since the death of the author. Like all the productions of his gifted mind, they bear evidence of ripe scholarship, a thorough acquaintance with the subject, a delicacy of taste, and a purity and gracefulness of style, not always found in the productions of the present day. We would again commend to our readers Professor Reed's series of lectures, as admirably adapted to the wants of those who desire to engage in an intelligent and profitable course of reading.

Sermons and Addresses delivered on special occasions. By John Harris, D. D. Second series. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.—1858.

Dr. Harris is so well known to the Christian public as the author of the "Great Commission," the "Great Teacher," and other works of merit, that he needs no special commendation. Those who are familiar with what has already appeared from his pen, will gladly avail themselves of his posthumous writings, which his colleague, Rev. Philip Smith, has judiciously gathered together. "The present series of discourses begins with man, viewed first as God created him, then as fallen and redeemed; and, in this character, is made the servant of his Savior in a new course of inward life and outward duties." Dr. Harris had a very high reputation as a preacher, and on important occasions, his services were in constant requisition. The pulpit was his favorite field, and in preparation for its duties, he expended much care and labor. His sermons are full of thought, with much more originality than you usually find in similar

productions, and abounding in striking and eloquent expressions. The sermons on the "Christian Ministry," and the "Importance of an educated ministry," we read with very great interest.

Essays in Biography and Criticism. By Peter Bayne, M. A. Second series. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.—1858.

We have had occasion to speak before of this distinguished author, who was first brought to the notice of the public in his admirable work on the Christian Life. Wherever his books are known, they have met with signal success. He deserves the high distinction which he has acquired on both sides of the Atlantic. The volume now on our table embraces articles on Kingsley, Macauley, Alison, Coleridge, Wellington, Bonaparte, Plato, Christian Civilization, Education in the nineteenth century, the Pulpit and the Press. The subjects are all interesting, the discussions are valuable, the thoughts striking, and the style vigorous and attractive. The publishers deserve praise for the service they have done in introducing this excellent author to Americans, and for the many good works they are continually furnishing the public.

Remarks on Social Prayer Meetings. By Alexander Viets Griswold, D. D. Late Bishop of the Eastern Diocese. With an Introductory Statement by Rev. George D. Wildes, A. M. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.—1858. pp. 99.

This is a reprint of Bishop Griswold's essays on meetings for prayer and conference, which were received with so much favor some years ago, when they originally appeared. Their republication, just now, is very opportune, as there are thousands, not only in the Episcopal Church, but among other denominations, who will be glad to learn the views of so able and good a man on the subject of which these essays treat. The Bishop advocates these social services, and fully and ably discusses their authority, advantages and results. We have read the discussion with great interest and satisfaction. We believe it one of the best productions we have seen on the question, and its circulation will do good.

ERRATA.

In the last (April) number, page 451, after "viz." line five from the bottom, the following words must be supplied:—"the archbishops of Mayence, Treves and Cologne, and four were secular, viz."

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ARTICLE I.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE WISDOM AND BENEVOLENCE OF GOD DERIVED FROM THE SCIENCE OF METEOROLOGY.

"Fire and hail; snow, and vapor: stormy wind fulfilling his word."—Ps. CXLVIII: 8.

In the following pages, I propose presenting a few examples, from among the large number which might be selected from the science of Meteorology, as a contribution to the department of Natural Theology.

METEOROLOGY is the science which treats of the natural phenomena that take place in the atmosphere, or of those conditions, changes, and movements in it, popularly denominated the "*weather*."

To some *this* may seem like a most unpromising subject for their entertainment and instruction. A little attention and reflection will, however, without doubt, convince every one, that he may here acquire much valuable information, and learn that we have great cause of gratitude to God for having placed us in a world, whose arrangements are all so beautiful, and whose adaptations are so wonderfully suited to the nature and wants of its inhabitants.

In the popular notions concerning the "weather," there is a most singular blending of faith in an overruling and directing Providence, with a concealed Atheism. Whilst, on the one hand, it is acknowledged that it is God, governing the physical world, who sends rain and sunshine, cold and

heat, summer and winter, seed-time and harvest; on the other, nothing is so reproachfully and scornfully spoken of, sometimes even by men otherwise sober-minded, as those atmospheric phenomena under consideration, as though they were fitful or lawless, or as though they happened by a blind chance, or took place without any control on the part of an All-wise Governor. But in fact, no event in the material world takes place without his agency or control. Though rational creatures, in the exercise of their free agency, often do disobey his commands and resist his will, it is not so in the material world. Each shining orb in the glittering heavens, and each particle of air or watery vapor, that floats over our heads or invests our bodies, moves onward in its course, yielding implicit obedience to his commands. What we call the laws of nature are but the mode in which the invisible hand of God directs the events of the world of matter. By Him the movements of material bodies are directed in infinite wisdom, not arbitrarily and variably, but according to such rules as he sees to be best. To study these laws or rules, is to study God in his works. He governs the atmospheric movements and conditions in such a manner as to promote, in the highest degree, the welfare of his creatures. He gives salubrity to the air, and causes the earth to yield her fruits.

We study the movements of the air we breathe, just as we do those of the heavenly bodies. The former obey law just as promptly and accurately as do the latter. Whilst moving onward in their orbits, the planets disturb each other by their mutual attraction, but being few in number, and remote from each other, they work out for themselves a mean path, not very different from that which they would pursue, if left alone under the controlling influence of their central Sun. The particles of the air are, however, much more impeded and disturbed by each other, being almost infinite in number, and closely connected together, and therefore *their* movements are much more complicated than those of the planets, yet each one implicitly obeys law as it moves over the surface of our planet. There is *nowhere* any room for the operation of a *blind chance.*

The question then occurs, *can these laws be ascertained;* or must we regard them as above the reach of human investigation? In answer, it may be stated, that much has already been accomplished in this field of labor; that the combined and concerted observations made in various countries of Europe and America, within the last quarter of a century,

have contributed in bringing to view and in establishing the great principles that govern ærial phenomena, and that the science of meteorology, though young in years, has had a rapid and healthy growth, and has reached a respectable maturity. It cannot, however, be concealed, that very great and serious difficulties are yet found, obstructing our path at every step, and that it may be a long time before all of them shall be removed, and all questions that may arise, shall be satisfactorily answered.

There is no science without its peculiar difficulties, but those belonging to that of Meteorology are probably greater than those connected with almost any other. Yet, as patient, industrious and persevering toil has, sooner or later, always rewarded the laborer in other fields of investigation, with the removal of existing difficulties, and the discovery of new and important laws; may we not also here hope for the same result? The history of Astronomy affords an interesting exemplification of the manner in which difficulties disappear, and new light is shed upon the path of the investigator. At first, the lunar and planetary motions seemed too intricate and complicated to admit of the possibility of assigning the precise place of any one of these bodies at any specified time. The grosser laws, which governed their motions were, however, soon ascertained, and then the discovery of the subordinate and apparently more complicated, one after another, rewarded the patient toil of the Astronomer. And now, this ancient science has attained to such a degree of perfection that the astronomer is able to follow all the planetary bodies through all time, past and future, and to write their history in a book. But still there remain vast fields of space unexplored; fields which are inviting the inquisitive and eager gaze of the investigator; and yet other fields which are beyond the scrutinizing reach of the highest telescopic power that has hitherto been directed upon them. There are heights and depths there that never will be explored by human eye. But is the information that we have already acquired the less valuable, because *we* do not know all that other minds after us may know, or that angels can comprehend? Is the accurate knowledge that we now possess of the heavens just around us, and in close proximity to us, to be regarded as nothing, because we may never be able to know all that exists in infinite space and time? The knowledge of the school-boy, though not equal to that of the eminent philosopher, is nevertheless not merely the measure of

his yet imperfectly undeveloped capacity, but it may become most valuable to him, as the basis upon which he may erect a gigantic structure in future life. And thus we must not be discouraged because we do not know everything that may be known in the department of the "weather." Rejoicing that we already know so much, we will make that knowledge the basis of a more laborious and minute investigation, assured that hereafter our toil shall be amply rewarded in the discovery of new truth.

Let us take several well known meteorological facts, as examples, in order that we may see how we must conduct our investigations. (1.) We all know by experience that winter is cold and summer is warm. What is the reason of this difference? Every one will say, the reason is obvious; the sun is the source of heat to us, and, shining each summer's day much longer than during any twenty-four hours of the winter, the heat must accumulate in the one case, and be wanting in the other. The little that is received during a winter day is entirely lost during the long succeeding night, by being cast off or radiated into the sky; whilst the loss during the short night of summer, does not equal the daily gain. If such be your reasoning, it is correct. And if you should yet add, that the oblique rays of the sun, in winter, have a much less heating power than the almost perpendicular rays of summer, you shall have completely accounted for the difference of temperature of the two seasons. (2.) Again, a little attention impresses the fact upon our minds, that the greatest heat of the summer is not at the time of the longest day, but several weeks later, and that the most intense cold occurs generally in January, a few weeks after the time of the shortest day. The reason for this, though not difficult to find, does not so completely lie upon the surface, as that of the difference of temperature of summer and winter. If, however, we remember that the heat of the long days of summer is constantly accumulating, whilst the loss by radiation during the whole twenty-four hours, but especially during the short nights, is less than the daily gain from the sun, we readily see that the greatest heat ought to be after the longest day, and that the temperature ought to begin to decline only when the days begin decidedly to shorten and the nights to lengthen, which is about the beginning of August. And if we consider that after that, the daily loss of heat over the gain is small, we can easily see, that when the shortest day arrives there remains yet a fund of the accumulated heat of summer, and

that the greatest cold must exist at the time when the lengthening day begins to furnish as much heat as is lost by radiation, and consequently when the temperature can no more decline. This takes place during the month of January. A similar mode of reasoning will show us why the greatest heat of each day is about two or three hours after noon, and the greatest cold about sunrise. (3.) By way of illustration, I cite another fact generally noticed, viz: a north wind is dry and a south wind is moist. The reason for this is, that warm air is capable of holding moisture in solution, or in a state of vapor, in a ratio increasing more rapidly than the temperature, whilst the reverse is true of cold air or space. Air, therefore, coming from the north, being cold, is becoming warmer as it flows southwardly, and capable of holding more moisture in solution, and hence takes it up more, but yields none; whilst air flowing from the south, being warm, is becoming colder as it flows northward, and capable of holding less moisture in solution, and hence it deposits, or tends to deposit it as it proceeds.

The frequency with which snow and rain fall on the same day of successive weeks, has long been noticed. The enquiry arises, is this a part of a general law, or is it only accidental? When the days, on which rain or snow falls occur through the year, are noted down, a cursory view would seem to indicate that the rain period was about seven days and a quarter, or the same as the period of the moon, without, however, showing any direct connection with its changes, and that after occurring four times in succession on the same day of the week, it being about one-fourth of a day later each week, the *rain day* would fall on the next succeeding day of the week. If for four weeks, for example, it occurred on Monday, it would, on the fifth week, occur on Tuesday. In the middle of this weekly period we also, in general, find an intermediate rain or snow fall, so that we have, upon an average, two *rain days* per week. But when we attempt to follow out this rule, with a view of determining beforehand when we may expect to have rain, we are often disappointed. The rain entirely fails, in consequence of an insufficiency of moisture in the air. The atmospheric change, as indicated by the Barometer, takes place with considerable regularity; and, if moisture be present in sufficient quantity, the rain or snow—which is the accident—will follow. The rule is valuable, however, in telling us on what days *dry* weather may be expected.

But when we subject this rule to closer examination and comparison with observations continued through a series of years, we find many perplexing variations. We are almost ready to give it up as a rule, until we take into consideration that the seasons of the year ought to influence it to a considerable degree. During the winter of 1856—7, for example, we found the rains and snows to have occurred, for three months, on the same day of the week. An examination of the records of nineteen winters, prove that this has been the case during nearly every winter of that period. During the last winter, with some variations, Monday, or Sunday night has been the first rain or snow period of the week. During the dry summer months, that period is a little longer than seven days and a quarter; in Spring and early fall the rule requires no alteration in its expression, and in February and March the period is less than seven and a quarter. These variations are owing to changes in the *relative* moisture of the air.

Again, it has been noticed that the rains or snows occur with more certainty at two weeks distance than one. The half month, without however any known connection with the phase of the moon, is, indeed, a remarkable period of temperature. If, for example, any two weeks in succession should be very mild or cold, the next two are just the opposite. If the first half of the Fall months be warm and dry, and the latter half cold and moist, then may we expect the same order to run through the whole winter. It was so, to a very great degree, last winter, of which the whole, except November, was very mild. The intensely cold days of the winter of 1856–7 were just four weeks apart. The same general rule may be applied, with a close approximation to the truth, to all other winters.

There are many other most interesting facts pressing themselves upon our attention, but they require a much longer period for their investigation, to enable us to express them in the form of precise rules.

These familiar cases are given as *exemplifications* of what may be regarded as *general laws*. To these, it is known that there are some apparent exceptions; but these exceptions are subject to law, and may be embraced under the general law, if properly expressed. If, for example, it should be found that in some particular locality a north wind was moist, and a south wind dry, it will probably be found that the former flows from a large body of water, and the latter from a large body of dry or desert land. A comparison of observa-

tions is daily bringing new facts to light, which show that all the cases of exception are only apparent, in perfect harmony with general laws, and not contrary to them. The expression of a general law must be continually modified or extended as discovery advances, until it shall embrace all the phenomena that properly belong to it. It is by observation and patient study that obscurities are removed, and that we advance in the extent, variety and certitude of our knowledge. Our confidence in the certain fulfilment of general laws, is the basis of our conduct in every day life, and the source of much comfort and happiness.

Winds.

The Creator has so constituted the atmosphere that it should never be perfectly at rest, but constantly in a state of motion. The least change of temperature or variation in the quantity of its vapor, sets it in motion. The cases in which no wind whatever can be perceived, are exceedingly rare; and if they do ever occur, it is only for a few moments at a time.

Uses.—Winds perform a most important part in carrying out the great economy of nature. During the *heat of summer* they *fan and refresh us*, and thus add very materially to our physical comfort. When we are oppressed and almost exhausted, they flow by, take off the excess of heat, and impart a grateful coolness. Again, they perform a most valuable service to us, in carrying away and mingling with the whole mass, *the noxious exhalations* or effluvia which, if suffered to accumulate, would prove destructive to health and life, by producing disease. They tend to equalize the air, and render it everywhere salubrious, and fitted for the existence of life and happiness. In a few hours the air which would operate as a poison to us, if it remained, is carried half-way round the globe, and so mingled with other portions, as rarely to prove hurtful. It is only when the noxious matter is confined within walls, or is so rapidly evolved that it cannot be carried away as fast as it is formed, that it affects the general health. Winds are, therefore, messengers of mercy, bringing health and physical enjoyment to us. Nor dare we omit to mention the important fact, that they give wings to commerce, enabling the inhabitants of one country to exchange their products for those of another, and to enjoy the comforts and luxuries which they could not otherwise procure. Mutual superfluities are made to supply mutual

deficiencies, and thus the various nations of men are united into one great brotherhood.

But let us direct our attention, for the sake of obtaining principles, to the mode in which winds are produced, and the causes which give them their specific character.

1. When a mass of air is heated it becomes larger, and therefore relatively lighter. If it should be expanded to double its former volume, it will weigh but half as much as an equal bulk at its original temperature. It will then be displaced and forced upward by the surrounding heavier air, that now slides under and lifts it up, after the manner in which the particles of water cause a piece of wood to ascend, when placed beneath its surface. It is in this way that tropical islands are daily visited by the refreshing *sea breeze*. The surface of the land, becoming heated more rapidly and intensely than that of the adjacent water, the air, which rests upon the former, and becomes relatively lighter, is therefore displaced and forced up by the latter. This causes a constant wind from the sea, beginning at about nine o'clock A. M., and continuing until about five or six P. M. After the sun has set, the land soon becomes cooler than the adjacent water, by throwing off its heat with the same freedom with which it had imbibed it during the day, and, in turn, the air lying upon its surface becoming colder and heavier, flows out to the sea, and thus produces, at night, the *land breeze*. Thus tropical islands are twice refreshed in twenty-four hours; by day by the *sea breeze*, and by night by the *land breeze*. In this way, too, all low tropical countries lying near the sea, are relieved of their excessive heat; by day it is carried upward to warm the higher strata of the atmosphere and elevated lands, and by night it is carried outward towards the sea, to come back the next day laden with vapor. If the seaboard rise not too rapidly, or be not too undulating, the *sea breezes* are felt inland from forty to one hundred miles. The eastern coast of our continent, being undulating and mountainous as far as the southern border of the middle states, is not to any considerable extent favored by this welcome daily visiter during the hot months of the year. But it is almost daily felt in the southern and gulf states. Similar statements might be made in regard to the eastern coast of Hindoostan, and other countries situated on the seacoast.

2. Let us advance a step further, and notice an atmospheric movement of a higher order, that is perceptible over a large portion of our continent. It is one that *holds the same re-*

lation to the year, that the sea breeze does to the day. During the winter the cold air flows from the land towards the Atlantic Ocean, and, as the Gulf Stream, that is carrying the heated waters of the torrid zone to warm the higher latitudes, which it does western Europe in a remarkable degree, flows closely to our eastern coast, the tendency to flow in that direction is thereby proportionably increased. Hence our wintry winds have a decided tendency to blow from northwest to southeast, or at right angles to our coast. In summer, especially during July and August, when the surface of the earth here is most heated, we find more winds blowing from the southeast, or some point between the east and south, than during any other portion of the year.

But the most striking example of periodical winds, or winds blowing for one period in one direction, and for the opposite season in a contrary direction, is to be found in the Monsoons of the Indian Ocean. These blow, from September to March, from the cold surface of Asia to the comparatively warm Indian Ocean and the southern extremity of Africa, which, during that time, enjoys summer; that is, the Monsoon during that period blows from northeast to southwest; and from March to September it blows from southwest to northeast, because the warm air of the Asiatic summer is displaced by a pressure from the Indian Ocean and south Africa, which is then enjoying its cool season of the year. Without citing any more examples, I may remark that, in a similar manner, we may explain the existence of nearly all periodical and local winds. I hasten on with my subject, specifying merely enough to enable me to explain general principles or indicate the great laws of meteorology.

By far the greatest atmospheric movement, however, and the most far-reaching in its beneficial influences on the world, both in regard to the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and in which the benevolence and wisdom of the great Creator are strikingly displayed, is that which is ordinarily denominated the *trade winds*.

The *trade winds* are occasioned by a rarification of the air within the tropics, by the great heat of the almost perpendicular rays of the sun, and by the pressure of the atmosphere from the higher latitudes towards the place of greatest heat. The air, in these higher latitudes, partaking of the velocity of the surface on which it rests, is carried eastward by a considerably less hourly velocity than that which is nearer the

equator; and consequently, as it approaches the torrid zone, it is left behind by the more rapid eastward motion of that portion of the earth's surface, and therefore it must appear to blow westward; on the northern side as a wind from the east-northeast, or nearly east; and on the southern side as a wind from the east-southeast, or nearly east. In a belt of about seven hundred miles broad, immediately under the equator, there is no regular trade wind. On each side, however, of this central belt, we find one blowing, in a breadth of about fourteen hundred and fifty miles, with great regularity.

Prevailing, as these two winds do, in the greatest breadth of the two great oceans, the Atlantic and Pacific, they are of the highest value to commerce and the intercourse of nations, and, therefore, to the comfort and happiness of mankind. If there were an Equatorial ocean extending without interruption round the globe, these winds would also blow quite round, in an unvaried course. A superficial view might lead us to suppose that such an adjustment would be of the greatest advantage to us, in affording an open highway to the commerce and intercourse of the world. But more important, and far more beneficial designs than these, are to be carried out by these winds. Blowing against the rising grounds and mountain chains of the two great continents, they are more or less completely interrupted in their westward course. Being thus made to rise to some considerable height above the level of the ocean, they cannot remain there; but they begin to flow over towards the poles, and to take the place of the air which had left the higher latitudes for the equator. Cooling as they proceed, they soon fall down to the earth's surface, and then present themselves to us as a south wind, and to the inhabitants of the opposite hemisphere as a north wind. When this air leaves the torrid zone, it has nearly the eastward motion of the equator, consequently as it reaches us where the eastward motion of the earth is less than that which the wind has, it must leave us behind, and flow past us in a current from southwest to northeast. In latitude 50° it is almost due eastward. On the southern side of the equator it flows round in a curve bent from the north to the southeast and east. We see then that the same air, which at first was borne towards the equator to displace the heated air there, is, in its turn, borne upward, and made to flow round in a great circuit towards the eastern side of each great ocean, or

the western side of each continent, thence to be carried again towards the equator.

To this cause we have to attribute the existence of south or south westerly winds, during a large portion of the year; especially during the early summer months, when the sun, being north of the equator, has transferred the most active trade wind to our side, and brought the cause of disturbance comparatively near us.

This air, which being heated within the tropics, and raised above the earth's surface, is carried to higher latitudes in a great eddy, performs a most important service in equalizing the temperature and moisture of the globe. By it the temperate and frigid zones are supplied with a considerable amount of heat, and with moisture to produce dew, rain and snow. To form a correct conception of the important office the circulating air thus performs, we must call to mind, what we all so well know, that a very large portion of the rain and snow that falls upon the surface of the land, instead of sinking into the soil to supply vegetation with a suitable quantity of moisture, and into the crevices of rocks and underlying strata to produce fountains and streams, runs off at once by the smaller streams into the rivers, and thence into the ocean. The quantity then remaining, to afford by evaporation, moisture sufficient for future rain or snow, is very small, and must continually become less, until the land would be no more visited with showers. The difficulty would be greatly increased by the vast body of land that is to be found in the north temperate zone. But these winds, returning from being *trades* in the torrid zone, bring with them the large amount of vapor which they imbibed, when flowing, at a high temperature, over so wide an expanse of ocean, and precipitate it again in the form of rain and snow, as they go on their way. How beautifully the Creator has arranged these changes of the atmosphere, for he has ordered that, whilst the air is obedient to the laws of heat and gravity, and is caused to circulate over land and ocean in great circuits, it is, at the same time, made to accomplish the benevolent ends of life and happiness to myriads of living forms. Leaving the higher latitudes in its journey to the torrid zone, it communicates its coolness to those climes that are oppressed with an excess of heat, and whilst it thus imparts its refreshing influences, it wafts the mariner onward in his voyage. Having there performed its acts of kindness, it starts back again to its high northern home. But it goes not empty-handed;

it goes prepared to lavish a thousand blessings as it proceeds, imparting its collected warmth to colder climes, stimulating animal and vegetable life, watering the earth by distilling in gentle showers the vapors which it has laid up in store, and thus causing the soil to produce abundantly. Again, having deposited its precious treasures, it goes back on its beneficent mission, performing the most valuable services wheresoever it goes. Thus even the winds, God has commissioned to do his bidding, and to accomplish his benevolent purposes. He "maketh his angels spirits," or *the winds*, "his ministers a flaming fire." The tempest, the lightnings, the rain and the snow are but his servants. He has made the air his treasure-house of heat and moisture, and whilst he rides upon the stormy sky, his pathway is marked by the blessings he causes to descend.

Rain.

A most interesting department of our subject is that which relates to *rain*. The benevolence of God is most signally displayed in furnishing the earth regularly and bountifully, with the moisture that is necessary to sustain vegetation, and to afford food for the animal world. Famine—gaunt famine—with her horde of hideous followers, stalks abroad where the heavens withhold their rain, and all vegetable life, and, with it, all animal life too, would perish without the refreshing showers.

1. How wonderful it is, that silently and imperceptibly, the vapors ascend from the surfaces of waters and moist soil, and are wafted invisibly over us, to be condensed into cloud, and rain, and to water the earth. Thus the air is made the medium of communicating a most important source of blessing.

2. But it is not the air itself which raises the vapors that it bears on its bosom. It is the heat it contains. Continually receiving fresh portions of heat from the heated earth, it is warmest near the surface, and grows colder as we ascend to greater heights. The quantity of vapor which it is capable of holding in solution, increasing more rapidly than the temperature, the great mass of the vapor that is contained in the air, must be comparatively near the earth's surface. There is but little vapor at a height of from six to eight thousand feet; and hence lofty mountains and high table lands receive very little rain, and are found to be the abodes of perpetual sterility.

3. The air is never destitute of moisture, even in the driest weather. Though unseen and unfelt, it is there. Its presence is shown by the dew that forms on the outside of a tin cup, in summer, if cold water be poured into it, or by the frost-work on windows during the cold of winter.

4. The *absolute* quantity of moisture in the *equatorial* regions, is considerably greater than that of temperate and cold climates, and the moisture of summer, even when the air *seems* to be dry, is greater than during winter, even when it feels damp and chilly. For this reason the fogs of the morning are dissipated by the increasing temperature of the day. Because of the greater abundance of vapor present, the rains of the torrid are more copious than those of the temperate zones, and the rains of these are also, greater than those of the frigid zones. For the same reason, much more moisture falls in summer as rain, than in winter as snow. The whole quantity of rain in a year amounts, in the torrid zone, to from one hundred to one hundred and eighty inches, or if it fell all at once, to from eight to fifteen feet in depth, whilst in the temperate zone it amounts to from thirty to eighty inches —at Gettysburg thirty-nine inches—and in higher latitudes it amounts to but a few inches. And must not every one see the wisdom of this arrangement? In the torrid zone, where the evaporation is rapid and great in amount, the rains must be copious, in order to refresh the earth, whilst in temperate and colder climates, less rain will be sufficient to supply what evaporation has carried off.

5. I have stated that an increased heat causes a greater amount of vapor to arise into the atmosphere, provided that there be a free access to moisture; but if water be not freely accessible, the increased heat only increases the dryness of the air. Hence, in summer, when the earth is dry for want of rain, any increase of heat only increases the dryness already existing. Hence, winds blowing from tropical lands are apt to be dry, especially if they be remote from large bodies of water. The summer, or hottest months, are generally the dryest, because the surface of land cannot afford moisture as fast as the warm air can take it up, and the middle is also the dryest part of the day.

Let us now consider the effects of cold on this moisture.

1. If warm air be made cold, it will be incapable of holding as much moisture as it could when warm. If the reduction of temperature be considerable, the vapor which was before

in an invisible state, will be so much cooled as to become visible, or to form cloud. Thus, frequently during winter, the moisture of our breath, which meets with the outer cold air, is condensed into visible vapor. The steam issuing from the spout of a boiling tea kettle, and that from the waste-pipe of a steam engine, afford striking illustrations of the same phenomenon. The same takes place when cold air mingles suddenly with moist and warm air. In the very cold weather of winter, a cloud is frequently seen when an outer door is opened, so as to admit the cold air into a kitchen filled with moisture arising from the cooking stove.

2. Again, when moist air is raised from the surface of the earth to a considerable height, it may become sufficiently cold to form cloud. It will be readily understood that if the quantity of moisture in the air be great, it will not be necessary that it should be carried to a very great height, in order that it may be condensed; and, on the other hand, if the moisture be small in amount, it may not be carried up far enough to form cloud. Hence, on some days, cloud is formed by the least disturbance in the air, and on others, the sky remains cloudless, or nearly so, through the whole day. Bearing in mind that the air grows rapidly colder as we ascend, we can easily comprehend the manner in which cloud is formed on a summer's day. In the morning, the rising sun heats the earth's surface, and that in turn heats the air lying upon it; this is then displaced by denser air, and forced to ascend a small distance. But by this ascent it does not yet become cold enough to condense its moisture into cloud. As the heat increases, the portions, starting from the heating surface, rise higher and higher, until at length, if the quantity of moisture be considerable, a point is reached at which it is cold enough to condense some of it into cloud. This happens at about eight to ten o'clock, A. M. As the heat increases, and the upward motion or ascensional force becomes more active, the clouds swell out in diameter and height, until they become the towering cumulus, or the nimbus or rain cloud. Very frequently, however, the dryness of the air increases with the increasing heat, to such a degree that the clouds which were formed in the earlier part of the day, are dissolved or dissipated about noon. The morning cloud, like the early dew, vanishes away in a heated sky. But later in the afternoon, when the descending sun begins, in a measure, to lose his power, the heat also commences to be less intense, and the air to be less dry. It is then, that the height to which the moist air may be car-

ried, is sufficient to produce a rapid formation of cloud. Clouds, which until then, seemed to float sluggishly over the bosom of the sky, scarcely able to maintain their existence against the dissolving influence of the solar rays, commence to show signs of increase, and new clouds begin to be formed. During last summer, most of the thunder clouds that were carried over us, were noticed to be formed, or suddenly to acquire activity after four P. M, when the heat of the day had considerably diminished.

It is interesting and highly instructive, to watch the formation of the summer cloud. When it first makes its appearance, it may well be compared to that which, to Elijah's servant, presented the first hopeful indication that the long season of drought was to be terminated; it seems scarcely larger than a "man's hand." Then, by fresh accessions of vapor from below, it swells and rises, towering up in the blue space above. Below, it grows dark and threatening; above, it wears a snow-white summit, looking cheerfully and serenely up towards the heavens. Presently the observant eye will perceive the highest summit crossed by a few threads or a band of cirrous cloud, or to appear as if a snow-white, almost transparent veil were thrown over the head, permitting the body of the cloud to be seen through it. In general, *that* circumstance marks the instant when the cloud has attained its greatest perpendicular altitude, and when rain begins to fall from its base. It is easy to tell whether rain is falling from a cloud, if you can only see the appearance of its top. When one peak of cloud has thus attained its greatest height, other lower adjacent peaks are seen to swell and rise rapidly, until they have reached the same height. Thus the rain cloud widens, by fresh additions to its sides, and though when it begun, it was only a few yards wide, it presently becomes many miles in diameter.

When the cirrous veil over the head, and the drops of rain from the base of the cloud appear, then do we also perceive the beginning of electrical activity. Multitudes of smaller clouds, forming at the sides and immediately underneath the principal cloud, and growing like it in magnitude and height, coalesce with it, and arrange themselves like an army for battle. Thus arranged, they move off together on the wings of the wind, darkening the heavens as they fly, filling the hearts of men with terror, and causing the beasts of the field to fly for shelter. Onward the storm cloud sweeps, the red lightnings glare; by contrast, these render the darkness of the

interval the more intense and portentous, and the thunders shake the earth. In the meanwhile, the descending rain fills the sky and drenches the earth, and the gathering waters swell into torrents.

But the cloud is past, the sun shines out brightly, the troubled sky is calm, the earth is refreshed, the heart of man is cheered, and the bow of promise stands on the retiring storm cloud, reminding us that God continues faithful to his promise. How beautifully emblematic is all this of his dealings with the children of men. Sometimes he seems to put on a frowning countenance, and we tremble when we see the coming storm. We are terrified with its gleaming lightnings and its roaring thunders; but when the afflictive providence is past, we are enabled to see that he was then showering down blessings upon us, and that his kindness was shown even in the midst of his seeming wrath. The blessing that he left us when he visited us, and the full reappearing again of his smiling countenance, cheer and refresh our hearts, and teach us to trust him in future.

3. At the close of day, when the influence of the sun is entirely withdrawn, the air, though yet rising from the warm surface of the earth, is not caused to ascend far enough to become sufficiently cold to condense its vapor, and then the existing clouds will break away, and the sky become clear. Such is usually the case on a summer's evening. But as the coolness increases, and the air becomes relatively more moist, cloud often begins again to form, and then it may rain throughout the remainder of the night. On the next morning, as it becomes warmer and relatively drier, the rain usually ceases. This takes place at from nine to eleven o'clock, A. M., when we may generally see the sun shining through the clouds. At two o'clock, P. M., however, with the commencement of a decline of the temperature of the day, the clouds often begin again to form rapidly, and thus the rain of the morning is renewed. It would seem, therefore, that the day has two rainy and two dry periods; the rainy extending from about two, P. M., to the setting sun, and then again from about nine, P. M., to the next morning several hours after sunrise; the dry periods are at midday and at nightfall.

4. In the tropics, likewise, we find that there are two rainy and two dry seasons in the year, so that the day is a miniature representation of the year; and the same mode of reasoning will apply to both.

(*a*) When the sun passes from the south to the north side of the equator, the increasing heat, like that of the morning, causes the air to begin a rapid ascent, and, if it be sufficiently moist, cloud and rain will be the result. This is particularly noticeable when the wind blows from sea to land. In Liberia, which is but a few degrees north of the equator, the rains begin in March, and continue until the 1st of July, which marks the season when the air tends from the ocean to the land. The rains generally occur at night and early in the morning, because the heat of midday is so great as completely to dissolve the cloud. The same remarks are applicable to southern India. There the rain begins, in the extreme south, with April, soon after the southwest monsoon sets in, but does not begin at Bombay until a month later. The reason for this is, that in the extreme south, the air being very moist just as it leaves the Indian ocean, the vapors are easily condensed, but on going farther north, or farther inland, these must, at first, furnish moisture to the dry air there existing, and it is only when the moisture has largely accumulated, that rain can be formed. Here too, the showers at night and early in the morning, are heavy, and the middle of the day is clear. The land of Palestine has also its corresponding rainy season. In the month of March the rains begin, and continue until the beginning of May. The sun having come to the north of the equator, heats the land, especially that bordering on and east of the Jordan, and causes a pressure of moist air from the Mediterranean sea landward, and the formation of cloud and rain over the hills of Palestine. This is the season of the latter rain, mentioned in the Bible, when the wheat and barley are brought so far forward as to need no more moisture. From May to the close of September not a cloud is to be seen, except during the morning in the beginning and end of the dry season. In the less mountainous districts, during the dry season, the springs and wells dry up, and water becomes exceedingly scarce. In ancient times cisterns were dug in those dry districts, to collect rain water, which often became foul, or leaked away and failed. Hence, in allusion to that fact, God, through his prophet, says: "My people have committed two evils; they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns that can hold no water."—Jer. 2: 13.

More cases, illustrative of this rainy season, need not be given. I will only remark, that where the land lies nearer

the equator than the water, as in the northern part of South America, the rainy season that follows immediately after the sun has crossed to that side of the equator, is not attended with a large amount of precipitation. The cause of the succeeding dry season, viz., in July, August, and one half of September, is to be found in the great heat, and therefore relative dryness of the air during midsummer.

(*b.*) When, however, in Autumn, as in the afternoon of the day, the temperature declines, the air being now relatively moister, cloud and rain will be formed. This marks the period of the after-summer rainy season. Much will depend, as to the quantity of precipitation or rain, on the relative situation of land and water. If the land be nearer the equator than the water, then the air will tend to flow from the water to land, and produce copious rains. Thus, in the northern part of South America, the after summer rains are the most abundant. In Hindostan and Liberia the case is reversed, as also in Palestine. In the latter country, the October and November rains, which were called the early rains, are the least abundant.

(*c.*) If it would not extend this article too far, many additional beautiful illustrations of these alternate wet and dry seasons might be cited. Even in our own country, though situated some distance from the tropics, there is a perceptible periodicity in our rains, similar to those cases just noticed. April, May, and the first half of June are, upon an average of years, wet months, or months in which frequent rains are the rule. The watermen on our rivers always look for a rise in our rivers early in June. This is the season of the before summer rains. From the middle of June until the middle or the 20th of September, the great heat of the season tends to keep the air dry, and, as a general rule, these months are dry. There are local causes which bring us occasional showers, and sometimes abundant rains. From about the 18th or 20th of September, the declining temperature allows a more regular and abundant precipitation of moisture. Hence, October is usually a wet Fall month. Though deep snows may fall during the winter months, if we look at the quantity of melted snow, the precipitation will be found below the average; especially is this true for the month of February.

Use of Mountains.

Reference has above been made to the fact that hills and mountains influenced the formation of cloud and rain. Per-

haps it is not unfair to remark, that the popular impression is, that mountains, apart from the fact that they afford a pleasing variety to the earth's surface, as well as the most sublime and magnificent scenery, and that they are the sources of rivers, and the repositories of valuable ores, are useless, and a great interference to the ease of internal intercommunication. The large space of surface, which they occupy, seems to be just so much waste land. But this is a most superficial and contracted view of their use in the economy of the world. Hills and mountains are the birth-place of cloud, and consequently of storm and rain.

1. When wind meets an ascending surface, it is turned upward by that surface. When, therefore, it flows over an undulating, hilly, or mountainous country, it is turned upward at every hill or mountain side. At every hillock, therefore, we shall find an upward moving current; but as ranges of hills or mountains present a longer line of inclined surface than a single hill, we may expect that the ascension of air will be more effectually promoted in the former than in the latter case. Now, as it is principally the moist air, which being heated by the hot surface of the earth, expanded and carried upward, gives rise to cloud by the condensation of its vapor, we see that more moisture must be condensed, or cloud must first be formed where the greatest upward current exists. It is a matter of common observation, that clouds are found arranged over highlands and mountain ranges. This has given rise to the popular notion that mountains and high hills attract the clouds. Whilst the reason assigned is false, the fact that clouds form more rapidly over such grounds, and that already existing clouds are frequently very much enlarged and intensified in their activity, cannot be denied, and the true reason is easily seen. At nine to eleven, A. M., of a summer's morning, you will see ranges of clouds forming over each mountain ridge, and the distant hills. As the first formed are wafted off by the wind, a new set are formed in the same spot. These often coalesce with those previously formed, and become one great cloud before they float off with the wind. You may also notice that, when a great and active cloud or storm reaches the summit of a large hill or mountain, it rapidly enlarges and gathers in density. Indeed, if the earth's surface were without hills, highlands, and mountains, the cumulus and the nimbus or rain cloud, could not be formed at all. A plane surface would afford no points for the fixing of the upward

movements, and the moist air, rising everywhere in small masses, instead of forming cloud, would mingle its vapors with the whole mass of dry air above. Hence, over extensive plains, and even over the ocean, where it is destitute of high islands, the rain cloud is not generated. Fog and mist might, indeed, be gradually formed, and the earth, if it were a perfect plain, might become enveloped in a universal cloud, as it was on the first day of creation, but there would be no rain. It was only on the third day of creation, when the dry land, and its hills and mountains appeared, that it first rained.

2. But it may be asked, how then do we explain the fact that the rain cloud sweeps over mountain, and plain, and ocean, apparently regardless of the nature of the surface over which it passes. To this I reply, that it is never entirely indifferent to the character of the surface, although it may appear to be so to the superficial observer. I wish merely to assert that high or ascending surfaces are the birth-places and invigorators of storm, but after it has begun, it may be kept up by other causes. Several of these deserve our special attention.

(*a.*) You will recollect that heat produces evaporation. When water arises from the earth in the form of invisible vapor, it takes up with it a vast amount of heat. Hence, evaporation cools the air, as experience proves, by taking away much of its heat. When, therefore, on the other hand, invisible vapor is condensed into the form of visible vapor or cloud, that heat which it had taken up, in becoming vapor, is again set free, and renders the cloud and the mingled air warmer and lighter than it would otherwise have been. This causes the air from below to rush up the more rapidly, just as we say a stove pipe or chimney draws the more strongly when the air in it is once heated. If the ascending air be very moist, vapor will be more rapidly condensed, and the amount of heat set free will be proportionably increased, so that the draft or upward movement will become the more active.

(*b.*) If now the cloud, as it is drifted slowly away from its starting point, meets with a considerable quantity of moisture below it, that moisture, as it is condensed, gives out its heat, and produces a more rapid ascension of the moist air under its base, and this again, adding its heat, renders the cloud still more active, and causes it to swell out rapidly. Thus the small cloud, which was seen lying so gently on the

mountain peak, gathering strength as it goes, becomes at length the terrific hailstorm, or the destructive tornado. The little black clouds which may be seen starting into existence some distance below, and then darting into the base of the great cloud, and the upward and outward rolling motion of its top, give evidence of the flow of air from below into the cloud. It is interesting to notice how a rain cloud sympathizes with the country over which it is carried. If the country be moist the cloud becomes active, and discharges much rain; but if the country be dry, the cloud becomes sluggish, or it entirely vanishes away. And now we see why, when a rain has once fallen after a dry spell of weather, other showers are likely to follow on succeeding days.

That the cloud does not, as many persons suppose, carry with it the rain it precipitates, but, as it were, draws it from the great reservoir of air below, will be made plain by an example. On the 8th of August, 1851, at nine o'clock, A. M., a thunder cloud was observed forming over the Catoctin mountain, in Maryland. It increased rapidly in magnitude, and then swept to the east northeast, in a breadth of about twenty or twenty-five miles, over Adams, York, Dauphin and Schuylkill counties, Pa. The length of its course was not less than one hundred miles. The quantity of precipitation was found, in one locality, by measurement, to be an inch in depth, and estimated to average that quantity over the whole surface of the country within the limits named. The deposit of rain was, therefore, one hundred miles in length, twenty miles in width, and one inch in depth, which was equivalent to a body or stream of water one hundred miles long, one-half mile wide, and forty inches deep! It would be absurd to believe that the cloud brought this vast quantity of water with it from the Catoctin mountain. The vapors already existing in the air, were only forced up into the cloud, as it passed, replenishing it as fast as it poured down the condensed moisture in the form of rain. And the extensive snow and rain storms, commonly called settled rains, which cover hundreds of miles at once, do not bring the rain or snow with them, on the day of fall. The moisture has been brought previously, and is already in the air, the cloud here, as in the case just noticed, merely operating as the cause of drawing up the lower vapors, condensing them into cloud, and then into rain or snow.

3. We are now prepared to explain some geographical peculiarities in regard to rains. Within the tropics the winds

blow nearly from east to west. If the ranges of hills and mountains be nearly north and south, the winds gliding up the eastern flanks, will carry up the moisture, and the result will be that the eastern portions of the two great continents, where the mountain ridges are at right angles with the wind, will be well watered, whilst tropical Africa, having its great mountain range nearly parallel with the direction of the wind, is, to a very great extent, found to be a desert. In Egypt, Arabia, and part of Persia, it never rains, because there is no mountain ridge near, sufficiently long and high, or placed in the proper direction to prove an obstacle to the wind. If, in the case supposed, the mountains against which the winds blow be elevated, the moisture will be condensed before it reaches the top, and the opposite side must be destitute of rain. Such is, in fact, the case in tropical America. On the western side of the Andes and Cordilleras of Mexico, it does not rain. On the contrary, in Oregon and Washington Territories on the north, and in Chili on the south, where the winds blow from the Pacific Ocean towards the mountains, the moisture is nearly all condensed on the coast side of the mountains, whilst the countries lying immediately on the east are almost destitute of rain. A large portion of Australia is desert, like Sahara, because it has no hills or mountains to interrupt the course of the trade winds which blow over it. Only the southern and southeastern coasts, where there are low mountain ranges, are well watered. Mountains are, therefore, an indispensable feature in the surface of the earth, for the purpose of watering and making it habitable by man. Considering the earth as a place designed for the residence of the human race, we might, at first, suppose that it would have been far better if fertile and arable land had been made to take the place now occupied by the vast mountain ranges, and the extensive deserts, but we see how essential the former are in arresting the vapors as they fly past, and in preventing the latter from occupying the whole of what is now dry land. All parts of the natural world, the laws of the atmosphere, the ascending of vapors and their condensation into rain, and even the irregularities of the earth's surface, conspire to make this planet a convenient and comfortable dwelling place for man, during his temporary residence here. Well might the Psalmist say: "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all: the earth is full of thy riches."

ARTICLE II.

REMINISCENCES OF LUTHERAN CLERGYMEN.

XL.

Frederick Henry Quitman, D. D.

"For we are strangers on earth before thee, and sojourners, as were all our fathers: our days on the earth are as a shadow, and there is none abiding."

The subject of the present sketch had the reputation of being one of the most learned and eloquent men in the ministry of the Lutheran Church of this country. For a long series of years—*primus inter pares*—he exercised an influence in the ecclesiastical body with which he was connected, rarely possessed, and his power was felt in every position in which he was placed. No one will question the propriety of giving this distinguished Divine a place in the annals of our American Lutheran Pulpit.

Frederick Henry Quitman was born August 7th, 1760, in Westphalia, in the Duchy of Cleves, on a small island in the Rhine. This island, having, at a subsequent period, been swept off by an extraordinary freshet, when asked in after life the name of the place of his nativity, he would playfully reply that he had no native place. His father, who held an important office under the Prussian government, that of Inspector of harbors, dykes and military roads, observing in his son, at an early period, an intellect of a high order, great avidity for knowledge and application to study, determined to furnish him with the best opportunities for mental culture. He was accordinly sent to the celebrated school at Halle, where his powers rapidly developed, and, in a short time, he was matriculated as a member of the University in the same city. He now devotes himself to the study of Theology, notwithstanding the opposition of his nearest relatives; and under the direction of Knapp, Noesellt, Niemeyer, Semler and other eminent Professors connected with that distinguished seat of learning, he soon rose to distinction as a scholar. His course of study being completed, he spent two years in the capacity of a private instructor in the family of the Prince of Waldeck. In this position he no doubt acquired the ease and gracefulness of manner, which rendered his so-

ciety so attractive, and secured for him so ready an access into the most polished circles.

Mr. Quitman now desired to enter upon the duties of the ministry, and as he had been, from his childhood, in the habitual use of the Low Dutch language, his attention was naturally directed to the city of Amsterdam, where he was received by the *Lutheran Consistorium* of the United Provinces as a candidate, subject to the direction of that body, and, in the meantime, drew an annual salary from its ample funds. A vacancy, however, soon occurring in the Lutheran Church on the island of Curacoa, in the West Indies, which was ecclesiastically dependent on the church in Holland, he was ordained by the *Consistorium* as Pastor of the congregation in that island. In this situation he remained, useful, respected and happy, for the space of fourteen years, till the summer of 1795, when the political convulsions occasioned by the revolution of the negroes in the West Indies, induced him to leave Curacoa, and convey his family to New York, with the intention of returning thence, after a short time, to Holland, where bright prospects awaited him, and a pension for life, as his portion, according to the custom of the country. But an overruling Providence frustrated his designs, and opened to him a far more extensive field of action in the United States. During his sojourn in the city of New York, he formed numerous acquaintances, from whom having ascertained the wants of the church, he concluded to change his plans and make his home permanently in this country. The same year, therefore, he accepted a call from the united congregations of Schoharie and Coblesskill, where he remained over two years; and in 1798 from those of Rhinebeck, Wurtemburg, Germantown and Livingston. In 1815 he relinquished the charge of the last two of these churches, and in 1824, that of the church at Wurtemburg, in consequence of the failure of his health. He now devoted his time exclusively to the congregation at Rhinebeck, where he had, from the commencement of his ministry in this charge, resided on the glebe attached to the church. Here he continued to labor for four years longer, notwithstanding the difficulties he encountered from increasing age and physical infirmities. So strongly was he attached to his people, that during the last summer of his active life, when walking became utterly impossible, he had himself conveyed in a kind of a sedan to his church, which was about three hundred yards from the parsonage, and preached sitting in the chancel. But in the autumn of 1828 he was compelled,

to the deep regret of his parishioners, to retire from all public labor. Growing weakness and disease now confined him altogether to his dwelling and chamber. His mind, too, lost its energy, and apathetic indifference brooded over him, from which he was only at times aroused. Under these circumstances, he looked with anxious longing to the grave, and was ready, with unshaken confidence in the goodness and mercy of God, through his Son, Jesus Christ, to resign his spirit into his hands. It pleased the Father of mercies to release him by the hand of death, from the sorrows and troubles of this transitory world, on the 26th of June, 1832, in the seventy-second year of his age. His remains were deposited in the cemetery attached to the Lutheran Church in Rhinebeck, in a locality designated by himself several years previous to his death. A plain, but appropriate marble slab marks the spot of his resting place. A proclamation was issued by the President of his Synod, directing the members to wear crape on the left arm for one month, in honorable regard for their departed father and friend.

Dr. Quitman was twice married. The first time, about the year 1789, to the daughter of the Secretary of State of the island of Curacoa. From this union there were seven children, four sons—William F. Quitman, M. D., Gen. John A. Quitman, Henry S. Quitman, who was engaged in agricultural pursuits, and Albert J. Quitman, first officer on board of a merchantman—and three daughters. The daughters are all still living, but of the sons, the only survivor is Hon. J. A. Quitman, for several years Governor of the State of Mississippi, and, at the present time, a representative in Congress from that State.* In 1806, Dr. Quitman was again married to Mrs. Mary M. Mayer, the mother of P. F. Mayer, D. D., of Philadelphia, Rev. F. G. Mayer, of Albany, and of Mary, the wife of Augustus Wackerhagen, D. D., of Clermont, New York. His widow survived him several years. She died in the year 1849.

The subject of this sketch, in his physical man, would any where have attracted attention. In stature he was upwards of six feet, with an unusually large and powerful frame, united with great strength and courage. His appearance

* General Quitman died at his residence, near Natchez, July 17th, 1858. We received from him a communication, dated Washington June 12th, containing some of the facts introduced into this narrative.

was imposing, and always commanded respect. His small grey eye was very expressive and penetrating, and exhibited great force of character and energy of will. When, a youth of nineteen years, he presented himself as a matriculant before the Faculty of the University of Halle, one of the Professors looking at him, cried out: *Quanta ossa! Quantum robur!* "Young man, your frame is built to last a hundred years!" Many illustrations could be given of the profound awe which his appearance and manner often awakened. Whilst living in Schoharie, travelling on a certain occasion during the winter season in a sleigh, over heavy snow drifts, to Albany, he was met by a man, also in a sleigh, coming from the opposite direction, who having been requested by Dr. Quitman's driver to turn somewhat aside and give him room to pass, insolently refused. Dr. Quitman, who sat ensconced in a corner of the sleigh, wrapped up in his cloak and fur cap, raised himself to his full height, and in his sonorous voice exclaimed: "Turn out and give us half the track!" The stranger quickly paid respect to the figure and the voice of the speaker, and yielded ample room for a passage.

In this frame of uncommon vigor, there was a mind of extraordinary power. Favored in early life with the best advantages for intellectual development, gifted with an astonishing memory, an acute judgment and untiring industry, he had accumulated vast treasures of general knowledge. His proficiency was very great, in many branches of erudition, not always cultivated by members of the clerical profession, and especially in Theological Science. As a preacher, he was generally acknowledged as able, mighty in the Scriptures, convincing, eloquent and pathetic. As a catechist, it is said that few in our country have equalled him. In addition to the laborious duties of a pastor, he assumed those of an instructor, both of sacred and of classical literature, and until within the last three years of his life, it was seldom that he was without students, in one or the other of these departments. He was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard University, in 1814. The only works he ever published, are a large Evangelical Catechism, a Treatise on Magic, and a small volume of three sermons, delivered by him on the occasion of the third centennial Jubilee of the Reformation, celebrated throughout the Lutheran Church in 1817.

Dr. Quitman was a man of fine social qualities, and his dwelling was the constant abode of hospitality. His conversation, in addition to the information it conveyed, was always marked by a variety of topic and illustration, and abounded with pleasantry, good humor and repartee. He was always ready with a felicitous answer, no matter what was the topic introduced, or the question propounded. He was, on a certain occasion, sent by the *Ministerium* to a distant congregation, to adjust some difficulty, and to act as mediator between the pastor and people. After an examination of the subject, he soon discovered which party was more in fault, and he at once gave his decision as a man invested with authority. One of the members of the church, who had been rather free with his tongue during the investigation of the affair, feeling himself aggrieved by perhaps some sharp expression of the Doctor, said: "Well, what are ministers, then?" "Ministers," was the quick reply, "are grindstones on which coarse people are to be ground and polished!" The mission was successful, and the result proved most salutary. At another time, coming into one of his congregations to preach, he was told by the church officers that a certain man, whose name was *Finger*, living in the vicinity of the church, but not a member, had used offensive language in reference to him, and had endeavored to injure his usefulness. The Doctor received the information with apparent indifference, went into the church and preached. After the services were concluded, before leaving the pulpit, he addressed the audience thus: "I have been informed that a man of this vicinity (and the man was present,) has been engaged in spreading false reports respecting me, and has tried to injure my character among my people; but finding that the Devil has had a *Finger* in the pie, it is not worthy of further attention, for he is a liar and the father of lies!" The effect produced was such as he desired.

One of the most striking traits of Dr. Quitman's character was a frankness that abhorred all artifice and unworthy concealment. Although constitutionally of an ardent temper, and occasionally betrayed into vehemence, by collision with minds of similar ardor, he never cherished vindictive feelings, and readily forgave those who had offended him. He was free from a spirit of detraction or of envy, and gladly acknowledged and commended merit, whenever he discovered its existence. The fear of man or the fear of consequences,

never deterred him from any purpose formed under the honest convictions of truth and duty.

Sapiens, qui sibi imperiosus,
Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent.

He was distinguished for his generous, noble, disinterested feelings. Liberal almost to a fault, he placed no value on money, and considered the love of it a great evil, the greatest snare the tempter could spread for man. He frequently warned his flock against the evil of cherishing avaricious affections. It was his greatest delight to perform an act of kindness, and this was often done at the sacrifice of his own personal comfort and convenience. As an illustration of this trait of character, the following is one of many instances that could be given: A neighbor called one day and said that he was very much embarrassed, and needed a certain sum of money to fulfil an engagement he was bound to meet. The Doctor having the required amount, cheerfully consented to loan it for an indefinite period. When the neighbor subsequently possessed the ability to pay the money, he proposed to reckon the interest due on the loan. "Oh never mind," said the Doctor, "it is not worth the trouble!" and the matter was dropped. He had a cheerful, contented, happy disposition. Although he had been subject to many annoyances and privations, incident to a narrow income, he never complained, but constantly sang with true devotion, his favorite hymn, *Allmächtigengüte*, "which seemed," says one who knew him well, "to embody all the sentiments and feelings of his own heart."

Dr. Quitman possessed great force of character, which was especially seen in the wonderful energy he displayed. Prompt to resolve, and prompt to execute, he accomplished a vast amount of labor. Long before missionary efforts were employed by our communion in the State of New York, he was accustomed to make an annual visit to destitute settlements and new congregations, dispensing the word of salvation and administering the ordinances of the Gospel through a circuit of several hundred miles. Unwilling that our members should be left without the bread of life, or as an alternative be gathered into other folds, he visited them, for a series of years, giving them week-day services, until regular provision could be made for them. In this way their interest in the church was kept up, although he was subjected to the labor of travelling great distances, and over the roughest roads. The in-

fluence which he exercised upon others was extraordinary. He acquired an ascendency more or less, over the minds of all with whom he stood in any way connected. In some cases it was no doubt owing to his commanding appearance, which was calculated to produce respect, but in most instances his influence was founded on personal attachment, greatly strengthened by the confidence reposed in his judgment and ability. After the decease of the venerable Dr. Kunze, in 1807, he was raised to the Presidency of the Lutheran Ministerium of the State of New York; to which, from one term of office to another, he was unanimously re-elected, until in 1825, he declined the appointment, from inability to travel, when the title of *Senior of the Ministerium* was conferred upon him by that body. Whilst he presided over Synod, he was indefatigable in the performance of his official duties. There was hardly a congregation within the limits of the State which he had not visited, scarcely a Lutheran Church within that period, which he had not dedicated, and scarcely a member of the *Ministerium* whom he had not examined, licensed and ordained. He also continued at the head of the Board of Trustees of Hartwick Seminary, through the partiality of his colleagues, as long as the condition of his health permitted him to attend their regular meetings.

Dr. Quitman was regarded by many of his clerical brethren, from whom he differed, as being *too liberal* in some of his Theological views. The written testimony, however, of one who for years was intimately associated with him, is that "whilst liberal in his principles, and most heartily opposed to schemes that appeared to favor the imposition of a yoke upon the brethren, he was equally averse to controversy and all tendencies to lawlessness and confusion. His grand aim in the pulpit was the inculcation of the plain, but practical and mighty truths and lessons of the religion of a crucified and exalted Redeemer." He did not look with much favor upon ecclesiastical creeds. In reference to all human authorities, his motto was:

Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri.

The last years of Dr. Quitman's life furnish another sad proof that talents, attainments, and even a strong physical constitution, must yield to the encroachments of time, and the ravages of disease. It was painful to all who saw him, to perceive that his powerful mind, which had exercised so wide an influence, was verging back towards the infirmity of

childhood. A striking instance is here presented, in the language of an obituary, published at the time of his death, "calculated to inspire habitual humility and prayerful dependence on God, of the feebleness and the imbecility to which, in his inscrutable wisdom, many of the most richly endowed among his children, are suffered to be cast down." It becomes us, his dependent creatures, cordially to submit to all the dispensations of his Providence, and humbly, under every circumstance, to exclaim: "It is the Lord: let him do what seemeth to him good." We must ascribe every occurrence of life to the sovereign pleasure of that Almighty Being who works according to the counsel of his most wise and righteous will, "whose judgments are unsearchable, and whose ways are past finding out," but who has also said, "what I do, thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter!"

XLI.

Philip Frederick Mayer, D. D.

"Your fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live forever?"

It seems peculiarly appropriate, that the subject of our present sketch, who has so recently passed away, full of years and of honor, should occupy a space in our series of departed worthies. A ripe scholar and an able Divine, for more than half a century pastor of the same congregation, identified with almost every institution of permanent interest in the city of his adoption, endeared to the whole community by the purity of his character, and his sincere and consistent piety, his memory is enshrined in the affections of many a heart. His virtues are faithfully revered, his example sincerely cherished; his death was honored, and his influence will long continue to be felt. Our earliest associations, hallowed by many precious memories, are connected with this venerable man. We remember with interest and satisfaction, the pleasure and instruction derived from our intercourse with him, and whilst we record our humble tribute to his great excellencies, we feel that we are performing a mournful yet grateful duty.

Philip F. Mayer was born on the 1st of April, 1781, in the city of New York, where he continued to reside till he reached his twenty-first year. He was of Lutheran and worthy

parentage, the son of George Frederick Mayer, who immigrated to this country from Swabia, Germany, and of Mary Magdalene Kamerdiener, a native of New York, whose father, at an early period, came into the possession of extensive tracts of land on the Mohawk River, but from which being driven by the Indians during the troublous times in the French war, he resumed his residence in the city of New York. Philip was a very delicate child. His constitution seemed so frail, that his parents often feared they would never be able to raise him, but he gradually improved, and grew up to vigorous manhood, so that he was enabled to endure all the exertion and labor of the most active, as well as the most studious life, with comparative health and perfect ease. Being in early life deprived of his father, he was left to the immediate care of his widowed mother, who was most faithful to her maternal obligations. She was a consistent, humble and devoted Christian, and was remarkable for the gentleness of her character, and the decided influence she exerted upon her family and associates. To her instructions and the power of her example, the son's early piety and subsequent usefulness, in the Providence of God, are greatly to be ascribed. This mother, to whom he owed so much, he never forgot. He loved to speak of her earnest and zealous efforts, and the pious care she exercised over his youthful years. "It was my happiness," he says, in the discourse delivered on the fiftieth anniversary of his ministry in Philadelphia, "to enjoy the advantages of a religious education, in the watchful tenderness, untiring diligence, fervent prayers and excellent example of a mother faithful unto death." From childhood he seems to have been the subject of religious impressions, which were never effaced from his mind, and his youth was marked by a freedom from all immoral tendencies. Early imbued with devotional feelings, his heart was brought under the influence of the great truths of the Gospel, and these truths became the controlling principle of his conduct.

The subject of our narrative spent his early years at a German School, attached to the German Lutheran Church in the city of New York, in which not a word of English was spoken. Here he continued until he was eleven years of age, when he was transferred to a good English school, with which he remained connected for eighteen months. He was then placed at a Grammar school under the care of a Mr. Campbell, by whom he was fitted for College. It was at this peri-

od, that he exhibited great precocity of intellect, a thirst for knowledge, and a strong relish for study, and laid the foundation of those habits of mental discipline, for which, in after life, he was so much distinguished. About this time his life was mercifully preserved by a kind Providence, "in whose hand is the soul of every living thing, and the breath of all mankind." He was skating one cold winter day, on a deep water, called the *Collect*, then far out of the city of New York, but at present filled up and embraced within the very heart of the metropolis, when he broke through the ice, and would inevitably have drowned, if some boys, who were with him, had not quickly come to his assistance, and rescued him from the imminent danger to which he was exposed. In the year 1795, Washington being still President of the United States, the youthful student entered the Freshman class of Columbia College, then under the administration of W. S. Johnson, LL. D., and was graduated in 1799. He passed through the entire course with marked distinction, sustaining a high rank as a scholar, and taking the first honors of his class. During his Collegiate, as well as Theological course, he raised the means to sustain himself by teaching. The afternoon was uninterruptedly devoted to this work. As his College recitations occurred consecutively in the morning, there was no conflict, and his habits being industrious and systematic, he could, without difficulty, maintain his position in class. He was thus also able to relieve his widowed mother of a part of her burden, and to form that character of self-reliance, which he found so valuable to him in the future. It was then he acquired the habit of early rising, and of morning study, which continued with him till the latest period of life, and to the influence of which he often attributed, in a great degree, his protracted good health, his active habits and power of endurance.

On the completion of his Collegiate course, having for a long time cherished the purpose of devoting himself to the Gospel ministry, he at once commenced his Theological studies under the direction of Rev. Dr. Kunze, at the time Pastor of the Lutheran Church in the city of New York, regarded by all competent to judge, as one of the most profound men of the day, and, according to the testimony of the subject of our memoir, "more thoroughly qualified than any one he ever knew, by extensive erudition and unwearied industry, for conducting the researches of students in Divinity." The young pupil, only eighteen years of age, soon won the affec-

tions and secured the unlimited confidence of his preceptor, who, from the beginning, entertained the most sanguine expectations as to his future success. On the occasion of his first sermon, delivered while he was yet a student, on Trinity Sabbath, in 1801, he presented him with a copy of Cruden's Concordance, accompanied with a highly complimentary Latin inscription, expressive of his satisfaction with the performance.* Mr. Mayer's earliest efforts in the pulpit were favorably received, and afforded promise of a successful ministry. In so high estimation were they held in his native city, that Dr. Kunze was very desirous that he should be associated with him in the pastoral work, and preach exclusively in the English language, but he declined the proposal. He was opposed to the system of having two pastors for the same church, and this feeling continued with him till the last. He had, in many instances, seen the unhappy effects of such an arrangement, and when his own congregation, with the view of relieving him of some of his duties, in the latter part of his life, proposed to give him an assistant, he peremptorily refused, although he appreciated the kindness which prompted the suggestion.

Mr. Mayer spent three years in the prosecution of his Theological course, but before entering upon a pastoral charge, he took a trip for the benefit of his health, which had suffered in consequence of the unremitting application with which he had devoted himself to his studies. He passed through several of the States, and visited Philadelphia, Baltimore, Winchester, and other prominent points of interest. At Washington, which had recently been constituted the seat of the general government, he paid his respects to Thomas Jefferson, the President of the United States. He was everywhere cordially received, was treated with marked attention, and made a most favorable impression. He formed, during the journey, many pleasant acquaintances, which ripened into permanent friendship, and proved to him a source of future enjoyment and advantage. On his return to his native State he was received as a member of the *Evangelical Lutheran Min-*

*"Oh! Spem non frustratam, Philippo F. Mayero, carissimo Discipulo, de primo publico, in templo habito, Sermone facto lingua Germanica, ipso Trinitatis Festo anno MDCCCI. congratulatur, inque rei memoriam hoc Studiorum sacrorum aureum sane adminiculum, Crudeni Concordantiam ei offert.

JOHANNES CHRISTOPHORUS KUNZE."

isterium of the State of New York, September 1st, 1802, being the first licentiate of that venerable body. The following year, having in the meantime accepted a pastoral call, he was ordained in the old St. Peter's Church at Rhinebeck. Just fifty years afterwards, on the same day of the year, in the same church, he delivered before the same *Ministerium*, a discourse which was part of the services connected with the ordination of one or more licentiates. He was himself, however, not aware of the coincidence, until after he entered the pulpit, when the circumstance deeply affected him.—Among those present he recognized only a few who had occupied the same seats on the occasion of his own ordination.

He entered upon his first ministerial charge, as Pastor of the Lutheran Church at Lunenburg (now Athens), Greene Co., N. Y., during the year 1803, "a post," he tells us, "of some labor and usefulness." The congregation was composed of persons of very different views and interests, but he succeeded in reconciling difficulties, in producing harmony of feeling among the members, and in securing the affections of the whole community. He always supposed that the circumstances under which he was placed in his first charge, had an important influence in moulding his ministerial character. The experience he here gained, and the plans he adopted, he found valuable in his future career.

During his residence at Athens, on the 24th of May, 1804, Mr. Mayer was united in marriage to Lucy W., daughter of Daniel Rodman, of New York, and grand-daughter of Dudley Woodbridge, of Stonington. From this union there were eight children, six of whom, with their mother, are still living. The eldest son, Frederick, a young man of great promise, who had just been admitted to the bar, died in 1836. The surviving son, Edward R. Mayer, M. D., is engaged in the practice of medicine at Wilkesbarre, Pa. One of the daughters married the late R. M. Bird, M. D., Professor in the Medical Department of Pennsylvania College, and another S. H. Higgins, D. D., Pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Columbus, Ga. Whilst Mr. Mayer was settled as Pastor in New York, his widowed mother became the wife of the Rev. Dr. Quitman. The son's love, however, suffered no change. He continued to regard her with undiminished affection and the most filial piety, and until her death in 1849, although separated from her upwards of two hundred miles, he was in the habit of making her a periodical visit once a year, and of spending several days in her society.

Circumstances of a peculiar character induced the subject of our sketch to relinquish his labors, so auspiciously commenced at Athens. In Philadelphia there had been, for a long time, a strong disposition manifested on the part of some of the members of Zion's and St. Michael's Churches, to have the English language introduced into the services of the sanctuary. They felt that unless religious instruction were furnished in the prevalent language of the country, their offspring would lose all interest in attending the exercises of public worship, or would necessarily abandon the communion of their fathers. They saw how impolitic it was to continue a system which was depriving the church, every year, of some of its most valuable material, retarding its progress, and which, if persevered in, would necessarily occasion a total ruin. Again and again they petitioned the authorities of the church for a change, but without success. As early as the year 1800, vigorous efforts were commenced for the accomplishment of the desired object, but every successive election of church officers indicated strong opposition to the measure, and a determined purpose on the part of the majority, to resist what they regarded as an innovation, and a gross infringement of their rights. The contest continued, and the difficulties increased. The friends of English preaching were not to be deterred from their favorite design, and in the latter part of the year 1805, matters assumed a more decided shape. As there was no prospect of the opposition yielding to their demands, and the necessity of making provision for the religious instruction of their children, seemed imperative, they at last resolved peaceably to secede from the German Churches, and to organize themselves into a distinct and independent congregation, still to adhere to the faith in which they had been reared, and only to require that the principles of their faith be expounded in a language intelligible to their families. This was the first exclusively English Lutheran congregation formed in this country.—Through the "friendly and unsolicited interposition of Dr. Kunze," accompanied with the most flattering recommendations, the subject of our sketch was brought to the notice of the congregation, and preached on trial for three successive Sabbaths, during the months of June and July, 1806. He was heard with acceptance and enthusiasm, and an impulse was at once given to the new enterprise. Having received a unanimous call to this new field of labor, he felt it his duty to accept it, "since I am fully persuaded," he writes in his

letter to the committee, "that there exists an absolute necessity of introducing the prevailing language of this country into our churches." His congregation at Athens gave up their claim to him with sincere regret, and the *New York Ministerium*, of which he was, at the time, Treasurer, adopted a minute, expressive of their gratitude to him for his faithful services, and their strong confidence in him as a Christian and a religious teacher.

Mr. Mayer entered upon his pastoral duties in Philadelphia, in the autumn of 1806. When on his way to the scene of his labors, so deep an interest was manifested in his arrival, and so great the desire to welcome him to his new home, that the stage-coach, while yet in the Northern Liberties, was stopped three times by individuals, for the purpose of ascertaining whether he was in the coach. His introductory sermon was preached on the first Sabbath of October, from the words: "If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his," in the old Academy building on Fourth, below Arch street, in which the congregation worshipped until the erection of their present edifice, on Race street. The crowd on the occasion was unprecedented, blocking up the doors and windows of the house, and extending along the pavement, as far as Arch street. The new incumbent continued to attract large audiences, and to produce quite a sensation in the community. For some time after the spacious church was built, every seat was occupied, and the people sat upon the stairs, and stood thick in the aisles. There are aged persons still living, eminent in the different professions, and of all denominations, who were in the habit of attending the services for years, and who say that he was, perhaps, the most popular preacher of that day, and that he succeeded in drawing persons to hear him from all the churches in the city. His own people rejoiced that, in the Providence of God, a man so eminently qualified for the work, had been sent to minister to them in holy things, whilst the whole Christian public hailed his advent to the city as a most valuable acquisition, and an important auxiliary to the interests of religion. His new position was, however, encompassed with great difficulties. The enterprise was not only a novelty in the Lutheran Church, but it was regarded by many with unfriendly feelings, and encountered the most furious opposition. Our German ministers in Philadelphia not only expressed no sympathy, and gave the English Pastor no encouragement, but kept him at a distance, and refused all in-

tercourse with one whom they regarded as hostile to the German interests, and inimical to the time-honored language of his fathers. Dr. Mayer meekly submitted to the inconveniences he experienced. He manifested no unkind or vindictive spirit towards those who often treated him with rudeness on account of his connexion with the English enterprise. Although his visits were never returned, we have heard him say that he called again and again upon the brethren who officiated in the German churches, for the purpose of conciliating their favor, and of showing that he cherished no sentiments of personal hostility. He could readily appreciate the strong attachment they evinced to their vernacular tongue, and freely make allowance for their prejudices. He could, at the same time, however, see the propriety of the measure, and from a sense of duty zealously advocated it. He earnestly labored to promote, by all means in his power, the cause in which he was enlisted, and we have reason to feel grateful to him, for the distinguished part he bore in the efforts made at that day, to divest our church of its exclusively German character, and to produce a change in public sentiment. His course in connexion with this matter, marks the unbending integrity and fearless independence of his character, for it required ardent zeal and persevering effort, to prosecute the subject against the various influences brought to bear upon it. That the enterprise in which he had engaged was really necessary, may be plainly inferred from the fact that, in a memorial presented to the Synod of Pennsylvania, in the year 1807, the following statement is made:— "On Thursday preceding last Good Friday, he (Mr. Mayer) confirmed one hundred and thirty-nine persons, who, together with six others, baptized by him a few days before, were admitted to the Lord's Supper on the anniversary of his death." The petition proceeds further to state that, on "every Sunday afternoon, after the conclusion of Divine service, between two and three hundred children, at least, attend catechization, and with pleasure and zeal come forward to be instructed in the principles of our holy religion. For their use we had one thousand copies of Dr. Luther's Catechism printed: the demand for which has been so great, that in a few days the whole edition was circulated, and another has been put to the press." At the beginning of this document, the memorialists state that they are "the representatives of three thousand souls, belonging to said congregation, which will appear by the original list of subscribers, two-thirds of whom do not

understand the German language sufficiently to derive any benefit from a sermon delivered in that language."

Dr. Mayer devoted himself with conscientious fidelity and untiring zeal, to the discharge of his arduous duties. The numerous and various obligations which devolved upon him, were performed with an alacrity and an ability not always exhibited. He fully sustained himself in his new field of labor, and was found adequate to every circumstance in which he was placed. He soon won all hearts, and acquired a distinction unusual for one so young in the ministry. He was unwearied in his efforts to promote the good of his own flock, as well as faithful and constant in his aims to advance the welfare of his fellow-men in general. On account of the important services he rendered as a citizen, he deserves to be regarded as a public benefactor. His usefulness was acknowledged by the whole community. He never withheld his countenance or influence from any object which met his deliberative and cordial approval. He was interested in education, and every scheme designed to ameliorate the condition of mankind, advance the progress of the race in knowledge and religion, and diffuse human happiness. He was, in 1808, associated with Bishop White, Dr. Green, Dr. Rush and others, in the formation of the Pennsylvania Bible Society, the first institution of the kind organized in the United States, of which he continued to be a most active and efficient manager, and was, at the time of his death, its presiding officer. Succeeding the venerable Ashbel Green, who himself succeeded Bishop White, he occupied the honorable position until his death, "setting us all," says the last annual report, "an example of fidelity to its interests, and of a meek and lowly Christian deportment." He was the oldest member of the Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania. He took a deep interest in all the operations of the Institution, and the promptness with which he attended the meetings of the Board and the examinations of the students, was proverbial. In the year 1817, when public attention was earnestly directed to a general system of public education, he firmly and actively sustained the movement. He accepted the office of a Director, and faithfully discharged its onerous duties. About the same time, the condition of the Deaf and Dumb awakened the sympathy and interest of the citizens of Philadelphia. Dr. Mayer was among the first to respond to the benevolent appeals on their behalf, and to engage in efforts for their improvement, and so great was the confidence reposed in him

by those associated with him in this work of mercy, that he was elected President of the Board of Managers, and retained the situation until his death. His services in connexion with the "Philadelphia Dispensary," for the relief of the sick, of which he was also the presiding officer, were likewise appreciated and highly valued. He was an active member and officer of the German Society, and Chairman of the Library Committee; to his judgment the selection of all the English books was confided, and it is needless to say that, in the performance of the task, he exercised great skill and judgment. He was the steadfast, active friend of suffering humanity, and could sincerely adopt the sentiment—

Homo sum et humani a me nil alienum puto.

Liberal and enlarged in his views, he was, at one time or other identified, either as a Director or Patron, with every philanthropic enterprise of a catholic spirit, which originated in the city of Philadelphia, and his connexion with these various bodies was not a mere formality. Whatever negligence or indifference the example of his associates furnished, he was always at his post, unless absolutely prevented from attendance. Ever vigilant, zealous and anxious, whether as a Manager, member of a Committee, or President of an Association, he never evaded or slighted any duty. "With his armor girded on," as was more than once remarked, "he was ready to stand in the front rank, and bear his share in the danger of any warfare waged against ignorance and vice." He maintained his habits of activity, and continued the performance of all his duties, almost until the last, preaching twice every Lord's Day, and regularly visiting the Sabbath School of his church. During the last year or two only of his life, did his health and strength seem to decline. He then gradually became more and more susceptible of fatigue, and began to find physical exercise, in which he had formerly delighted, irksome, although his intellect was unimpaired, and apparently as vigorous as ever, his sermons, extemporaneous addresses, and public prayers affording no evidence of the failure or decay of any of his mental faculties. During the last winter he took a severe cold, which seemed completely to prostrate his system, and to resist all recuperative power.—He preached his last sermon on the last Sabbath of February, on the occasion of the annual collection for the Bible Society, an institution which possessed so large a share of his affections. Although suffering from painful indisposition

at the time, he went through the entire services with his accustomed vigor. His indisposition, in the beginning, excited no serious apprehensions, and he himself expected speedily to resume his public duties, but it soon became evident to him, that his days were numbered, and he calmly made the announcement to his family, even before his physician had abandoned all hope of his recovery. His disease was found to be the enlargement of the liver, and his sufferings, at times, were most intense. Although he bore them without a murmur, and was perfectly submissive to the will of God, yet he frequently and fervently prayed to be released from the frail tenement of his earthly tabernacle. He was cheerful and happy in the prospect of death, full of humble trust and filial faith. He repeatedly expressed his hope of a joyful resurrection, founded solely on the merits and sufferings of his blessed Lord and Master, and not on any deeds which he had performed. The hand of death was at length placed upon him, and he passed peacefully away, on the morning of the 16th of April, 1858, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. The silver cord "was gently loosed," and the spirit returned to God who gave it.

> "He died as sets the morning star, which goes
> Not down behind the darkened West, nor hides
> Obscured, amidst the tempests of the sky,
> But melts away into the light of Heaven."

He died, too, as he loved to live—in the bosom of his own family, amid the affectionate sympathies of his people, and the cherished scenes of his long and faithful labors. For more than half a century he had ministered at the altar of the same church, and when at last the summons came, he was at the post of duty, disabled, yet giving directions and breathing out fervent prayers to Heaven for the flock committed to his care. Thus, his life and his work were simultaneously laid down, and he went up from the labors and toils of earth, to the recompense and the "rest that remaineth for the people of God."

The funeral obsequies of this honored father in *Israel*, occurred on the Monday succeeding his death. Devotional exercises, conducted by Rev. Dr. Strobel, were held at the family residence, at which a large number of persons were present, including the family, the officers of the church and of the Pennsylvania Bible Society, clergymen and others.—At the conclusion of the services, a procession was formed,

and the corpse was conveyed to the church which had been, for so long a time, the scene of his ministerial labors. By this time the large church, with the exception of the reserved seats, was filled to its utmost capacity with the congregation and others, who had assembled to testify their regard and affection for one who had been so highly esteemed in life. The coffin, which was covered with black cloth and bound with silver plate, having upon its lid a solid silver plate with a simple inscription, was borne into the aisle and placed before the chancel, while a solemn requiem was given from the organ. Within the chancel railing were seated the Philadelphia clergymen, and the Rev. Dr. Pohlman, the President of the *New York Ministerium*, who delivered a touching address appropriate to the occasion. After the exercises in the church were concluded, the entire congregation passed out, by way of the chancel, the coffin having been first opened, that all might once again look upon the lifeless remains of him they loved so well, who lay there, sleeping his last slumber, with traces of a pleasing smile still lingering upon his venerable features. There was nothing in his calm appearance to inspire terror, nothing to awaken sad grief. As friends gazed upon his countenance, they were consoled with the reflection that he had attained a mature old age, had fought the good fight, kept the faith, and his mission being finished and his work done, had exchanged the sorrows of earth for the joys of heaven. About an hour was consumed in this part of the service, after which the remains were taken to *Laurel Hill Cemetery* for interment, in a lot belonging to the church. The congregation, with the consent of the family, assumed the control of the funeral, which was conducted in a manner worthy the occasion. The church was also shrouded in the emblems of mourning, exhibiting evidence of the deep grief with which an affectionate flock mourned their faithful shepherd, devoted children their beloved parent.

This was "the last of earth" with one who had occupied so prominent a position, whose ministry extended over so large a space of time! His birth coeval with that of the government itself, living during a period the most remarkable in the world's history, entering upon active life when our country was yet in its infancy, and witnessing its rapid development and growth; for upwards of fifty years the Bishop of the same church, at the time of his death the oldest pastor in the city of Philadelphia, and the oldest acting minister of our

denomination in America, his death was no common event! His life, in many respects, affords no parallel in the annals of ecclesiastical history in this country. He formed a connecting link between the past and the present, and might well be reverenced as a Patriarch by the rising generation. When he entered the Pastoral office, our clerical register did not embrace forty names. All who are now in the ministry of our church, commenced their labors after his introduction into the sacred office. As he approached the threshhold of the grave, how natural was it to look back with amazement, and set up a pillar in remembrance of the Divine goodness! In the discourse which he preached, commemorative of his fiftieth anniversary as Pastor of St. John's Church, in adverting to the advances made in our ecclesiastical communion, he thus speaks: "When I commenced my ministry, but eight Pastors were included in the body by which I was ordained; it now counts more than fifty, independently of three other Synods of the same name in the State of New York. At the day referred to, the only other known association of our churches existed in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, much more comprehensive, of course, than the one just noticed, yet comparatively small: at this time, so necessary and frequent have been its subdivisions, that these reach almost the remotest borders of the land. Our catalogue embraces a thousand clergymen, and a far greater aggregate of congregations. A general, but purely advisory Synod, unites the most of these fraternities. Academies, Colleges, Theological Schools have been reared, and foreign and domestic missions instituted; and we have reason to rejoice that our Zion is lengthening her cords and strengthening her stakes." True is it, that "a little one has become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation."

Dr. Mayer must have been no ordinary man, or he could never have so successfully sustained himself for so long a period among the same people, and enjoyed, in so eminent a degree, the regard and confidence of the whole community. In attempting an analysis of his character, we would place as prominent, his sincere and unobtrusive piety, which seemed deeply seated in the heart, and was constantly exhibited in a pure and exemplary life. It was of an intelligent, uniform, consistent character, controlled by principle, rather than impulse, "a sermon," as one of the secular sheets observed at the time of his death, "full of the best and wisest precepts, a living commentary on the truths which he pre-

sented from the sacred desk." No one ever questioned his sincerity and uprightness. He possessed a sterling, unbending integrity, which would not suffer him, under any circumstances, to relax from his convictions of duty. He was eminently conscientious, honest in all his purposes, with no concealed ends or hidden plans to produce future results. Sincere, frank and open-hearted, he never advocated policy, he scorned a mean action. He had an utter abhorrence of every thing like petty intrigue, cunning or double-dealing. He carried this feeling so far, that when he noticed it in others, he treated it in the way it deserved—

"His gentle eye
Grew stern and darted a severe rebuke."

The lover of truth and justice, he hated iniquity in every form, and yet with his characteristic moderation of temper, love of mercy and child-like tenderness, he was lenient towards the erring and unfortunate. We have rarely met an individual, whose private character seemed more beautiful, in whose heart dwelt so many virtues. High-toned in his feelings, and honorable in his actions, he was a model man in all the relations of life, a beautiful illustration of the finished Christian gentleman. In him, goodness, courtesy and dignity were happily blended. With a spirit eminently genial and friendly, with bland and graceful manners, his presence was an element of pleasure in every circle. Ever gentle and kind, thoughtful of the interests of others, always ready with a cordial greeting and a smile of welcome, he was the delight of all whose privilege it was to enjoy his friendship. Intercourse with him awakened admiration and love. His colloquial powers were of a high order, much beyond the ordinary mark. Fluent, clear and instructive with his varied knowledge of men and of books, he was a very attractive companion, and was always listened to with earnest attention. Accessible, affable and communicative, from his gifted and highly furnished mind, profit as well as enjoyment was necessarily derived. He had a remarkable degree of vivacity.—There was in his conversation a constant vein of good humor and pleasantry, but it was regulated by uniform kindness, and never degenerated into unseemly mirth or bitter sarcasm. He did not forget his dignity as a Christian minister. No matter where you came in contact with him, you felt that he was pervaded with a consciousness of his high and lofty vocation. He was also distinguished for great modesty. This

was regarded by many of his intimate friends as the most striking trait of his character, and it was the more remarkable, considering his abilities, influence and position in society. Although so extensively known, and so highly honored, he never took a step to put himself forward or attract notice. Whatever place or preferment he occupied, it was not his own seeking, but that of those who gave him the position. *Gloria virtutem, tamquam umbra, sequitur.* He seemed very averse to publicity, and avoided the praises of men. He disliked exceedingly to have public attention directed to his public efforts. He would not allow any of his discourses to be printed, notwithstanding the most urgent importunities of his most valued friends. The only exception to this rule was the publication of the sermon delivered by him on the occasion which celebrated his fiftieth anniversary as Pastor in Philadelphia. Althongh he did, at first, decline this request, the circumstances under which the discourse was prepared, induced him to yield his own judgment to the wishes of his friends, yet he subsequently regretted that he had consented. So much was he disposed to undervalue his own abilities and efforts, as to excite the surprise of those who knew him best, and produce the impression that he was almost morbid on this subject. But his humility was even more marked than his modesty. A deeply seated, earnest, ever present faith in his God and Savior, with the other Christian virtues of hope, love and charity, cheered him through life, constantly influenced all his thoughts and actions, and enabled him to look forward joyfully and confidently to the time when his spirit would be released from the fetters which bound it to earth.

United with this low estimate of his own powers, was great firmness of purpose, qualities not always associated in the same individual. There was in his composition a remarkable energy of will, which exerted no little influence upon his life. He was bold and independent in the discharge of duty. With all the caution he possessed, nothing could have seduced him from what he honestly conceived to be the path of rectitude, a straight forward course of action. He was never deterred by persuasion or menace, from the expression of any views he considered just and proper. Once satisfied that his opinions were right and his obligations clear, he was most fearless, and inflexibly maintained his position, regardless of the praise or censure of his fellow-men. He was never charged with a time-serving spirit. He did not inquire whether

his sentiments were popular, but simply, were they true; and when his convictions answered the question in the affirmative, he adhered to them, in his actions, with indomitable resolution, and never for one moment wavered. Popular clamor did not disturb his equanimity; popular applause did not tempt him to swerve from his fixed principles. He often reminded us of the man described by Horace,

Justum ac tenacem propositi virum—

at whose feet the world has ever been disposed to bow with respect and admiration.

No minister of the Gospel, perhaps, ever less permitted the public to interfere with his private affairs, or dictate to him in regard to his appropriate prerogatives. If any one attempted it once, he was not disposed to presume in that direction the second time. Soon after his pastoral connexion with the church in Philadelphia, the Council of the church passed a resolution, that he be requested to preach from a given text on the approaching 4th of July. To this there came a calm but positive refusal, with the intimation that, as he never interfered with the proper functions of the Board, so they could not with his. He often thought that this first and only difficulty, if such it could be called, prevented future misunderstanding and subsequent trouble. He was most careful not to infringe upon the rights of others; he would not permit any encroachment upon his own. He was free and independent in his own judgment; he was ever ready to grant the same privilege to others.

Dr. Mayer's greatness was also seen in his readiness to acknowledge an error, or a wrong impression. When convinced that he was mistaken in his views, he was always willing to retract them. He never clung to an opinion, because he had publicly committed himself in its favor. If, with additional light, he was led to change his sentiments upon any subject, he would unhesitatingly and frankly say so. An instance of this was afforded in the relations which he sustained to the General Synod. Although one of its founders, he, with his Synod, after the first meeting, withdrew all connexion with it, because they feared that it might assume arbitrary power, or wield an influence similar to that exercised by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. Some years afterwards he was induced to change his ground, and to urge a re-union of his Synod with the General Synod. In doing so, he publicly stated on the floor of Synod, that experience had

taught him that there was such a thing as looking at a subject too long from one point of view, and that in looking at the evils, he had overlooked the advantages resulting from such an organization.

Another admirable trait in Dr. Mayer's character, was his punctuality. He was scrupulously exact in fulfilling every known obligation. As a parent or neighbor, citizen or pastor, he never neglected or postponed a duty which any of these relations imposed. Punctuality in meeting an appointment, was to him a cardinal virtue, and such were his feelings on this subject, that men associated with him, soon found it necessary carefully to practice the same virtue, so far as business with him was concerned. We remember on a certain occasion, being present at a funeral at which he officiated, and when the appointed hour arrived, observing no preparations making for the departure of the procession, he approached the person having charge of the arrangements, and said: "The clock has struck—the coffin must be closed!" Conditions of the weather or personal considerations, which kept others from the sanctuary, were no obstacles to him. When possible, he was there, and in the pulpit, a few minutes before the stated time. He commenced the services at the very moment agreed upon, whether the members of the congregation were generally present or not; and they were concluded, with scarcely an exception, at a uniform hour, which was never extended. He was in the habit of doing his own work, seldom calling on a brother in the ministry to render him assistance. When other and younger members of the profession were fleeing from the city, to the sea-shore or the mountain, for recreation or relief from onerous duties, he was invariably at his post. "The poor, and persons in moderate circumstances," he would often say, "cannot leave the city, and it is due to them that the services of God's house should not be interrupted." The only occasion of relaxation and voluntary absence from his charge, was once a year, when it was his practice to make a brief visit to his native State. He scarcely ever extended the time beyond ten days, and included in it only one Sabbath. Even this short period of respite from his labors, he would never have been induced to give himself, except for the opportunity it offered him to attend the meeting of the Synod to which he belonged, and to visit his aged mother, for whom, as we have seen, he cherished until the last, the warmest affection. His Board of officers often urged him to take a vacation of several weeks during

the hot weather, but without effect, and it was only the last summer of his life, that he consented, for the first time, during a few weeks, to omit the second service on the Lord's Day. In him the Apostolic injunction, "Diligent in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord," was most happily exemplified.

The Doctor was exceedingly neat in his person and particular in his habits, whilst there was the absence of everything finical or unnecessarily punctilious. In his own household, he was all that might be expected from one, whose heart was so replete with warm and tender affection, and so fully alive to benevolent impulses.

> "His eye was meek and gentle, and a smile
> Played on his lips; and in his speech was heard
> Paternal sweetness, dignity and love.
> The occupation dearest to his heart
> Was to encourage goodness."

He loved the endearments of home, and the peaceful enjoyments of his own fireside. He was devoted to his own family, and sought in every way to promote their comfort and happiness. Services, which by some might have been regarded as unclerical and undignified, he regularly, and with great cheerfulness, rendered. Although his residence was some distance from the great central market of the city, yet, till the last, he was seen, basket in hand, at the earliest hour in the day, attending to this humble, but very necessary duty. He was never disposed to consult his own comfort or interest, and to indulge in ease and luxury. He was always willing to practice self-denial, and to make personal sacrifices, if he could thereby contribute to the enjoyment and happiness of others. He was careful to a fault, not to give the least trouble to his friends. His heart overflowed with sympathy, and all who came within the reach of his influence, experienced his kindness and liberality. Generous, affectionate and ardent, with a countenance habitually serene, he was an exalted specimen of a useful and happy old age.

Dr. Mayer was naturally a man of clear, vigorous intellect, of quick perception and a lively imagination, united with great delicacy of taste and a keen discernment. His attainments in classical, as well as Theological learning, were varied and extensive. He could converse fluently in the Latin language, and read and spoke the German with facility and correctness. He had also cultivated a taste for general liter-

ature, and it was often surprising to find how thoroughly acquainted he was with the leading authors of the past and the present. With a well disciplined mind, and his regular and systematic habits of study, he could accomplish greater results than ordinary men. The Doctorate of Divinity he received from the University of Pennsylvania, in 1823, simultaneously with his election as a Trustee of the institution, and from Columbia College, his *Alma Mater*, in 1837. As early as 1814 the degree was offered him by Harvard University, but he declined the honor, in consequence of his youth, and because, as he remarked in his letter of refusal, he would blush to receive it, when men of Rev. Mr. Quitman's attainments were without the title. The distinction was forthwith conferred upon Dr. Quitman. The Provostship of the University of Pennsylvania was strongly pressed upon him by leading members of the Board of Trustees, with the assurance that he would be elected, if he would consent to occupy the position. But he positively refused, and forbade the association of his name with the office. He did not wish his congregation to entertain the thought that he desired a change. He felt that he was called to the pastoral work, and nothing could divert him from the great object to which he had devoted his life. But Dr. Mayer was emphatically a student of the Scriptures, and few Divines in this country, were his conceded superiors in the department of Biblical Criticism. In his views of truth he was firm, enlightened and independent, in the pulpit an able expositor of the sacred volume, eminently didactic, and never aiming at anything like oratorical display, or uttering any expression for mere effect. He addressed himself more to the understanding than the imagination or the passions. He loved to explain and enforce the morality of the Gospel, and to dwell upon the examples given in the sacred narrative, as illustrations of the power of the truth. His sermons were prepared with great care, and, with the exception of his week-day services, were generally written. They were marked by great purity and correctness of diction, simplicity and freedom from verboseness. He rejected everything like meretricious ornament, and relied for success upon the truth. His aversion to exaggerated expression or floridness of style, was so strong, that it was his habit, until the last moment, pen in hand, to revise his manuscript, and to cut out whatever was redundant, to prune everything he considered an excresence, unnecessary to the meaning. His compositions have been pronounced by

eminent judges, as models of chaste and elegant English. His manner in the pulpit was dignified, solemn and fervid, and indicated that he was deeply sensible of the responsibilities which rested upon him. His public devotional services were remarkably elevated, appropriate and impressive, adapted to fill the mind with noble thoughts, and the heart with devout feelings. During his whole ministry he sedulously avoided in the pulpit, the introduction of all vain speculations and Theological metaphysics. He never permitted himself to become entangled in doctrinal polemics, and he tried to steer clear of the petty controversies of the day. He sought rather to instruct and edify his hearers, than to mystify and astonish them with new theories and abstract discussions. He himself, in the discourse already referred to, in giving an account of the general views and mode of action by which he was guided in the ministry, thus speaks: "It has been invariably my aim to present to you the grand facts, instructions and commandments of our holy religion, as I have been able to find them in the volume of revelation, to show their reasonableness and certainty, and to enforce their unspeakable importance, irrespective of all creeds, though not without respect due to the opinions of the able and meritorious men to whom we owe the blessed reformation. I have assiduously cultivated Biblical Criticism, because unwilling to offer you any theory not founded, as I believe, on a just interpretation of Scripture. I have endeavored to set before you every doctrine and duty essential to salvation, as illustrated in the Old and New Testament; but have purposely avoided a polemic or fanciful Theology, as well as all matters of mere speculation, and of no real or practical utility. Questions of many sorts may be propounded, controversies may be waged without end, while the chief concern of the immortal soul is unheeded; but the plain teachings of our Divine Master, and the undeniable obligations laid upon us, are of absolute necessity, and will have a lasting and infinite significance, when all human discussions shall have been consigned to oblivion. If aught else has been offered to you, it was incidental, and in subordination to what is beyond dispute. I am perfectly aware that preaching of this sort is not likely to produce intense excitement. I have attached very little value to poetical embellishment, or rhetorical declamation, in religious discussions, knowing who prayed, 'Sanctify them by thy truth,' and where it is written, 'My word shall not return unto me

void.' I have been satisfied, after mature deliberation, that in acting upon such views, I was striving to fulfil my proper functions, and might safely leave the result to the Author of all good. I have desired to say with an Apostle, 'God is my record, how I long after you all in Jesus Christ, that your love may abound in knowledge and in all judgment; that ye may approve the things which are excellent, that ye may be without offence, being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ.' If I have, in any degree, been assisted to do this, to the Most High be all the praise, and I entreat him compassionately to overlook whatever has fallen short of the mark set before me."

In his Theological views, Dr. Mayer was liberal. He belonged to the conservative school in the church. He was careful in regard to infringing on religious freedom, and deprecated the imposition of anything that would bind the reason and conscience. He cheerfully conceded to others that same liberty he claimed for himself. He was exceedingly cautious in the use of Theological terms, maintaining that no human language could describe the mysteries of revelation, that so soon as we undertook to employ the expressions of the schools, there was infused into the mind a great deal of human philosophy. For the Scriptures he had the most profound reverence, and laid the greatest stress on their miraculous inspiration. He would often say, no matter how much a doctrine might apparently conflict with science or reason, a man was bound to receive it, if taught in the word of God. His mind was not aggressive, and in the pulpit he seldom alluded to the views of other denominations, but when a fitting occasion offered, he would, in a few vigorous sentences, dispose of such questions as the supremacy of the Romish Church, the unbroken Apostolic succession, or the doctrine of unconditional election. He did not look with much favor upon those, especially clergymen, who left the church in which they were born, and in which Providence seemed to design them to labor. In reference to these he would sometimes playfully remark: "They are deserters, and as such, ought to be shot!" Although his own views were decided, yet they were in perfect charity towards those who differed from him. He had a truly catholic spirit, and was on fraternal terms with members of other denominations. But he loved the church of his birth, and the usages and practices under which he had been reared. His careful and steadfast observance of those time-honored festivals of the Lutheran communion, so

often disregarded in our churches of the present day, was remarkable. He took a deep interest in the catechization of the young. He appeared to lay himself out for this department of pastoral duty, and labored in it with eminent success. Always happy in his expositions and practical suggestions, large numbers, the young as well as adults, who had been for years in the church, and likewise those who were connected with other congregations in the city, were attracted to these lectures, and seemed deeply interested in the instructions.

As a pastor, few men have exerted so great an influence over their flock as Dr. Mayer. He was regarded not only as a safe instructor in morals and religion, but as a wise and prudent counsellor in all matters pertaining to ordinary life. He was unwearied in his efforts to administer comfort to the sorrowing and the distressed, the sick and the dying, to pour the oil of gladness into the troubled soul, to reclaim the erring and to raise the fallen. In seasons of affliction, at the bedside of the sufferer, or surrounded by the mourners who encircled the domestic hearth, he was very felicitous in presenting the lessons and consolations inculcated by our holy religion. Although he was not in the habit of devoting much time to social visiting among his people, as this was impracticable in so large a congregation—and besides, much precious time is, in this way, often lost by a pastor—yet he was always willing and ready to go, when his services, as a minister of the Gospel, were required, and he earnestly desired to be sent for, when he could be of any assistance. It was his regular practice, when he buried one of his members, to call upon the family of the deceased within a day or two afterwards, for the purpose of speaking some kind words, and uniting with the bereaved ones in supplication to the mercy seat for the Divine blessing. He had a heart of compassion for his fellow-men, and could deeply feel for the afflicted. No one ever resorted to him in vain for sympathy and comfort. The indigent and the helpless found in him a friend, and to their relief he was ever willing to devote himself. His patients, as he was in the habit of calling the sick of his congregation, were many of them far removed from his residence, and his daily walks and rides on his way to visit them, occupied much of his time; yet they were continued long after the infirmities of age would have been received as an adequate excuse for the omission of the duty. His untiring zeal, and the exemplary fidelity with which he discharged the duties of his sacred calling, were appreciated by a grateful and confiding people.

He enjoyed many striking proofs of their love and devotion to him. On the occasion of the anniversary of fifty years' residence among them as pastor, the congregation considered it an appropriate opportunity to present him with a substantial testimony of their attachment to him for the long and faithful performance of his ministerial labors, and of their concern for his comfort and happiness. The correspondence which passed between the pastor and members, is exceedingly touching, and highly creditable to both parties. There had never been any interruption of good feeling, or breach of friendship between him and his church. They had dwelt together in peace, unity and brotherly love. He was not only loved, but revered by his people, who clung to him until the last, with the warmest and most tender affection. Circumstances, of course, contributed in part to this result. There were few couples in the congregation whose marriage he had not solemnized, while many whom he married as men and women, he had held at the baptismal font as infants, whilst he had, in turn, also baptized their children. An unbroken pastoral connexion of fifty-two years is so rare an occurrence, that few can realize the associations which bind to the hearts of a people the life and services of such a pastor. As an illustration of this principle, only a short time before his death, an infant was brought from the West by its parents, to Philadelphia, for the purpose of having it baptized by him. They had been members of his church, but had removed westward. They had received the sacraments of the church at his hands, their marriage had been solemnized by him, and that of their parents before them; and they had now come a great distance, in order that the same hands might confer the rite of baptism upon a member of the third generation.

Dr. Mayer rendered the most valuable services in the ecclesiastical association with which he was connected. With all his diffidence, he was never disposed to shrink from any duty, or refuse his assistance, when he could promote the interests of the Synod. As early as the year 1812, the Ministerium appointed a committee to prepare a suitable collection of English Hymns for public worship, from the best material to be found in this and other countries, to which was to be appended a Liturgy. This important work was committed to his hands, and it is needless to say that it was executed with great taste and skill. In the year 1833, a new edition was issued, considerably enlarged. The labor, which Dr. Mayer assumed in the preparation of these two editions of

the Hymn Book, is considered as among the most laborious and disinterested works of his active and useful life. In Synod he exercised an immense influence. His power was always felt. He was regarded with feelings of deep affection and the most cordial confidence. His prudence, sound judgment and rich experience, secured for him a high position in the esteem and good will of his brethren. His advice was always received with respect, and carried with it great authority. On occasions of excitement, when discussion assumed some acrimony, he was invariably successful in calming disturbed feeling and restoring harmony and peace. A beautiful instance of his power, in this respect, was given at the last meeting of the Synod. Resolutions had been introduced on a subject in reference to which there was a considerable difference of opinion. They were discussed with ability and some warmth. Unpleasant collision seemed inevitable. In the midst of the agitation the Doctor rose, and at once arrested the attention of all the members. He stated that it was probably the last time he would, in the Providence of God, be permitted to address the body with which he had been connected for more than half a century, and he would urge upon them the exercise of mutual forbearance, moderation, fraternal kindness, and a spirit of union. The appeal came with great force, and was such, writes one who was present, "as I have never heard from the lips of any mortal." Its power was irresistible. The result was what might have been anticipated.

The death of such a man is a great calamity. We have seen the influence he exerted in private and in public, as a man, a Christian and a minister of the Gospel. Who can estimate the amount of good he accomplished, or how much evil he prevented? The loss which is thus sustained by the church and the community, is not easily repaired. Yet the influence of character death cannot destroy or the grave control. It still lives. It survives the dissolution of the body. It never dies. It lingers among us after "the sunset of the tomb," to shed light and to diffuse a rich fragrance upon those who yet remain. The word of inspiration hath said: "The memory of the just is blessed; the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance." "And I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead, who die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them."

We should not repine or murmur,

"Our father, friend, example, guide removed!"

his destiny was fulfilled, his mission accomplished. Faith and patience had their appropriate work. His Master required him for another and a higher sphere in the celestial world. We should feel grateful that he was spared to us so long, "till time had silvered his head with the honors of age," and remember that our loss is his gain. How pleasing is the thought, that his redeemed spirit, released from the cares, the toils, the sorrows, and the conflicts of earth, has gone—

"To repose, deep repose,
Far from the unquietness of life, from noise
And tumult far—beyond the flying clouds,
Beyond the stars and all this passing scene,
Where change shall cease, and time shall be no more!"

Whilst we mingle the tender emotions that gush forth from the consciousness of our bereavement, with admiration for his virtues, he has entered upon his "eternal inheritance" with Christ, in whose "presence is fulness of joy," and at whose "right hand there are pleasures for evermore!"

ARTICLE III.

SCHMID'S DOGMATIK OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

Chap. II.—The State of Corruption.

"*The state of corruption is that state into which man voluntarily precipitated himself, by his own departure from the chief good, and became both wicked and miserable.*"—Quenstedt. This state was produced by sin, and therefore, we must here discuss the subject: 1) of sin in general: 2) of the sin in particular by which this state was produced, as also of the state itself: 3) of the actual transgressions which have their origin in this state; and finally, 4) of the powers which yet remain in man after the fall, or of the question to what extent man yet possesses the freedom of the will.

Sec. 25.—Sin in general.

According to 1 John 3: 4, sin is every departure from a law of God (Hollaz. "Sin is a departure from the divine law"): whether that law be written in our hearts, or be communicated externally by positive precept. (1) It can proceed only from a being endowed with reason and free will. But it does not, therefore, belong to the general idea of this subject, that every act which may be a departure from the law of God, must be performed with the consciousness and will that it is such a departure from the law of God. (2) God is in no sense the author of sin; he has not created sin in man, since of all that was created, it is said, that it was good (Gen. 1: 31), neither did he decree that at any particular time man should become a sinner. He has neither urged man on to that which is sinful (James 1: 13), neither has he approved of sin when introduced. Much rather does he hate it at all times (Ps. 5: 5; Zach. 8: 17; 1 John 2: 16. (3) The origin of sin is much rather to be found only in the will of the creature who, in the exercise of perfect freedom, departed from God, and acted in opposition to the divine command. (4) And here Satan began his work, and then also led man astray to sin. (5) The immediate consequence of sin is that the sinner, who broke the commandment which he was bound to obey, incurred guilt which deserves punishment. Hollaz. "The consequence of sin is the being guilty of crime and exposed to punishment." (6) The punishment is partly temporal and in part eternal.

Notes to Phrt II. Chap. 2, Sec. 25.

(1.) *Baier.*—By the law is to be understood the eternal and immutable wisdom and decision of God concerning those things which belong or do not belong to a rational creature, as far as he is such, united with his will, that they may or may not be done. This law was promulgated at first in the very creation of man, when there was bestowed upon him the knowledge of practical principles, and the ability to apply them to all actions and the circumstances of actions. Afterwards, these perfections having been lost by the fall (they having been before received through the power of the divine image), this law was indeed very much obliterated, yet certain vestiges or decisions of it have remained; but God, besides other revelations, repeated especially in the decalogue the sum of the law, both in an oral and written form, and ex-

plained more clearly each precept throughout the sacred Scriptures. But that also is truly sin, which is committed against any positive law, whether divine or human; only human law cannot be contrary to the divine.

(2.) *Hollaz.*—"A sinner is a rational creature, endowed with a free will, and subject to the divine law, who departs from it, by doing what it forbids, and neglecting what it enjoins." "That which is voluntary does not enter into the definition of sin generically considered. Voluntary sin is called either *subjective*, as far as it inheres in the will, or *efficient*, according as it proceeds from a deliberate volition. Not every sin is voluntary in the latter mode. Voluntary sin is called either *formal*, because it is committed through a proper volition, or *virtual*, because it was voluntary in the root and origin of the human race, from which it has been propagated to posterity, whose will would have been the same as that which was in Adam, had they lived at the same time with him."

(3.) *Melanchthon.*—"God is not the cause of sin, nor is sin a thing contrived or ordained by him, but it is a horrible destruction of the divine work and order."

Chemnitz.—"The expression also must be noted, what it is when it is said, that God is not the cause of sin, viz., he neither desires nor approves of sin, neither does he influence the will to sin. For some understand, that he is not the author of sin in this sense, because, in the beginning, he did not create it, neither could he have it in himself, or produce it through himself. But yet men sin by the will of God, and God not only produces sins permissively, but also efficiently, in men and by men; nor yet is he to be called the author of sin. Therefore is added, for the sake of explanation, author and cause of sin."

Quenstedt.—"God is in no manner the efficient cause of sin, neither in part nor in whole, neither directly nor indirectly, neither accidentally nor really, (*per se*) (*per accidens*) whether in the form of Adam's trangression, or in that of any other sin, God is not, neither can he be called the cause or author of sin. God is not the cause of sin, 1) physically and *per se*, because thus the evil or sin has no cause: 2) not morally, by commanding, persuading or approving, because he does not desire sin, he hates it, nor 3) accidentally, because nothing can happen to God either by chance or fortuitously. It is repugnant to the divine wisdom, prescience, goodness, holiness, and independence, as is proved from Psalm 5: 5; 45: 8; Isaiah 65: 12; Zach. 8: 17; 1 John 1: 5; James 1: 13, 17."

(How God stands related to sin was shown in the discussion on the concursus.)

(4.) *Quenstedt.*—"Whatever want of conformity to law there ever is in a rational agent, that must be ascribed to the free will of the creature itself, being of its own accord deficient in keeping the law.—Ps. 5 : 5; Hos. 13 : 9; Matt. 23 : 37. A rational agent, or creature, which possesses reason, and the power of knowing those things which the given law either commands or forbids, is properly said to be the cause of sin, viz., the will of the devil and of man. But this rational agent ought to be viewed, not in respect of any real (positive) influence, but in respect of a deficiency, for sin has rather a deficient than an efficient cause.

(5.) *Canfession Aug.* 19.—"Concerning the cause of sin, they teach that although God creates and preserves nature, yet the cause of sin is the will of wicked persons as of the devil and of impious men, which without the assistance of God turns them away from God."

Chemnitz.—"The devil is the first author of sin: 1) because by his own free will he turned himself from God: 2) because he is the cause of sin in the human race in this way, that he deceived and seduced Eve in a state of incorruptedness, so that she departed from God."

(6.) *Hollaz.*—"Crime is a moral foulness or depravity, resulting from an act diverse from the law, and unworthy of a rational creature, and adhering to the sinner after the manner of a shameful stain. The being guilty of a crime is an obligation, by which man, on account of an act diverse from the moral law, is held, as if bound, under sin and a stain, so that in consequence of this act, the sinner may be regarded and called detestable.

The divine pnnishment is a grievous evil by which God the offended judge punishes the crime before committed, and not yet remitted, so that he may display his justice and majesty, and vindicate from contempt the authority of the law. The being *exposed to punishment*, is an obligation by which the sinner is held bound, by God the offended judge, to endure the punishment of the crime not remitted. Crime differs from punishment. The former precedes, the latter follows. Crime deserves punishment, punishment is due to crime, as wages are due.—Rom. 6 : 23. Crime proceeds from the will, the will of the sinner revolts from punishment. The sinner by acting commits crime, by suffering he endures punishment."

Sec. 26.—*Man's first transgression, and the state thence derived, viz., original sin.*

The first sin of mankind is that committed by the first of the human family. These, seduced by Satan, under the form of a serpent, of their own free will, transgressed the prohibition of God (Gen. 2: 16, 17) to eat of the tree of knowledge. (1.) *Hollaz.*—"The first sin of man is the transgression of the law of Paradise, by which our first parents, having been persuaded by the devil, and having abused the freedom of the will, violated the divine prohibition concerning the not eating the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and brought down upon themselves and their posterity, the divine image having been lost, a great crime, and the guilt of temporal and eternal punishment." (2.) In consequence of this transgression, our first parents burdened themselves with a crime which deserved punishment; therefore also God immediately inflicted upon them (Gen. 2: 17) the punishment threatened in the event of transgression.—(3.) The consequence of their transgression then was, that their whole relation to God, and their corporeal, spiritual and moral state were changed. The state of righteousness, above described, ceased to exist, and, in its place, was introduced a state of moral depravity, (4) which must therefore also pass over on all their posterity, since they who are born cannot have a different state from that in which they are born, so that the first sin, in its results, affects not only the first pair, but also all their posterity. (5.) Since, therefore, the first human pair became exposed to divine wrath by reason of sin, so also are all mankind descended from them, in a similar state; and that, too, for two reasons; first, because the state of depravity, which they have derived from their first parents, is, in itself, criminal before God: secondly, because all the descendants of Adam are represented and contained in him, as the representative of the human family, therefore, that which was done by Adam, can be regarded as the act of all, the consequences of which also must be borne by all, so that Adam's sin also is imputed to his posterity (i. e.) it is regarded as their own sin, because they are all represented in Adam. (6.) The state of depravity which followed Adam's transgression, and which now belongs to the first pair, as well as to all their posterity, is designated by the expression *original sin.* (7.) *Hollaz.*—"Original sin is a thorough corruption of human nature which, by the fall of our first parents,

is deprived of original righteousness, and is prone to every evil." (8.) According to its single parts, it is described 1) as a want of original righteousness, which ought to exist in man; 2) as carnal concupiscence, or inclination to evil. (9.) In the place of original holiness and purity, there came directly the opposite, a state thoroughly sinful and desiring that which is evil, which in itself is sin, so that, in consequence of this constant propensity to evil, and not originally on account of actual transgression proceeding from it, man is an object of the divine displeasure. (10.) This depraved state, then, is the foundation and fountain of all actual transgression, and has, as its consequence, the wrath of God and temporal and eternal punishment. (11.) Concerning this state, finally, it must be asserted, in the same sense as it was of original righteousness in the state of integrity, that it is natural to us; man would not, indeed, cease to be man, if this state were removed, and it does not, then, constitute the being of man, but it is connected with the being, the nature of man as he is now born, and is united with it in the most intimate and inseparable manner; and as no man is now born, except in this depraved state, so also this state can never be lost by man, as long as he lives on the earth: man, when he becomes a partaker of the Holy Ghost, can indeed refuse obedience to his evil propensity, and, when redemption through Christ is apprehended by faith, he is also freed from the consequences of sin, (i. e.) the wrath of God and punishment, but yet the evil inclination to sin always remains in him. All this is expressed in the adjuncts or circumstances of *original sin*, as Quenstedt teaches:

1) Natural inherence, Heb. 12: 1; Rom. 7: 21, which, therefore, is not a substance but an accident. (12)

2) Natural susceptibility of being propagated, Gen. 5: 3; Ps. 51: 7; John 3: 6; Eph. 2: 3. (13)

3) Duration (a tenacity or obstinate inherence during life, Rom. 7: 17; Heb. 12: 1.) (14)

Notes to Sec. 26.

(1.) *Quenstedt.*—"The first sin amongst mankind is the voluntary apostacy of our first parents from God their creator, by which, having been seduced by the devil, they transgressed, of their own accord, both the general divine and internal law impressed upon their mind, and the particular external prohibition concerning the not eating of the fruit of

the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, concerning the existence of which sin, history does not permit us to doubt, Gen. 3. By Paul it is called the transgression of *Adam*, Rom. 5: 14, because he transgressed the divine precept by eating of the forbidden fruit. The fall is ascribed to Adam by way of eminence, both because he was the head of the woman, and also because he was the beginning and root of the human race, by whom, principally, sin descended down to posterity. For a like reason, it is called a transgression of *one*, Rom. 5: 15, 17 and 18, where by one man the Apostle understands Adam particularly, so, however, as not entirely to exclude Eve. Hence arise the following definitions:

(Quenstedt) 1.) "*The external first and principal* (but remote) *cause of this sin is Satan*, acting here, not by internal impulse, nor by external violence, for each is repugnant to the integrity of the state in which man was originally created, but by mere external moral suasion.—John 8: 44; 2 Cor. 11: 3; Apology 12: 9.

2) The *instrumental cause* is a true and natural serpent, but possessed by the devil, Gen. 3: 1—14, (not a serpent merely, but one chosen and filled by the devil, which is manifest from the conversation and discourse with Eve, and also from the punishment, Gen. 3: 15, for the bruising of the serpent's head, by the seed of the woman, has respect, not to a natural, but to the infernal serpent.)

3) *The internal and directly efficient cause*, is the intellect and will of the first man, arising, not from any internal defect, which could not be in an unfallen state, but (*per accidens*) accidentally, in consequence of his wandering and departure from God, through seduction from without. (Man did not fall, in consequence of any absence or denial of any special grace, nor from the presence of any internal languor and natural vitiosity, but through the abuse of his liberty, whilst his will yielded to the external persuasion and seduction of the devil, and interrupted the gracious influence of God.)

4) The *order* and *mode* of the *seduction* are the following: Hollaz.—"Eve was first and immediately seduced by the devil, (Hollaz. Eve sinned first, not because she was more feeble in intellect than Adam, but because she was more yielding in will.) Adam was drawn mediately and by the persuasion of the woman, into the same sin, and thus the fall of Adam is referred also to the devil, as the first author of sin." In reference to the passage, 1 Tim. 2: 14, remarks Quenstedt:—

"These words are not to be understood of the seduction simply, but of the mode and order of the seduction; seduction is either external, through the address of the serpent from without, or internal, through the suggestion of Satan from within. In the former sense Eve only, and not Adam, was seduced."

5) The particular sinful acts which this transgression involves are: Hollaz. *a*) on the part of the intellect a want of faith (*incredulitas*) (Eve hesitated between the word of God Gen. 2: 17, and the word of the devil, Gen. 3: 4); *b*) on the part of the will, selfishness and pride, Gen. 3: 5; *c*) on the part of the sensuous appetite, an inordinate desire of the forbidden fruit, Gen. 3: 6, from which came forth the external act forbidden by the law of paradise. 2) Hollaz. "Our first parents, by their fall, *immediately* violated the positive law given in paradise, forbidding to eat of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; mediately and really by their disobedience, they broke through the restraints of the entire moral law. The intention of the positive law was a trial or test of obedience, which, as due to God, the whole moral law demands. But he who fears not to transgress one precept of the law, will not blush to violate the remainder, since they have the same author, and the same obligatory force.

3) Hollaz. "The consequences of Adam's fall are guilt and punishment. Punishment, like an inseparable companion, presses upon guilt. God, the most holy, had threatened death to man, if he transgressed the law which was given him.—Gen. 2: 17. By death is meant spiritual, corporeal, and eternal death. *Spiritual death*, the root of all evil, is the immediate consequence of the first sin. For as soon as man turned his heart away from the divine law, he deprived himself of spiritual union with God, which is the life of the soul, and thus, having been deserted by God, he died spiritually. This spiritual death brought with it the loss of the divine image, the entire corruption of the whole human nature, and the loss of free will in spiritual things. *The death of the body* follows spiritual death, or the death of the soul, including all the diseases and miseries by which man is surrounded from without. Whither also are to be referred the severe and troublesome labor which must be constantly endured by the man, Gen. 3: 17, and the painful throes of parturition in the woman, Gen. 3: 16. Although our first parents did not suffer the death of the body as soon as they fell,

nevertheless, from that time, they became subject to death, since this is the wages of sin, Rom. 6: 23. *Eternal death* is a perpetual exclusion from the blessed enjoyment of God, united with constant and most excruciating torments, which, by the force of the threatening annexed to the divine law, Adam and all his posterity must have suffered, unless Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the human race, and the restorer of the lost image of God, had interposed."

4) Koenig. "The effects of the first sin, in respect of our first parents, are: the total loss of the divine image, some fragments, indeed, or vestiges remaining; also the most profound depravity of the whole nature; exposure to punishment expressed in the penalty annexed to the law of paradise; the griefs and miseries of this life, and finally death itself."

5) Gerhard. We must not thus regard the sin of our first parents, and its consequences, as if they had had respect only to them, and did not, in any way, affect us; because, afterwards Adam begat a son, in his own image and likeness, Gen. 5: 3. As he was, such also did he beget his children, despoiled of the image of God, destitute of original righteousness by reason of sin, and exposed to the wrath of God, to death and damnation. Adam lived, and we all lived in him. Adam perished, and we all perished in him. As when parents lose the possession of a feudal benefit, the male children also lose it, because the parents received it, not only for themselves, but also for their children, so also our first parents, having been created in the image of God, had received those gifts which were bestowed by the goodness of God, like a deposite, to be faithfully guarded for themselves and their posterity, thus also, by sinning, they lost them, not only for themselves, but for all their posterity."

Hollaz. "Our first parents are the proximate cause of this inborn stain, from whose impure blood the original stain has flowed into our hearts. Everything follows the seeds of its own nature. No black crow ever produced a white dove, nor ferocious lion, a gentle lamb, and no man, polluted with inborn sin, ever begat a holy child.

6) Hollaz. The first sin of Adam, as far as he is regarded as the common parent, head, root and representative of the whole human race, is truly and justly imputed by God, as guilt and punishment, to all his posterity." By sin which is imputed, is understood (Quenstedt). "That disobedience by which the first parents of the human race turned themselves

away from God." &c., &c. Therefore, also, it is said: "Not only our first parents were the subject of the first sin, but also all their posterity propagated by natural generation." "For Adam and Eve were substitutes for the whole human race, inasmuch as they ought to be regarded, both as the natural and moral beginning of the human race, and the representative of all their posterity, both in nature and in grace. The proximate cause why all his posterity have sinned in the first man sinning, is the existence of the whole human species, in the person of Adam, Rom. 5: 12. For our first parents were then considered not only as the first individuals (*individua*) of the human species, but they were also the true root, stock and beginning of the whole human race, which could both stand and fall in them. Hence we are said to have been in the loins of our first parents."

The word, *to impute*, Quenstedt explains thus: "The word imputation in this place is received not physically, for implanting or inserting, but relatively for estimation. In the Hebrew language it is explained by חשב, in the Greek by λογίζεσθαι, and in German by *zurechnen*, as if you would say, in computing, that you set something over to some one, or in counting or calculating, that you assign something." Imputation is proved from Rom. 5 : 12, 14, 19. The common explanation of the first passage is: "in whom, viz., Adam, all have sinned." But Quenstedt remarks that "it makes no difference whether you translate ἐφ' ᾧ in whom, or on which account. For, if it is retained as causal, it confirms our view. For thus we argue. They who die, die because they have sinned, but all mankind die, even infants and those not yet born. Therefore, they die because they have sinned." "But infants, and those not yet born, die either on account of some fault of their own (*delictum*) or actual transgression; therefore, on account of the actual transgression of another scil: of Adam, who tainted them with his own stain.* But if the other signification be received, i. e. (*in quo*) relatively in Adam, as root, fountain, cause, head, it is again proved that Adam's sin is imputed to all." In reference to Rom. 5:

* The argument of Chemnitz will be complete, if we supply the hiatus thus. They who die, die because they have sinned; all mankind die, even infants and those not yet born. Therefore, they die because they have sinned. But infants, and those not yet born, die either on account of some fault of their own or actual transgression. But they have never committed any actual transgression, therefore, they die on account of the fault or actual transgression of another, viz., Adam, who tainted them with his own sin.

19, Quenstedt remarks: "As we are constituted just by the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, thus are we constituted unrighteous by the disobedience of Adam."

In order to write with much accuracy, Quenstedt remarks in addition, that the phrase, *the fall of Adam*, is taken in different senses. The one sense is, "specifically a transgression in relation to the forbidden tree," and therefore it is "formally considered" the sin of the individual Adam: "in this case we say that the fall becomes ours by imputation only." The other sense is: "at the same time that which flowed from this transgression, viz., the want of original righteousness, and the corruption of the whole nature;" and then we say: "it passed over to posterity, not only by imputation, but also by natural generation. We remark yet in addition, that the idea of the imputation of the guilt and punishment of our first parents, occurs from the time of Gerhard in a more precise form. Since the subject is less precisely exhibited in the Formula Concordiæ (1—9) "That this hereditary evil is a sin or guilt, whence it happens that we all, on account of the disobedience of Adam and Eve, are hateful to God, and children of wrath." Baier also admits the position, that all men had sinned in Adam, not just in the manner above mentioned, and suggests not a particular guilt, which the posterity of Adam had incurred through his fall, but that their guilt appears in their inborn depravity. In reference to this, however, he says: "But it is not necessary, nor perhaps advisable, that we discuss this point more acutely; how God could impute the fall of our first parents to their posterity not yet in existence, in such a way that, therefore, it was necessary for them to be born destitute of original righteousness and sinners. It is sufficient that the fact has been revealed; although the mode is unknown."

7) The scholastic distinction original sin originating, and original sin originated. Quenstedt. "*Active or originating original sin, is that vicious act which our first parents committed, by transgressing the paradisaic law*, which act indeed has not passed over to their posterity, nor is found in them, except by imputation only. However, it gave origin to the deep corruption of man, which is called *passive or originated original sin*, which is a vicious habit, contracted by Adam through that actual transgression of the divine law, and propagated to his posterity." In this sense the word is here used.

Hollaz. "In ecclesiastical phraseology, not biblical, this sin, derived from the fall of Adam, is called original, and,

indeed, not in respect of the origin of the world or of man, but, 1) because derived from Adam, the root and beginning of the human race; 2) because it was united with the origin of the descendants of Adam: 3) because it is the origin and fountain of actual transgressions."

In the language of Scripture, this connate depravity is called: 1) *indwelling sin*, Rom. 7: 17, because after the fall it fixed its seat firmly in man, nor departs from him until the habitation of soul and body is broken up; 2) *besetting sin;* because it surrounds us on all sides, like a long garment impeding a runner, Heb. 12: 2; 3) *a law in the members*, Rom. 8: 23. For as a law rules and governs an agent, thus original sin directs the members of the body to the perpetration of wicked deeds; 4) *an evil lying near*, Rom. 14: 21, because like a stumbling block, it lies near to a man who wishes to do good."

8) More extended definitions. Hollaz. "Original sin is a want of original righteousness, connected with a depraved inclination, corrupting in the most inward parts, the whole human nature, which was derived from the fall of our first parents, and propagated to all men by natural generation, rendering them indisposed to spiritual good, but inclined to evil, and making them the objects of divine wrath and eternal condemnation."

Quenstedt. "Original sin is a want of original righteousness derived from the sin of Adam, and propagated to all men who are begotten in the ordinary mode of generation, including the dreadful corruption and depravity of human nature and all its powers, excluding all from the grace of God and eternal life, and subjecting them to temporal and eternal punishments, unless they are born again of water and the Spirit, or obtain the remission of their sins through Christ."

The proofs of these views of original sin, are drawn from Gen. 6: 5; 8: 21; Job 14: 4; Ps. 14: 2, 3; 58: 4; Isaiah 48: 8; John 3: 5, 6; Eph. 2; 3. Especially from Ps. 51: 7; Rom. 5: 12, 14; Gen. 5: 3. Chemnitz thus comments on the important passage, Rom. 5: 12: 1) "The efficient cause of original sin is shown to be the first man. 2) The subject is pointed out, which adhered not only in Adam, but has passed into the world, i. e., into all men who come into the world. 3) The punishment is described, which is not only the death of the body, but the dominion of sin, and the sentence of condemnation. . . 4) Lest the punishment should

be understood only as of the sin of another, without any personal guilt, Paul affirms that the whole world is guilty, both in consequence of the one sin of the first man, and because all have sinned, i. e., have been constituted sinners. 5) He indicates what kind of sin it was, when he says that even they have original sin, who have not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression. 6) He describes the manner, how original sin is propagated—he says by one man."

9) Quenstedt. In form it is an habitual privation privation of original righteousness, Ps. 14: 3; 53: 4; Rom. 3: 10, 11, 12, 23, united with the complete corruption of the whole nature, Rom. 7: 17, 20, 21; Heb. 12: 1. See Symbolical Books, and especially Apol. to Conf. I. 26. Form of Concord, I. 11.

In reference to the former (viz., *the privation of original righteousness*) Baier remarks: "Here belongs that death, or the want of spiritual life, and of all the active powers which are required for the exercise of acts in conformity with the divine law. And this death is referred to men, because they are by nature children of wrath, Eph. 2: 1 and 5; Col. 2: 13. For as original righteousness had dwelt with the faculties of the soul of the first man, had, as it were, animated and prepared them to live a life of godliness, and according to spiritually good acts and motions; so this primeval righteousness having been lost, a man is like a dead body which has been deprived, by the separation of the soul from the body, of all power to call forth and to exercise vital acts and motions, because he is destitute of strength for the performance of spiritual acts and motions."

In reference to the latter (viz., concupiscence) Baier "For the same carnal man who, in consequence of the want of spiritual life, was like one dead, in another respect is said to be living and very active, but it is a life alien from the life of God, Eph. 4: 18; 2: 3. The faculties of the soul are, indeed, essentially vital faculties, and when they are deprived of original righteousness, they must want the powers necessary to conduct the life in a manner agreeable to God: Not however are those powers lost or destroyed, as far as there is in them vitality and strength to call forth vital acts and motions. Therefore they pursue another course of life, and manifestly different from the former." Concupiscence is also connected with the want of original righteousness; therefore the following position is opposed to the Papists: Quenstedt. "Original sin, formally considered, consists not in a mere

want of rectitude which should exist, or a want of concreated righteousness, but also in a state of illegality, or an approach, contrary to the divine law, to a forbidden object, which, in one word, is called a depraved concupiscence."—Original sin is also a depravity *negative* and *positive: negative*, without the good which should exist: *positive*, desirous of the evil which should not exist, concupiscence itself. The *positive depravity* is thus more particularly defined. Quenstedt. "Original sin is called a positive depravity, not accurately and according to philosophical abstraction, according to which every positive entity is a good created by God, but according to the latitude used by theologians, and that 1) *denominatively*, as far as it includes a subjective positive act; 2) *formally*, as far as, besides the act in which the privation is inherent, and besides the privation of original righteousness which ought to exist, it involves also an inclination, and a certain wickedness which is contrary to original righteousness. The particular parts of original sin are then more specifically thus described by Baier: "In *respect of the intellect*, original sin implies a total want of spiritual light, so that it cannot know God rightly, nor prescribe in what way he should be worshipped, nor to embrace with a firm assent the things which have been divinely revealed; at the same time also, there is a proneness of the intellect to form rash and false judgments concerning spiritual things; even in those things which lie open to the light of nature, there is a certain impotency in the knowledge of God, and the government of life. In *respect of the will*, original sin consists in a want of original holiness, or of the ability to love God above all things, and to perform what the intellect has rightly dictated, and also to restrain the appetite in a proper manner: also in that the will is inclined to sinful acts. *In respect of the sensuous appetite*, there is a want of obedience to the higher faculties, and a rushing, contrary to them, into those things which are agreeable to the senses, although they are prohibited by the divine law, the decision of reason not having been waited for, or having been rejected.

10) Conf. Aug. II.—"They teach that, after the fall of Adam, all men who are begotten in the natural way, are born in sin (i. e.) without the fear of God, or faith in God, and with concupiscence: and that this disease, or natural depravity, is truly sin, condemning and causing now, also, eternal death to those who are not born again by baptism and the Holy Spirit." See Apol. Conf. I. 38, 41. Form. Conc. I. 6.

This evil Dr. Luther was accustomed sometimes to call the sin of our nature or person; by which he meant that, although a man should not think, speak or do any evil (which indeed, since the fall of our first parents, is impossible for human nature, in this life) nevertheless, the nature and person of man are sinful (i. e.) that they are wholly and completely infected, poisoned, and corrupted before God, by original sin, in their very inmost parts, and the most profound recesses of the heart: and in consequence of this corruption and fall of our first parents, the nature and person of man are accused and condemned by the law of God, so that we are by nature the children of wrath, the slaves of death and damnation, unless we be liberated from these evils, and be preserved through the benefits which flow from the merits of Christ."

Quenstedt. This concupiscence, denoting the propensity to evil which is implanted in the depraved nature, even as it remains in the regenerate, is truly sin, because the definition of sin suits it, and therefore Paul, Rom. 7, calls it sin fourteen times, not by metonomy, that it is only the punishment of the first sin, and the cause of subsequent actual transgression, as the Papists teach, but, properly and formally, because it is truly sin, whence also the Apostle names it the law of sin warring against the law of the mind, an evil producing sin."

11) Baier. "The consequences of original sin are various evils: *In respect of the soul*, a want of freedom of the will in spiritual things, and an infirmity of the will in things natural; actual transgressions, multiplied both in kind and number; a want of grace, and, on the contrary, the anger of God. *In respect of the body*, diseases and other troubles, with temporal death: finally, also, eternal death or damnation."

12) Two things are herein contained, that we may state what is naturally inherent in original sin:

1) Quenstedt. "That which is not a mere *accident*, lightly and externally attached, but internally and intimately inhering, and therefore called, Heb. 12: 1, the easily besetting sin; That which is an *accident*, connate and natural; not indeed that thus it arises from nature, but is produced together with it, or is connate with it; not that it is any temporal and transient accident, but fixed and permanent." For the purpose of banishing such a view, (i. e., the Pelagian) our divines express themselves in forcible language concerning human depravity. So Chemnitz. "There are not a few who

so extenuate original sin, that they pretend that it is a corruption of certain accidents only, and that the substance itself of man, and especially of the soul, exists after the fall, and remains upright, uninjured and pure; so that this quasi impediment having been removed, the substance itself of man, after the fall, and before the renewing of the Spirit, by itself, has certain spiritual powers or faculties in itself or of itself, which it employs of itself to begin and to complete spiritual acts. . . The true and constant sentiment of the church must be opposed, clearly explained and keenly defended against these philosophical and Pelagian vagaries. . . viz., that the nature or substance in man, since the fall, and before regeneration, is by no means upright, pure or sound: but that especially the nature of the human soul is truly corrupt, vitiated and depraved, and that not lightly or superficially, or even in some part only, but that the whole mass (if I may so speak) of the substance or of human nature, and especially of the soul, is corrupted and vitiated with the deepest and extreme depravity. . . This corruption or depravity is nothing abstract, nor an idea without the substance or human nature, but is inherent in our very nature or substance, and like a spiritual poison, infects and diffuses itself far and wide throughout all the members of our whole substance or human nature." The position of Flacius, viz., "That original sin is the very substance itself of man or the human soul," arose from a misapprehension or a straining of these views. Therefore, the expression, "inherent in our nature," has been employed.

2) Quenstedt. "That original sin is not the very substance of man . . . but that which inheres in it after the manner of an accident, for it is distinguished in the Scriptures, Rom 7: 20, from the essence itself of man, and is called *indwelling sin;* now an inhabitant or guest is not the same as the house, so neither is sin the same as man."

Form. Conc. 1: 33. "Although original sin has infected and corrupted the whole nature of man, like some spiritual poison and horrible leprosy, so that now, in our corrupt nature, these too, viz., nature alone and original sin alone, cannot be distinctly pointed out to view; yet the corrupt nature or the substance of corrupt man, body and soul, or man himself created by God, in whom original sin dwells, and original sin itself, which dwells in the nature or essence of man, and corrupts it, are not one and the same. . . The distinction, therefore, between our nature, which was created by God and

is preserved to this day, in which original sin dwells," and original sin, which dwells in our nature, must be retained." For this reason, then, is original sin called an accident:— Form. Conc. 1: 57. "Since, therefore, this is an unchangeable truth, that whatever it be, whether substance or accident, that is, either something subsisting by itself, or that which has come to it from somewhere else and inheres in its substance. . . we must, indeed, needs admit that that sin is not a substance but an accident." To this the formula add, 1: 60, "when the inquiry is made, what kind of an accident original sin is, that is another question. No philosopher, no papist, no sophist, yea, no human reason, can exhibit a true solution of this question; its explication is to be sought from the sacred Scriptures only." The expressions which have been employed above by Chemnitz, are sustained by the following distinction: 1: 51. "In order to avoid logomachies, terms of an equivocal signification should be carefully and learnedly explained. V. G. when it is said: God creates the nature of man: By the term nature, the very substance, body and soul is meant. But often a *property* or *condition* of any thing, (whether it be taken in good part or bad) is called the nature of that thing, as when it is said, it is the nature of the serpent to strike, and to infect with poison (here, not the substance, but the badness of the serpent is expressed): in this sense Dr. Luther uses the term nature, when he says *that sin and to sin is the nature of corrupt man.*

(13) Form. Conc. 1: 7. "And at the present time, although in this corruption of nature, God does not create sin in us, but together with the nature which God creates and effects in men, original sin is propagated by natural generation from father and mother."

Here the question naturally presents itself, in what manner this corrupt nature perpetuates itself, and whether the soul is propagated extraduce? i. e., as in natural generation the flesh of the offspring is substantially transmitted from the seed of the parent, whether also the soul of the child, in like manner, is transmitted from the soul of the parent? On this subject Chemnitz says: "Luther, in his discussions, concludes that he wishes to affirm nothing publicly concerning that question, but that he privately held the opinion *de traduce*. . It is sufficient for us to know the efficient cause that our first parents, by their fall, deserved that, such as they were after the fall, both in body and mind, such also all their posterity would be procreated. But how the soul contracts that sin

we can safely remain in ignorance, because the Holy Spirit has not been pleased to disclose this in certain and clear Scriptural testimonies." The more recent divines declare themselves more positively in favor of traducianism: Quenstedt. "As the soul was the first to exhibit sin, so original sin itself, through the medium of the soul, in which it deeply inheres, is propagated *per traducem.*" See this subject more fully discussed in Sec. 20, note 8.

(14) The following are the more particular definitions:— Quenstedt. "In original sin there are four things worthy of attention, to each of which a certain limit of duration has been prefixed. 1) Tendency or root (*fomes*),* habitually inhering. 2) A perception of this tendency or root. 3) The dominion of it, and finally, 4) Guilt. The last is removed by *regeneration* and justification: Dominion by sanctification (not at once, but gradually and successively, because sanctification is not complete in this life). The perception of it is removed by death: The tendency itself, not by a reducing to ashes, (since not the body, but the soul, is the first and immediate subject of sin) but by the dissolution of the soul and the body."

Apology of Conf. 1: 35. "Luther always wrote that baptism removes the guilt of original sin, although *materially, as they say*, the propensity to sin remains. He added also, concerning its material character, that the Holy Spirit being given in baptism, begins to mortify the propensity to sin, and creates new emotions in man. Augustine also speaks in the same manner, and says that sin is remitted in baptism, not that it may not exist, but that it may not be imputed. He openly confesses that it exists, that is, that sin remains, although it is not imputed.

* The word *fomes* means tinder, combustible material; it has been translated tendency, as the nearest approach to the original, under the circumstances.

ARTICLE IV.

LITURGICAL STUDIES.

(Concluded from p. 124.)

The Principles of the Cultus of the Evangelical Church.

THE Protestant church owes her origin to the necessary reaction of the reawakened, pure evangelical consciousness of faith against the *human traditions* introduced upon the doctrine and life of the so-called Catholic church. With the prevalence of these human traditions, and with nothing else, Protestantism, from the beginning, knew itself involved in conflict and battle, against nothing other did it protest, against nothing other is it continually called to contend. Its intent is just as little a new church, not having had an existence from the beginning, as its desire is to produce a new Christian cultus which, so far as contents are concerned, did not exist before. It claims not to be revolution, but restitution, not a new creation or a new formation, but the purification and restoration of both, religion and cultus. In consequence of its *formal* principle, Protestantism views all that does not agree with holy writ as the only infallible norm, rule and measure of Christian faith and life, as human traditions, to the removal and obliteration of which, its purifying and restoring efforts are directed; in consequence of its material principle, however, it declares more definitely all that is in conflict, either theoretically or practically, with the "first and chief article" of evangelical doctrine, with the doctrine of the sinner's justification before God *by faith alone*, to be human tradition.

Protestantism, ever active, in accordance with its twofold principle, to render and preserve pure all christian and churchly life from all traditionary bondage, so especially too, the life of the divine service, its efforts are directed against every thing that has deprived the christian cultus of the Catholic church of its truthfulness and freedom. To procure again, and preserve to christian worship, the forfeited character of truth rnd freedom, was accordingly recognized from the beginning as its chief problem in the liturgical sphere; the laws of *truth* and *freedom* occupy the first place among those principles, by which Protestantism is guided in regard to the cultus.

The law of truth does not merely require, 1) the external service continually to proceed from the internal, to preserve the latter as its indwelling force, it being its origin, and thus be no mere *semblance*, but a *manifestation* of existing piety, and 2) this manifestation to correspond with the internal nature and constitution of piety to be manifested, so as to be *truly* represented, i. e., unequivocally and definitely, clearly and explicitly, but 3) also that it which enters into the manifestation and representation, be not merely circumstantially, but also objectively true, that it is possessed not merely of subjective, but also of objective truth. The christian cultus is only so far true, as it is a *true* expression of the impression of *true* christian faith on the human mind, or as the alone objectively true and positive christian religion, the real communion of man with God, mediated by Christ, is seen truly represented in it, not merely any general and indefinite religiosity.

The objective truth of the *consciousness* of faith, as holding in all the different confessions, being dependent on its agreement with the only authentic and canonical word of God, as contained in the sacred Scriptures, according to the *formal* principle of the Protestant church, so too is every *exhibition* of faith naturally bound by the same obligation. Consequently, the truthfulness of the cultus in harmony with Protestant principles, is based upon this fact, that the true, the only objectively true and *evangelical* faith of *the Bible* in redemption, is just as truly *expressed* as it is *appealed* to by the cultus. This will be the case whenever, in christian worship, the word of God is preached pure and unadulterated, in agreement with the Holy Scriptures, and the sacraments are administered according to their divine institution, as recorded by the Evangelists and Apostles, on the one hand; and the reception and use of the means of grace, as well as the common adoration and worship of God in Christ, are performed by a true evangelical faith, in the true biblical sense and spirit on the other. The christian cultus, viewed from the *material* principle of our church, appears as having forfeited the character of truthfulness, and *abused*, in the sense of the reformers, or to superstition, as soon as its acts are considered and treated as something that works magically and theurgically, or as soon as the external action in it assumes the pretension of salutary effect *eo ipso*, and aside from that faith that is represented and verified in it. The doctrine of

the sinner's justification before God by faith alone, does not tolerate the thought of an external act to merit grace and appropriate justification, in the way of an "*opus operatum*," "*sine bono motu utentis*," but stands in direct contradistinction with it. The external act of hearing the word does not justify man before God, but that faith, the origin and preservation of which is found in the operation of the Holy Ghost, by means of the word, and which, on that account, will desire ever renewedly to hear this word as its necessary nourishment and food. Just in the same way, the external and bodily use of the sacraments is of no avail, if faith is not present to lay hold of and apply the proffered grace and gift of God. No external work of adoration and worship can be well-pleasing to him who looketh not on the outward appearance, but on the heart, if it is not the product of inner worship, if it is not a fruit of faith, a natural and necessary expression of piety really existing in the heart. The cultus, then, not as something *outside of* and *aside of* faith, but absolutely as its vital function and verification, is possessed of truth and value before God.

The same relation to faith, however, which in consequence of the *material* principle of the Protestant church, guaranties to the christian cultus its *truthfulness*, secures its freedom also. This freedom depends on the fact that faith is not subject to any law of the cultus, but that, on the contrary, the cultus receives its law from faith, so that the christian cultus is not brought to faith with the external necessity of a divine ceremonial law, but it is rather the externally free, as well as internally necessary product of faith itself, so that the acts of the cultus are not works commanded by law, the burden of which is imposed on faith, by the performance of which it is to merit grace, procure for itself salvation and righteousness. But it is rather a gratification of an internal want merely, a necessary verification of the vital impulse of faith. Faith, not subject to any law of the cultus lying beyond itself, and foreign to its being, but following alone the internal law and impulse of its own nature, it moves perfectly free. If this were not so, if the acts of the cultus possessed a character of works necessary to salvation, externally commanded and prescribed by a ceremonial ritual, there would not alone no freedom prevail in the sphere of the cultus, but righteousness would be represented, not as proceeding from faith alone, but also from works of the law.

If, therefore, we said above that the objective truth of the christian cultus is conditioned by its agreement with the divine Scriptures, it is not to be understood as if there were a divine ritual laid down in the New Testament, the accurate and punctual observance of which, is divinely commanded, and necessary for the purpose of mediating salvation. The Catholic church, indeed, confounds and exchanges law and gospel in such a way as to view the latter but as the perfect new law, and Christ but as the giver of this new law; but the Protestant church bases herself throughout, upon the true distinction of both economies. In the Gospel she finds something entirely different from a "*nova lex*," and denies throughout, that Christ has come into the world, to erect in his church and her cultus, another *legal* institute to mediate salvation. She teaches, that Christ has brought to the world the righteousness by faith, and instituted his church as a communion of believers, and the worship of the redeemed as an adoration and worship of God in the spirit of freedom and in truth. The means of grace, the word of God and the sacraments, are divinely given in the New Testament, but respecting the particular use of the means of grace in worship, and the form under which the divine contents of faith are exhibited in the cultus, no ceremonial laws are appointed. According to the New Testament, the christian cultus seems to be confined neither to certain *persons*, nor to certain *times* or *seasons*, *places*, *forms* or *formularies*. If but the means of grace are used in their essential integrity, and the exhibition of faith is verily a true exhibition of the true faith, all besides is left to the free development and verification of the christian churchly life. Christ was no liturgical law-giver, and in the means of grace he only granted to faith what it needed for itself, though not what it required for the further object of its self-exhibition. This was not to be brought to faith from without by precept, but from within. The Apostles, accordingly, as we learn from the New Testament, did not conduct themselves as vicars or authorized deputies of a liturgical law-giver. The christian cultus developed itself under their eyes, in a manner adapted to the relations and circumstances of that time, upon the basis of the organization of the Jewish Synagogue. They interfered chiefly when offences had been committed in the natural development of life against the nature of christian faith, or any general moral law. The first organization of the worshipping assembly of christians, as we are informed from the pages of the New

Testament, is so far from enforcing itself as the most perfect formation of the christian cultus, and as a binding law for all future times, that we have rather to recognize in it but the first beginnings of the development of a christian liturgy. The requisition of the correspondence with the sacred Scriptures, in the strict sense of the word, refers not to the manifestation or external form, but to what was to be manifested, to the contents of the cultus. Untrammeled by any outwardly compulsory law, faith may, and has a right to employ every thing freely in the cultus, whatever may seem adapted as a means in order to exhibit itself in its truthfulness. The *Lutheran* church was, from the beginning, free from the error of restriction to the external form of worship, as it existed in the most ancient days of the church. It having prevailed partly in the *reformed* church, she denied, in opposition to the material principle of Protestantism, the true freedom of the cultus, and placed herself upon a stand-point somewhat similar to the Catholic mode of legalistic thinking. Compare Jer. 31: 31–34; 32: 38–40; John 4: 23, 24; Rom. 3: 28; Gal. 2: 16, 21; 3: 10–13; 4: 1–11; 5: 1–6; Col. 2: 16–23.

Augsb. Conf. Art. 7, 15, 26, 28; Apology, Art. 8 (of human traditions in the church). Smalc. Art. 2: 1–4. Larger Cat. in the explanation of the third commandment, and Form. Conc. Art. 10 (of church usages).

The law of freedom then indicates, that there is no ceremonial law of the New Testament, that the acts of the cultus do not possess a character of external works, commanded of God, and necessary to life and salvation, that the consciences of believers are not bound by this or that form of external worship, and that the order of worship or of the church altogether, becomes an intolerable commandment of men, as soon as they claim to be a necessary element of the divine order of salvation. But, because there is no external divine law that prescribes the form and shape of the christian cultus, it does not follow that *it is not subject to any law whatever, and would be something entirely accidental and arbitrary.* As everywhere the essence of true freedom is not to be found in arbitrariness, so in this case too; and we would not be in the least justified, as is frequently done, to confound the freedom of the cultus with the power conceded to the individual liturg, so as to incline him to act arbitrarily. Far from it, that the submission of the liturg to an order and form of the cultus, published and approved by the whole church-communion,

should not agree with the freedom of christian worship, it is rather, aside from all other reflections, which would go to establish its necessity, the only means, too, to render the congregation safe against any arbitrary conduct on the part of their liturg. Freedom is not identical with arbitrariness, but with self-determination by moral laws, with inward moral necessity. The service of God cannot seek its freedom, then, in being entirely exempt from law, but only in this, that it is not subject to any outward traditionary service, that it is not bound by any other laws than those which lie in its own inward being and relation to faith. Freedom has no existence against the truth, but in the truth and for the truth. We can consequently derive no reason from the nature of freedom in the sphere of the cultus, to justify the subject to act against the truth.

But the law of freedom does not merely find in the law of truth, on the one hand, its positive fulfilment, and on the other, its necessary circumscription; there are other general laws also, proceeding from the most inward being and idea of the christian cultus, which exclude arbitrariness, and which true freedom will not gainsay. The christian cultus is, as we have seen, no merely individual, subjective or private worship, but public, common and churchly. Its subject is not the individual believer *per se*, but the congregation of believers.—Hence we infer that the merely individual and subjective understanding of the Scriptures cannot be enforced *nolens volens* as objective truth, but wholly the common interpretation of the church; and that the private faith of the individual subject cannot lay claim to be exhibited in the cultus, but the faith of the congregation. The previously required agreement with the Holy Scriptures becomes *ipso facto* too, a requisition to correspond with the confession of the church, because the church Protestant believes and confesses nothing other in command than what is according to her common conviction and experience, wrought and testified by the Holy Ghost, the pure and unadulterated doctrine of the Gospel, the essential contents of the divine word. The communion of faith not being in every respect merely altogether perfected, but, at the same time too, still involved in a process of growth, and as the common cannot be at all conceived as something abstractly general, something that obliterates all individuality and subjectivity, something of an exclusive and absolutely negative character; the individuals not being merely in the communion, but *vice versa*, the communion in them

too, the cultus would certainly be one-sided, if the common faith or common piety were exhibited in it in this circumscribed common form, and not in the free manner of individual and subjective expression too. But whether it be the latter form or the former, under which faith appears and exhibits itself, it would and could ever be, as previously said, not a merely individual and subjective faith, but an essentially common faith expressed in the cultus, whether under an individual or common form. But not merely that which is to be exhibited in the cultus, the contents of the cultus must prove itself to be essentially common, the very action too, in exhibiting it, must bear this same common character. Protestantism, according to its avowed principles, knows nothing of a priesthood with divine privileges, in order to a legal mediation of salvation. Nor can it regard the act of cultus as the act of a priesthood standing between God and the congregation, but merely as an act of the congregation. But this certainly does not involve, that the whole congregation is everywhere and always to act in immediate concert by visible and audible expression. There may be, as we have seen, nay, there must even occur a form of action, in which all participate by means of the delegated organ of individuals. But in this case, the delegated organ acts merely in reference to the loud expression. Essentially, it is an action, performed by the liturg in union with the congregation, and the congregation with the liturg. The total congregation acts in the worship of the local congregation in the name of God, by administering the means of grace through the organ of her specially called servants. Yet without the positive receptivity on the part of the members of the congregation, the administration of the means of grace can form no act of cultus; without the recipients of the sacraments, the administrator is not enabled to act. The self-activity of the clergy is exhibited in worship, as determined by the susceptibility of the laity, and the latter again, as excited and put in motion by that of the former. The common expression of the common faith provokes the individual and subjective one, in the free discourse of the specially gifted and called, and the latter the former again. The cultus can alone, therefore, be exhibited as living, in the character of an action both common and mutual. The third element, accordingly, is that of a *common* and *mutual* character, founded in the evangelical nature and idea of the christian cultus, and thus entitled to prevail in this our sphere.

Viewing the matter on one side, and superficially, it might appear as if this common character in worship received greater significance in the cultus of the Catholic church than in the Protestant. For, aside from the fact, that the free discourse, the individual living expression of the common faith recedes altogether, and appears almost as disappearing, the strictest adherence to the forms of worship, as handed down from churchly antiquity, prevails, and the closest agreement respecting their use in all countries and places of the earth. Yes, the Romish church goes even so far as to employ, everywhere, one and the same language in the worship of God. But it is, on the one hand, of that common character, which passes itself off at the cost of, and in contradiction with truth and freedom, and, on the other hand, we miss the truly common character in her worship, the cultus appearing too much merely as the priestly action of the clergy for the benefit of the congregation, at which the beholding or listening congregation are purely passive, or during which the individual members have their private worship for themselves. That the cultus of the present should be in constant connection with that of the churchly past, that the worship of the local congregation should agree with that of the total congregation, is implied certainly too, in this common character of the cultus; yet the chief point is always this, that the local congregation assembled for the liturgical end, be pre-eminently engaged in a living common and mutual activity respecting the expression and verification of her piety.—What the Apostle Paul says in the fourteenth chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians, about the "speaking with tongues," is here in place, and especially the thirty-sixth verse of that chapter, where he reminds his readers that the word of God did not come out from them, nor come unto them only. The church Protestant enforced the cultus from the beginning, both theoretically and practically, not as the one-sided action of a privileged clerical order, but as an action, living, conjoint and alternate between clergy and congregation. In reference to the relation of the worship of a local congregation to that of the total, she correctly declares that "it is not necessary to the true unity of the christian church, that uniform traditions, rites and ceremonies, of human appointment, should everywhere be observed," and that for this end, "it is sufficient that the Gospel is preached in harmony with, and according to its true intent and meaning, and that the sacraments are administered in consonance with

the word of God." (Augsb. Conf. Art. 7.) The requisition that the worship of God should be borne by this churchly common character, that all the local congregations should agree, refers, first and foremost, to that which is to be exhibited, to its contents, and to those acts in which, not so much the local as the total congregation is seen to act by the organ of her called servants in the name of God. But in respect to the other parts of the worship of God, the church Protestant, from the beginning, was concerned for the most possible harmony, and a difference was tolerated more within the limits of the confession, than within any church of any country standing under the same common regiment. As far as the sphere of usefulness of any church government extended, it introduced a common *order of things in church and worship*, but from reasons by which no encroachment on the liberty of faith or of conscience was exercised. The prefaces especially, and the published mandates of the first Protestant church regulations, afford proof, in this respect, for our assertion.

A form of public and common action, like that in the cultus, cannot, and dare not refuse to submit to the rule of the general moral law of *order* and *decency*, will not sacrifice the proper organization and orderly course of such action to accident, or the option of a few individuals; care must be taken that the different functions and the persons acting do not interrupt and disturb each other, that checkered pele-mele arise, but that everything appear decently and expediently, arranged in proper order and succession, so that no confusion or disorder arise, but harmonious coöperation prevail. The several parts must be united to an organic whole, and the different acts follow in such a succession, as characterize the nature and end of common worship. The law of *order* and *decorum*, then, is to be named as the fourth principle of the christian cultus as holding in the evangelical church, to which the symbolical writings so frequently refer (A. C. Art. 15 & 28; Apol. Art. 8 & 14; Form. Conc. Epit, 10), and which is so emphatically enjoined by the Apostle Paul. (1 Cor. 14: 33, 40; Col. 2: 5). The chief requisitions of this principle are, the exactness in time and place, as well as the order and course of worship, the proper distribution of the different functions, and especially the provision made of particular organs to direct cultus-action.

Finally, the contents of the cultus being *per se* of an inner and purely spiritual nature, a something which, as such, can-

not appear and communicate itself without the plastic activity of the spirit, which assimilates the natural and sensuous to itself, employing it as its body, the bearer and organ of its manifestation, the acts in public worship, generally speaking, must necessarily assume an artistic character. Beauty is the law for the representation of art in general. The beautiful may be said to arise when the antithesis of the natural and spiritual is entirely overcome by the plastic activity of the spirit, and the former is so transformed by the latter, as to appear merely as its transparent body and natural bearer. It is the real sensuous representation, the corporeal and bodily manifestation of the ideal, existing immediately in the human mind.

Cultus-action cannot dispense with beauty and art, its end being to afford an expression to be perceived by the senses of something spiritual, and to keep everything distant that is low and common, all that is sensuous, impure and unworthy, or merely sensuous, and not a reflex of the spiritual. But as little as the contents of the cultus is the spiritual and ideal generally, just so little can liturgic action be identical with artistic action generally, or beauty be its highest law. There is an immense, a specific difference between profane and sacred art. Profane art never advances higher than a religious contemplation of the world, but true churchly art is the representation of the divine, apprehended in the natural contemplation of God for the end of common devotion. The spiritual as the contents of the cultus, and calculated for the senses, is the christian religion, the direct consciousness and feeling of the communion with God mediated by Christ, the piety and devotion of the christian congregation, consequently that which is holy *per se*. It being brought to exhibit itself directly in a proper manner, its result is not the beautiful, but the *solemn*. Consequently, the character of *solemnity* is the last fundamental law, or the last principle for action in the evangelical cultus.

All liturgical action will correspond with this principle, if in it the arts are disrobed of all their own natural ideal contents, renouncing all efforts, by their dexterity and skill, to please, if they serve but the sacred object they are to represent, both respecting form and contents, and appear as entirely devoted to, and exclusively determined by it, in their production. The artistic style of cultus is possessed of the attributes of *chastity* and *simplicity*. Chastity has regard

to the contents of the cultus, its subject-matter, and consists in this, that the arts engaged in the service of the cultus, will not transfer any of their own and worldly ideal contents to this sphere, whilst simplicity, however, prevents the vain intervention of an artistic skill, not called for by the contents of the cultus, and not subject to the latter in the way of simplicity and modesty. All that conflicts with the chastity and simplicity of the churchly style, must be shunned in the cultus, for it would not then correspond with the law of solemnity, which can only be the case whenever the sensuous claims no interest or good pleasure for itself, being, indeed, present for the senses, though as good as disappeared, in regard to the spirit, as the latter sees and feels but the manifestation of the holy in the cultus.

The less isolated the named principles coöperate, the greater their harmonious union and mutual interpenetration, the more living, the more pleasing in every direction, and the more perfectly satisfying will the cultus appear. No one element of religion and piety will make itself felt at the expense and exclusion of the others; the use of the means of grace, not at that of worship, the representation of the abiding essence, not at that of the implied growth, the common expression of the common, not at that of the individual and particular, that which is circumscribed, not at the cost of freedom, unity not at that of multiplicity, stability not at that of the just demands of perfectibility, the delegated action of individuals not at that of the mutual and direct coöperation of all, and *vice versa*. On the mutual mediation of all these counter positions, on their resolution into a higher unity, and not upon their displacing and excluding each other, depends chiefly the *living* character of the cultus.

III.—*Of the elementary parts of the Christian Cultus of the evangelical church in general, and the word, as such, in particular.*

The communion of God with believers constantly mediated and represented by the word of God and the sacraments, the believers, too, cannot represent their communion with God in any other way than by the means of word and significant symbolical action. *Word* and *work* are, therefore, the two elementary component parts of the cultus-act.

The *word* is the means to represent or exhibit what is most nearly related to the intelligent nature of the spirit, and by

which this same spirit expresses itself in the clearest and most explicit manner, the most direct and definite. The audible word is, indeed, but the external sign, for the senses, of another internal word, identical with the essential form, and with the definite limitation of perceptions and conceptions in our mind; but the sign is connected with the thing signified in our consciousness, in such a perfect unity, that we think but in the words of our language, and that as we find everywhere the most immediate transition from the representation to the word, so too, from the word to the representation. Piety then, can, under no condition, dispense with the word, in order to satisfy its impulse to communicate, express, verify and exhibit itself in the cultus; neither will it be confined to the use of the word alone, because, considered as a means of representation, the word is, indeed, the most adapted to represent reflections and representations, but not so with regard to our emotions and feelings; and all which vitally fills and moves the inward man, will not merely awaken this impulse to communicate in the one direction, and appear in the world by means of one organ, but will seek to give utterance to itself in all public ways, and by all such means as are at its command. Spirit speaks to spirit, not merely by means of the word and the bodily organ of the tongue; it may everywhere break through the bodily covering, and subject all that is natural as an organ to represent itself. It speaks also by significant signs, and makes itself known by its works, whether they are transient as to time and space, or fixed in these same relations of time and space.

The less doctrinal a religion is, according to the nature of its being, the less a religion is based on a definite revealed doctrine of faith, the more exclusively legal its character, the more outwardly the entire relation of man to God is apprehended, the more will the application of the *work*-element prevail in its cultus. On the contrary, the more inward and spiritual a religion is, according to the nature of its being, the less it makes the communion with God depend on a mere outward acting, the more it rests on a developed knowledge of God and doctrine of faith, the more will it be determined to employ the *word*-element in its cultus. Yet the application of the one element will never be entitled quite to exclude or displace the joint use of the two, because the cultus-action would then be made to appear as one-sided, and involved in an unnatural renunciation of the variety of the means to represent the inner life founded on the relation of the spirit to the natural and bodily.

The *work*-element predominates in the *Catholic* cultus, because Catholicism views the christian church, together with her cultus, as a new legal institute to mediate salvation, just as perpetually proffered to them by the external acts of a divinely privileged order of priests, as they, on their part, are to merit and appropriate it by similar acts. In the *Protestant* cultus, however, the reversed case of a prevalent use of the *word* must exist, because in harmony with the material principle of Protestantism, righteousness comes by faith alone, and salvation cannot be possessed and preserved in communion with God by external legal works, but alone through its most inward, most specific, and independent appropriation in knowledge, feeling, and will. Faith cometh by hearing of the word, its first expression is the confession of the mouth. The predominantly theodidaskalic and confessing character belongs as essentially to the cultus of the religion of faith, as the ergistic belongs to that of the nomistic religion. The predominantly ergistic character of the Catholic worship, is demonstrated by the fact that the language employed, even for the most part, is of a foreign kind, not understood by the people, and is thus rendered a mere symbolical work.

The cultus-element of the *word* is, according to its origin and dignity, generally speaking, either the word of *God* or of *man*. It is directed either to the *congregation* as a whole and in her individual members, or immediately to *God*.—With respect to its relation to the speaking subject, the word appears either as *free* or *circumscribed*. Touching the mode of delivery, it is either *spoken*, or *read*, or *sung*.

The congregation is obliged, in her cultus, to make an abundant, a varied and comprehensive use of the word, having been delivered to her with *divine* authority, because she is conscious of it, not merely as the ground of the origin, but also of the perpetual preservation, purification, renovation, and development of the life of her faith, and furthermore, as she cannot verify her communion with God without showing herself faithful, zealous and diligent in the use of those means by which God himself mediates the communion of his Spirit with her.

A perfectly pure, unadulterated and reliable tradition of the word and revelation of God being found, according to the Protestant consciousness of faith, in the *Divine Scriptures* alone, these only can, consequently, be directly employed as the word of God in the Protestant cultus. Every other kind

of word partakes of its authority, only so far as it is drawn from it, proving its correspondence with it.

The simplest form under which the divine word may be used in worship, and the churchly consciousness confess, exhibit and prove its dependence upon it, is the *Biblical lesson.* The reading of different portions of the Bible, constituted from the beginning, an essential element of the acts of the christian cultus. If we find the same usage on hand in the Jewish Synagogue, we are not to think of a custom handed down externally and accidentally from the one religious communion to the other, but rather to take it for granted, that here, as well as there, a similar cause produced a similar effect.

The circumstance, that the Holy Scriptures are not now as formerly, accessible only to a few, but have passed over into the private possession and use of almost all the members of the congregation, by no means abolishes the want and expediency of the lesson in the public worship of the church. For aside from the fact, that we cannot read or hear the word of God too frequently at home, and that not all the members of the congregation do really do at home, what they might do by and for themselves, there is a vast difference between the lonely prayer of each individual in his closet, and the public common prayer of the church, as well as between the private and the public churchly use of that means of grace, the word, and the object of the Biblical lesson is not so much for the individual to learn from it what otherwise he could not obtain, as it is rather that a common consciousness of the church and felt want in regard to the divine word, be expressed and verified in a churchly common manner.

As the christian congregation, however, may possess and express such a consciousness and want in reference to a word of God understood and used by her, indeed, as a means of grace, the Biblical lessons should necessarily be read in the vernacular language, so too, that that translation be used, which enjoys the public recognition and authority of the church.

As essential, however, as the Biblical lesson is for christian worship, nevertheless, the use of the Scriptures, and the cultus-action, by means of the element of the word in general, are not all. For if so, the christian congregation would indeed confess herself to the divine word as yet to be appropriated, but not be represented as having already received its essential contents, and by faith appropriated them. And yet she is not a christian congregation, having mere desire for

the revealed truth; she is a christian congregation alone, so far as it is already her possession in consciousness and life. She cannot be conceived of as merely susceptible of and desirous to have faith, but as already believing and confessing; and her faith cannot be referred, indeed, as devoid of all contents, or formally, merely to the recognition of a source whence faith is to be derived, or a norm, according to which the confession is to be directed. Besides the source, then, there will necessarily be the outflow of that source, that which has been drawn from it, desirous of an expression in a free and peculiar manner; besides the norm that which has been and is yet to be normed; besides the divine word, and with constant reference to it, the consciousness and life of the congregation as effectuated and conditioned by that word. In this way only the christian worship proves to be the representation and verification of a religion actually existing in the life of the congregation, in both of the above demonstrated directions, or of an active communion with God.

The necessary reflection of the consciousness of the christian faith and congregation on the contents of the divine Scriptures, read in the service, is next brought into connection with those lessons. The object of this reflection is, at first, to inquire what is declared as the word and revelation of God, how it is to be understood, and finally, how the correctly understood contents of the word are related to the reality of the congregational life, both as a whole and singly viewed. Whatever has been received as word and revelation of God into the consciousness, must be confessed and declared, and the word, as correctly understood in its true connection with the whole of revealed doctrine, and according to its peculiar position in it, as well as by its significance, in order to the realization of the divine decree for our salvation, provokes the mediation of a like knowledge and understanding for the good of others, or the purposes of instruction. Whatever we have come to know and experience as the necessary and indispensable condition of salvation, as exclusively offering and effectuating salvation, requires, finally, that we should bear witness for the benefit of others, a powerful and energetic testimony. The same Holy Spirit that opens to christians the understanding of the divine word, and causes them to experience its saving power in their hearts, works by means of that same word, the consciousness of the divine call and authority also to declare, to teach and to testify unto others what they have been blessed to know and experi-

ence. The reflection on the divine word of the Scriptures in the congregation, being made effectual in an outward direction, and ready to communicate itself, is thus necessarily rendered a living service of that same word, a λάλειν τον λόγον τοῦ θεου, as it is called, Heb. 13: 7, and divided in the Acts 20: 20, 21, into three successively stated functions, the ἀναγγέλλειν, the διδάσκειν and διαμαρτύρεσθαι.

Instituting the churchly office of preaching and teaching, it could not have been the object of Christ merely to establish the office of a reader. The written word of God was not given in order to displace its oral declaration, or render it superabundant, but its object is rather to afford a basis for the latter, as an ever flowing, a pure and untroubled source, a perpetual, firm, and sure norm, an evidently authoritative foundation. Far from it, to substitute themselves in the stead of the oral declaration or to supply it, the divine Scriptures rather secure to it its pure and unadulterated existence, affording it the possibility to preserve and enforce itself as the real preaching of the divine word, in despite of the absence of a perpetual, direct and miraculous inspiration. The written word of God is, indeed, no dead letter, requiring at first the service of man to animate it; it is by its indwelling, working and testifying spirit, quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword; but our relation to it would not be that of a living character, and the latter would not prove itself to be life-giving, if it were not capable freely to reproduce itself in the human consciousness, or to create for itself living organs for its efficacy. Being freely and openly declared, taught and testified from the ground of this, their inward illumination, and the experience of a pious heart by men, whom this very word animated and enlightened for its service, it meets the hearers at once with a direct demonstration, and with an actual testimony of its life-giving power and testimony, a chief preference of the free service of the divine word before the mere Biblical lesson.

Although it is consequently the divine word in the free oral declaration, the voice of which is heard in the congregation, it is no longer in that form in which it was originally directly given, but as identified already with the believing consciousness, and received into it. It appears no more abstractly devoid of all relation or reference, or in those relations which it occupied to the external relations and circumstances when it first entered the world, but in the most vital and concrete reference to the circumstances and wants of the

churchly present. The service to declare, teach and testify the divine word being attended to in the church, the most identical, untrammeled and living consciousness of the present congregation, is expressed concerning its contents and relation to the present state of churchly life, as well as *vice versa*, of the relation of the existing state of human life to the word as its divinely given norm, rule and line. The necessary reflection in the congregation on the contents of the divine Scriptures, and on their relation to the present circumstances of life, is rendered in this way a service of the divine word, in order to declare, teach and testify it, and this service again, is one in which the divine word is not directly expressed as such, but as reflected by the consciousness of the congregation. We find here, then, the word of God and the word of the congregation, in the most vital union, and most inward interpenetration; the word of God, as it exists in the believing consciousness of the congregation, and the word of the congregation, as the medium by which the consciousness of the contents of the divine Scriptures, as existing in the believers, is represented.

As there are, and necessarily too, according to the foregoing, acts by means of the word-element, or discourses in the sphere of the christian cultus, which express the reflection of the christian consciousness of faith on the contents of the divine Scriptures, in their reference to existing circumstances and wants of churchly life, so, on the contrary, such acts cannot be absent, in which the reflection turns on accidents, occurrences, circumstances and wants of the present churchly life, with reference to the norm, rule and line of all christian faith and life, afforded in holy writ. Was the point at issue in the former instance, the divine Scriptures, the Biblical text, it is in the latter, the reality of life. Is the object of the discourse in the former case, to serve churchly life, rendering direct services to the word of God, the contrary holds good in the latter, proving an organ for the divine Scriptures, at the same time appearing as directly engaged in the service of the present churchly life. The discourses of the former class are not at all destitute of a pastoral character, though they exhibit themselves at first, next and pre-eminently as the preaching of the word; but those of the latter class are predominantly of a pastoral nature, without failing on that account to be directly the preaching of the word.

Both classes of these discourses *address themselves to the congregation* as a whole, or individually viewed, and have,

besides, in common, to be the means of verifying the life of the christian church, pre-eminently on the part of her ever continuing and progressive *growth*. Their object is to introduce the more fully and comprehensively, the divine word in knowledge, feeling, and will, into the entire life of the members of the congregation, to obliterate gradually the difference still existing between the consciousness of God and that of the world, both with the individuals and the entire congregation, or to mediate the more perfectly, the truth of the divine word with the reality of life, and *vice versa*.

Yet as little as with the Biblical lesson, may the acts in a christian worship stop short at the meditation of the divine Scriptures, in their bearing to the reality of life by means of the word-element, or *vice versa*, at the contemplation of the reality of life in the light of the divine truth of revelation. It is not enough for the life of the christian church, evermore to refer itself in a conscious manner to its ground of origin and preservation, namely to its norm, rule and measure, and thus to be more and more edified in the totality as well as individuality of its members, by perpetually drawing from its source, and being ruled and directed by its divinely given norm, seeking to do justice to its *impulse of growth*. It could not be a life of communion with God as actually already *completed*, a religiosity or piety already actively engaged, if it has not *direct* reference *to God*, if it does not verify itself to be the consciousness and feeling of direct and personal communion with the personal God by means of direct and personal address too, by *prayer*.

The more living and inward the communion with God is realized, the more his consciousness of God has received into itself the entire consciousness of the world, being ever present to him, the more will his entire life be transformed to a prayer, a prayer "without ceasing." "Always to pray," which is nothing other than the continuity of the consciousness of God in all our thinking, feeling and willing, nothing other than the constant walk in the communion and presence of God, or the constant frame of prayer, but is so far from doing away with prayer as an act to be specially observed in time, that this same act proceeds rather from that general disposition with that same necessity, with which too the prayer of the heart finds its way to the prayer of the mouth or tongue. The consciousness and feeling of their communion in and before God, will necessarily afford to believers an im-

pulse to common prayer too. How then could it be thought possible for christians not to feel themselves more than ever called upon and urged to pray, when assembled for the purpose of an act of cultus, with the exclusive object in view to verify and represent their piety? The consciousness and feeling of sin still cleaving to us, will necessarily drive to the confession of guilt before God, and to ask forgiveness; the consciousness and feeling of grace cannot be conceived as actually present, without seeking its satisfaction in the most joyful praise of God, and in humblest thanksgiving toward him, and whatever the heart of the believer desirous for salvation can and must wish, being tempted in various ways, by inward and outward, his own as well as others' need and extremity, is necessarily made the object of the most zealous petitions and the most heartfelt intercessions with God. Wherever there is no impulse to pray, there too, is no true, no living faith, and wherever that impulse is not found to seek a common character, the same may be said of the piety upon which it is based: it is not the true genuine piety of the christian church.

The public prayer of christians in worship, corresponds with its nature and law, if it is 1) generally *true* and *real;* 2) *peculiarly christian* or *prayer in the name of Jesus;* and 3) not *merely* individual, subjective, private, but *public, common, churchly.*

Prayer is *true* and *real,* whenever our address to God is direct, exclusive, and undivided, and when we have no other desire, no other object in view than to obtain a hearing. It is a *sham prayer,* whenever it assumes an address and design intended for the congregation, whenever it strives not so much to be heard of God, as to secure the congregation's hearing, whenever it employs the address to God, but as a rhetorical figure, as it were, for something to be told to the congregation. Our latter days, which have lost the true faith and mind of prayer, have produced nothing more frequently than such pseudo prayers, where it can plainly be felt and discerned, that they are not *born* out of a heart in need of and believing God's heaning, but are *fabricated* with an understanding speculating on means and end, and that they seem merely to have directly to do with God, whilst, properly speaking, it is but in fact with the congregation. They are not the natural expression, the direct effusion of a consciousness of the world already received into the consciousness of God, but desire to design and effect, at first, this reception like unto

the discourse, only in a different way from it. They are seen therefore to spread themselves in cold reasonings and reflections, they lose themselves in verbose deliberations and contemplations, and at times even depart altogether from the external form of prayer, from the throughout direct address to God. There prevails in them either a languid, dry and frosty tone of contemplation, or an artificial attempt is made to supply the deficient natural fire of devotion of a heart in need of God's hearing, and believing that he will be heard, by distasteful sentimentality and false pathos. Our good God must present himself to have something recited or lectured to him, where the only heart's wish is, that the congregation hear and take it to heart. Such prayers must be offensive to every healthful and truth-loving christian, as false and hypocritical, and are, indeed, a perfect abomination in the sacred place, an actual abuse of the holy name of God. Let no one feign to pray, if he can or will not pray, if he does not really address God impelled exclusively and directly by the anxiety of his heart, and with the believing assurance that God will hear. Wherever prayer is the product of the wants of the heart, it being fixed upon God alone, sure of being heard, only there it is a prayer direct, fresh, living and full of motion, all of which properties necessarily belong to it.

As the christian is aware of the filial relation to God in which he stands, and from which sonship his prayer proceeds, as throughout and exclusively mediated by Christ, being acceptable to God in Christ only, and the christian consciousness of faith and of God being such as to refer everything to the redemption in Christ, the peculiar essence of christian prayer, the same by which it is distinguished from every other true and real prayer is this, that it is *prayer in the name of Jesus.* The prayer in the name of Jesue does not merely embrace, 1) that it is a prayer in humble acknowledgment of our own unworthiness and destitution of all merit before God, on the one hand, and in a true believing confidence in God's free grace in Christ, on the other, or that it implies a certainty of being heard, which is based on nothing but the promise, the merit and mediatorship of Christ, but, 2) also the fact that the entire contents of such prayer is seen to manifest itself as effectuated by true living faith in Christ, and inspired by the very spirit of Christ. The old man cannot pray in the name of Jesus, but alone the new man, not the unregenerate, but alone the heart regenerated already by faith, not our own natural spirit, but the spirit of Christ

alone in him, can pray in the name of Jesus. He who prays in the name of Jesus, presents but such thoughts, emotions, and desires before God, which God himself has worked in him by his word and spirit; he prays, as it were, in the person of Christ, ever pre-eminently asking for those things for which Christ had come into the world and suffered death, for which the son of man, exalted to the right of the majesty on high, does ever make intercession with the Father for his believing people, and which, according to his decree from all eternity, he is willing graciously to grant unto all who are in Christ. He who prays in the name of Jesus, does not pray according to his own, but to the will of God, not in his own, but in the mind and spirit of Christ; so on the contrary too, is conscious of Christ as asking the Father in his name, as his advocate with God. The pattern and type of the true prayer in the name of Jesus, is the Lord's prayer, respecting its contents, of which, consequently, such a frequent and direct use is made too in the worship of christians. Externally considered, the prayers of christians in worship, exhibit themselves as prayers in the name of Jesus, by their concluding formula, which, with reference to the Trinity, expresses the confident expectation of being heard for the sake of the merit of Christ.

Although the prayer in the name of Jesus, so far as it is intercessory prayer, is not, and cannot be, first and foremost anything else than to ask earnestly for the forgiveness of our sins, the preservation from temptation, and power to overcome it, deliverance from evil, sanctification of the name of God, the coming of his kingdom to and in us, the doing of his will by and with us, on earth as it is in heaven, consequently to ask for all which contributes, on the one part, to the honor and glory of God, on the other to our eternal salvation and that of others, according to God's own will, to ask for the successful progress of the work of redemption, the intensive as well as extensive growth of the christian church, yet the prayer in the name of Jesus is far from altogether excluding the petition touching our bodily necessities, or asking of God to modify or lessen temporal evils. We certainly may and dare pray also for our temporal and bodily wants in the name of him "who went about doing good" (Acts 10: 38), who everywhere and always so gladly succored the wretched and needy, who was moved with compassion towards the people when they had nothing to eat in the wilderness (Mat. 14: 14), and who himself taught us, in the Lord's prayer, to ask for

the daily bread, as long as we do it without that earthly, worldly, carnal and selfish mind, neglectful of salvation, with true patience, submission, and leaving these, our earthly interests, entirelp with God; and further, that if we ask for daily bread, it be done, not as if the earthly were its own end, but ever only in reference to salvation, which should constitute the predominant, nay, strictly speaking, the only true interest of the christian's heart (Matt. 6: 33; Col. 3: 2; Matt. 26: 39). All such petitions, however, which instead of being inspired by the spirit of Christ, are rather reproved as sinful by the word of God, are absolutely irreconcilable with the peculiar nature of christian prayer, or the prayer in the name of Jesus; consequently, all petitions which have their origin in an earthly, worldly, carnal, selfish and loveless heart, as, for instance, to ask for vengeance upon our enemies, or the success of an evil and inimical enterprise, or stranded goods, *et sq.*

An essential characteristic of christian prayer, as a prayer in the name of Jesus, is that it is not merely *petition*, but also *intercession*. The christian faith in redemption comprehends all mankind as one before God; we can pray therefore but in the mind and spirit of Christ, if we pray with a sincere heart even for our enemies, exhibiting ourselves as those who love their neighbors as themselves, which is, to love themselves no more than they do him. The prayer of christians in worship, then, must necessarily contain intercession for all men, as having died in Adam, and to be made alive in Christ, particularly too, for the brethren of the faith, with whom they know themselves already united as the members of one body. Besides, for the unconverted, that they may be converted, for the converted, that they may not slip or fall, and where they have erred, that they may be established again, for the needy, those who are in danger, and for the oppressed of every kind, that they may receive succor, and finally, according to the Apostle's express admonition (1 Tim. 2: 2), especially for kings, and for all that are in authority, so that by their divinely appointed government, the designs of the kingdom of heaven may be promoted, and that under their protection we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.

The opinion in regard to the propriety or impropriety of making intercessions, in the proper sense of the word, for the deceased, depends necessarily upon the view we take, whether we consider the time of grace in any way extended beyond

death, or whether the eternal doom of every individual is unalterably and irrevocably fixed with his departure from this world. The Catholic intercessions for the dead, in the sense they are regarded by the Catholic church, as well as the manner and mode in which they are performed, cohere with the unevangelical doctrines of purgatory, and the meritorious or vicarious force of good works, and had accordingly, as such, to be rejected by the Protestant church. She knows nothing of temporal punishments, which those in a state of grace, who have their guilt remitted unto them, should yet suffer in yonder world. The Protestant church recognizes but the blessed and the damned after death. The former need no intercession, the latter cannot be profited by them. Yet the eucharistic and votive prayer for the dead, on the part of the Protestant church, that prayer which renders up thanksgivings for their happy departure from this world, and which is but the natural expression of a loving, well-*wishing* heart, is by no means rejected by her, nay, she expressly protests against having fallen into the heresy of Aërius (Ap. of Augsb. Conf., p. 274).

The *confession* and the formulæ of *salutation* and *benediction* appear, according to their tendency, in a manner between the address and the prayer. Our confession is a confession before God, as well as before the congregation, and in regard to benedictions, we know a prayer to God to be concealed beneath the address.

In the same way, however, in which the acts in worship differ from each other by means of the word-element according to their tendency, so too do they differ also concerning the *subject* from which they originally and directly proceed. They are acts by means of the *free*, the independent, or the *circumscribed*, the dependent, word, just as they directly proceed from the ministerial or pastoral calling in the congregation, or in union with the congregation, or originally too from the moral person of the entire church-communion.

If the clergy produce freely, certain addresses, prayers, salutations and benedictions for every single casualty, but in accordance with a churchly formulary, follow some as prescribed for use, the only reason of it can be found in the fact, that they are not alike qualified in both of these instances, and that the one action is to appear as proceeding not just as originally from than as the other.

We have previously already drawn the attention to such a difference in the positions and functions of the clergy in the

sphere of the christian cultus of the evangelical church. The clergy are namely, on the one hand, the organ of the church, designed to perform different actions in worship, in the name of God, on the other, to be the organ of the congregation, the end of which is to represent and verify their own life before God; on the one part he is the appointed and called servant of the total congregation, for the purpose of the local congregation, and on the other, director, leader and pre-eminently too, member of the latter. This difference in the qualifications in which he appears as acting in divine service, will necessarily too, express itself in a difference regarding mode of action.

Whenever the minister speaks as the rightfully called servant of the divine word, as the preacher and pastor, he cannot be viewed as bound by a formulary, for in preaching and pastoral discourse, the truth of the divine word is constantly to be mediated by the concrete reality of the churchly life of christians, as existing in the local congregation, or, on the contrary, the concrete reality of this life by the general truth of the divine word. This mediation is alone rendered possible by such *individuals* as are likewise organs of the Holy Scriptures, and of the better consciousness of the local congregation, who possess the same degree of intimacy with the truth of the divine word, as well as with the reality of life in the congregation, and being enlightened by the former, they are found faithfully and zealously engaged in the pastoral service of the latter. The reference of the word of holy writ to the individual particular circumstances and wants of congregational life, and of the latter again to the former, is something which cannot be reduced to a standing form, but must everywhere and always shape itself anew, proceeding ever anew and originally from the bosom of an enlightened congregational consciousness. Just upon it, as we have seen, depends the special force of the oral declaration, teaching, and testimony of the divine word, so that it at once here meets us with a direct and incontrovertible proof of its life-giving power and efficacy, exhibiting itself to view as reproducing itself in individuals in the form of life, and animates them for its service, enlightening them with its light, and causing them to experience its saving power in their own hearts. The divine word is to be testified to its hearers in the form of something really, practically known, believed and experienced, as living in the very congregation. This action must, therefore, necessarily proceed directly and origi-

nally from within, out of the very mind and heart of the individual speaking; consequently, any general and common expression of the common faith cannot be here in place, but alone an individual, subjective and particular expression of it; the minister cannot, in this instance, serve the church as an organ that is bound, but as one that is free. The common contents of, the agreement with the confession of the church, dare not be absent in his discourse; otherwise he would not speak as an organ of the church and her common consciousness of the essential contents of the sacred Scriptures, but the form employed by him to deliver said contents, and to mediate it with the real life of the congregation, cannot be given to him from abroad, but must be freely produced by the consciousness of his own person and the life of his faith. The moral person of the entire church-communion cannot directly act in the capacity of preacher and pastor, but alone that individual, especially gifted, and on account of these gifts rightfully called of her; but just because all acts referred to proceed originally from the individual, they cannot be confined to any formulary of the church, but must necessarily be externally free.

But if the church herself cannot directly exercise the ministry of the word, that means of grace, but must leave it to the indeed inwardly bound, though externally free service of single individuals, called by her into this service; if *those* discourses, in which the truth of the divine word is to be continually mediated by the reality of life in the local congregation, and *vice versa*, if these discourses cannot originally proceed from herself as such, let it not be inferred that there is no discourse whatever to proceed originally from her, so that she could not at all speak directly to her members. The ministry of the word is not only hers, but the administration of the sacraments also, and the consecration of the particular relations and circumstances of life, which God himself has especially blessed in his word. Why the moral person of the entire church-communion should not act in this sphere as the one from whom all, both discourses and acts, directly and originally proceed, is inconceivable. Nay, she must do so, if she is desirous to preserve these acts in their true objective character, in their generally churchly dignity, and to ward off from them every injurious influence of the individuality and subjectivity of her individual servants. Essential to the sacraments is also the unaltered use of certain words in connection with the visible sign, on the integrity of which the

whole force, efficacy and validity of the action depends, and with regard to the benedictions too, they certainly lose not, but gain in dignity and importance, if they are not represented, as proceeding originally from a believing individual, but from the church herself. Here no change is to be undertaken, in order to suit the acts named to varying individual circumstances and wants: the sacrament is also to assert its objectivity in opposition to the same and common wants of all the members of the congregation, and respecting the benedictions, it is not so much the individual in his particular individuality, who is the object of consecration, as it is the calling rendered important for the kingdom of God, and the significant relation of life, upon which it is made to enter. At any rate, *those* words by which the sacramental acts and churchly benedictions are properly effected, cannot and dare not be such as exhibit themselves to have proceeded originally from the individuality of the individual clergyman, and are, on that account, changeable and fluctuating. The church, not the person of the minister, is here the proper subject to act and speak, and she does it by putting her words into his mouth in the way of a formulary, employing him, not as independent organ, but dependent.

Yet it is not merely in the formula, properly speaking employed for the administration of the sacraments, and the churchly benedictions, that the moral person of the church herself has a right to appear as the acting subject from which the speaking here originally proceeds; for the same reason for which she claims to be the original and proper owner of the right to administer the sacrament, or to impart the benediction in the name of God, she will also make use of the occasion as a faithful mother, to attach her own pastoral address to the reception of the sacrament or benediction. The churchly admonition, however, can alone have the like relation of all church members to the sacraments or to the acts of benediction in view, and accordingly, by no means excludes the preceding or succeeding free discourse of the minister, suited to the just claims of the temporal, local or special relations, circumstances and wants of the persons concerned. We see then, that the limited and the free word of address, the discourse of the church, though delivered by the organ of her called servant, and his own discourse employed in his special pastoral calling in the church, may properly appear hereafter and by the side of each other.

But as the address appears in a free or a bound form, just in proportion as it proceeds originally from the preacher or pastor, as from an especially gifted and called individual in the congregation, or from the moral person of the entire church-communion, as such, a similar difference occurs also in the sphere of prayer. Its original subject is also either the clerical individual or the moral person of the entire church-communion, as such, or finally, all the individual members of the congregation at the same time. In the first named instance, it cannot appear in any other form than as *free, extemporaneous prayer*, in the latter too, however, it necessarily calls for a *formula of prayer.*

The christian cultus cannot be devoid of *free* extemporaneous *prayer*, because otherwise the special individual and varying relations, circumstances, wants and frames of the religious life in the local congregations would not find their necessary expression in prayer before God. On the other hand, however, the act of prayer in divine service dare not be confined to the form of extemporaneous prayer, as it then would never be perfectly common. Extemporaneous prayer proceeds originally and directly but from one in the assembly. Let this one be ever so intimately united and acquainted with, let him live ever so much for the congregation, let him be ever so much comprehended with her in oneness of thinking, feeling and willing, nevertheless the manner and mode in which the common devotion, the common desire for God assumes a shape in his heart and by his mouth, will ever bear the impress of his own individuality and subjectivity. The individualities of the rest, however, will naturally stand opposed to the individuality of this *one*, also asserting their right. Called upon to appropriate a prayer which is not originally theirs, and which they do not know beforehand, their attention is strongly claimed, their expectation aroused, their judgment and examination provoked. They cannot pray directly *with* him, but only *after* him; but between the praying after the minister, and his praying before them, a process of appropriation will intervene, which, considering the rapidity with which the action is known to proceed, will ever remain more or less imperfect and incomplete. Accordingly, extemporaneous prayer never is and can be a congregational prayer, in the strictest sense of the word. It does not alike originally and directly proceed from all the individual members of the congregation; the whole congregation is not fully and directly united in such prayer before God.

She abides in the difference of spontaneity and receptivity, of antecedence and succession. And, if already the members of the local congregation are not directly united in this form of prayer, much less can such a union be expected between the local and the total congregation. If the named difference is to disappear, if we are not merely to have a rehearsal of prayer by the minister, to be succeeded by the rest, but we are to aim at a real direct union of all in prayer; if we wish to bring about an exercise of prayer which will give evidence of having proceeded alike originally and directly from all individuals, and effect an immediate union even between the local and the total congregation, it can be brought about alone by the use of a churchly formula of prayer. The minister speaking a written formula of prayer, he is rendered distinct from the other members of the congregation, not by any prerogative of praying *before* the others, but merely by praying *aloud*; the prayers offered to all in the same way, and known to all previously, is acknowledged by all as theirs; such prayer does not originally proceed merely from one, but alike originally and directly from all. But the circumscribed word in prayer, or the forms of prayer, are not merely to be used in the congregational prayer, but there too, where as it is the case in the administration of the sacraments or the communication of the churchly benedictions, the moral person of the church desires to act as interceding, or leading in prayer.

We have now arrived where the distinction between the *homiletic* elements of the christian cultus of the evangelical church, and those more strictly called the *liturgical*, is rendered clear and explicit. We call those addresses, prayers, confessions, and benedictions *homiletic*, which are first and foremost, actions of the particular pastoral calling in the congregation, which in every single case proceed anew and freely from the inward consciousness of the clerical individual, and claim this originally a single personality in the church as its subject. Those actions, however, effectuated by the word-element, not originally proceeding from a single specially gifted and called person, but directly from the moral person of the entire church-communion, or from the whole assembly of believers at the same time, are called *liturgical*. The free word is just as essential and necessary to the homiletic elements of the cultus, as is the bound word to the liturgical. The former contain an individual expression of our common piety and devotion, the latter are essentially common. While

the churchly life of the christian verifies itself according to its necessary growth in the homiletic functious, in the liturgical it exhibits rather according to its essential nature. The difference between the several gifts and that of spontaneity and receptivity being felt in the one case, the whole congregation appears here rather as already united. As in the homiletic acts, the local congregation celebrates her worship rather according to the speciality of her relations, circumstances and wants in the total congregation, so inversely, in the liturgical the total congregation in the worship of and with the local congregation. The element of individuality, subjectivity, freedom and vital motion, is chiefly represented by the former, commonness and stability pre-eminently by the latter.

The homiletic functions are thus rightfully named, because in them a living intercourse takes place of mutual giving and receiving in the local congregation, according to the various personal gifts and position of the different subjects. The public exercise of the ministry in the christian church was originally, as is well known, not confined to certain appointed persons, as holding a special churchly office. In the worshipping assemblies of the first christians, every believer was entitled and permitted to speak and pray aloud, as we learn from the New Testament epistles. The women are excluded by the Apostle, for reasons of decorum, from the exercise of this right, and his only admonition is, that the individuals speaking should not interfere with each other, but that they should speak one after another in proper order, to the edification of the whole assembly. By the different discourses of single individuals, mutually integrating and correcting each other, a dialogue, as it were, occurred, a conference of the congregation with herself, about the interests of the consciousness of christian faith, or about the truth of the divine word, in its relation to the reality of life, or about the reality of life in the congregation, in relation to the truth of the divine word. When afterwards, in the further progress of the development of the organization of the church, the ministry of the divine word and the pastoral discourse were definitely fixed as official duties, and so too, became official prerogatives, the external form only, strictly speaking, has been changed, not the internal nature of the thing, however. That which had formerly been attended to by different individuals, filling different functions, was now embraced by one function, more comprehensive and many-sided, and filled by one indi-

vidual. Whatever may be the object of discourse, it ever is and will remain the reflection of the consciousness of the local congregation, a conference with herself, or with her individual members, which is now independently executed by one individual, whereas previously by the organ of several.

As the reversed instance prevails with the properly *liturgical* functions, so that the latter is to be represented, not as directly and originally proceeding from any individuality, but from the moral person of the entire church-communion, or from all individual members of the congregation, as the minister, in this case, does not speak in his own person, nor merely in the name of the local congregation, but as the delegated organ of the entire church-communion, in her name and commission, it is quite natural that whatever he has to say be not left to his free production, but is given and prescribed to him by the church, the proper subject of action. The use of a churchly formula then necessarily ensues, and the collection of all such formulæ for the various liturgical functions of the clergy in the different acts of worship, is called *agenda* (liturgy).

Accordingly, the latter is altogether falsely viewed, when, as is often done, it is regarded but as a book, to assist such liturgs in a time of need, as are either incapable or unwilling to produce their prayers, addresses, &c., or as if we desire not to see zealous, gifted and original clergymen at all bound by their prescribed use. By establishing her agenda, she is far from merely affording instructions in order to their own free productions, or offering it as a substitute for the latter; it is rather her wish to prevent the free production and the therewith connected mixture of individuality and subjectivity, as well as the multiformity, the change and alteration of those acts of the cultus, the essential character of which is not only altered by it, but absolutely destroyed and annihilated. It is the will of the church, that not merely the individual word of her servant be heard in the form of an address, and that not only he is to pray before, and they are to succeed him, but that it should be a prayer in which the whole congregation are directly united. It is not her will to exhibit a single believing individual as such, but herself as the one that administers the sacraments, or imparts the benediction.—Accordingly, the agenda is a church-book which has an existence not to facilitate the duties of the clergy, or to render them convenient, but to protect the church against the arbitrariness of her liturgs, and to maintain the distinction be-

tween homiletic and liturgical acts. As it would be altogether improper to prescribe to the weakest and most incapable of homilets the use of a homiletarium, it would be just as great an ataxy to exonerate the most capable and original liturg from the duty of using the agenda. As in the former instance the best formulary cannot afford a substitute for the free discourse, as required by the nature of the function, neither can the free discourse answer for what the formulary is intended. The question is not, as we have seen, whether there may not be more or less good uttered, but that the act of speaking is to be represented as proceeding directly and originally, not from an individual, but from the congregation.

From the previous, it is evident that the agenda is not to be viewed in the way of a collection of forms, but as mere private labor, a mere private collection. Its character as agenda, absolutely depends on the public approbation and reception of the church, and its introduction, consequently, can never proceed from the single minister, but alone from the subject, in whose name and commission everything is to be done in agreement with the agenda, thus from the whole body of the church-communion, or from the church-regiment embracing all the local congregations in an external unity, and representing them in their connection together with their silent or express assent. The congregations of every country in the Protestant church, have their own agenda, as by virtue of their relation to the civil order of things, entered upon, the inward unity of their faith and confession indeed extends beyond the boundary of every such country, though not the outward unity of their organization and regiment.

The agenda, accordingly, so far as its contents are concerned, is to embrace the following elements :

1. Those solemn formulæ by means of which the acts of the administration of the sacraments, and communication of the benediction realize their proper churchly exercise.

2. Those prayers in which, on these occasions, the moral person of the church herself appears as the interceding or leading subject.

3. Those addresses, in which the recipients of the sacraments or benedictions are to hear the direct admonition and warning voice of the church herself, as of their mother.

4. The formulæ of the general confessions, salutations and benedictions of the church, and finally,

5. Those prayers spoken in the different services of the congregation, which appear as church or congregational

prayers, in the stricter sense of the word, or are represented as proceeding originally from the whole church, and directly at once from all the members of the congregation.

Everything belonging to the homiletic side of the cultus, or the sphere of private edification or private pastoral care, is excluded from the agenda by the very nature of its conception. Yet it, at the same time, usually contains the order of public worship and the prescription of the symbolical actions also to be added to certain acts in connection with the words to be uttered.

The agenda being a church-book, and embracing only what is to be said by the minister in the different acts of the cultus, in the name and commission of the church, it will necessarily bear an energetic, decided, and everywhere equally churchly character. It cannot and dare not, as it is frequently, alas, the case in the agenda of late, express a different faith in different formulæ, standing by the side of each other, or submit a selection of formulæ, gotten up in an altogether opposite mind and spirit, adapted to any and everybody's faith. If the agenda possesses such a character, it contradicts its idea, it represents the very contrary of what it properly should exhibit and represent. It is to express *one* mind and spirit in all its formulæ, namely, the positive common mind of the church, the common faith of the church, or *that* consciousness, *that* mind, which may be regarded as existing alike with all true and living members of the church-communion.

Yet the agenda is not merely to exactly correspond with the character of the subject speaking, as far as its contents are concerned, but also touching its form. It has no right to contain anything in regard to the subject-matter, as well as its form of representation, in regard to the *What*, as well as the *How*, nothing that bears an individual, subjective or private character, what might indeed be put into the mouth of an individual believing subject, though not of the entire communion of believers, the moral person of the church as such. This is the very distinction, as we have seen, between the discourses in the liturgical formularies, and the free homiletic discourse, that it is not in the former, as it is in the latter, the individual speaking as existing in the communion, but the communion as existing in a like manner in all her true living members, or that the common consciousness and life of the church is here too represented in a common and churchly objective form. The homiletic discourse as proceeding orig-

inally from the clerical individual, and finding alone in this his *free discourse*, its appropriate external form of appearance, the liturgical discourse involves, on the contrary, that it be not freely delivered, but *be read* out of the church-book. The agenda being impressed on the memory of the liturg, so as to be capable to recite it without its assistance, he is nevertheless not exonerated from the use of the church-book; for only by his use of it, actually reading from its pages, the discourse is exhibited as it should be, externally too, as the property of the church, and not his own. Thus, as the liturgical discourse given him by the church, the church of which he is himself a member, their called servant; the liturg will deliver the formulary indeed with dignity, warmth, force and fervor, as well as render a testimony of personal participation in knowledge, feeling and will, though not with a demonstration of such a degree of individual excitement and subjective life, the natural expression of which is proper declamation and action. Both of the latter are appropriate only for the free discourse of the freely produced word of an individual, in order to express his own life. To read the agenda is not at all detrimental to what is to be said; for it is inconceivable why the church's own discourse should be of minor force and meaning for the hearers than the testimony of a believing individual. It does not in the least infringe on the personal dignity of the minister, as it cannot possibly be a disgrace for him to lend himself to the church, to be employed by her as a mouth. Finally, it does not run contrary to the freedom of the Protestant cultus, as the individual clergyman is not, indeed, first and foremost, the subject to claim this freedom, but the communion of believers. Nay, the congregation guaranties to herself, in this very way, her freedom in opposition to the clergyman, it being not her expectation to be content with such prayers as he sees fit, but requires at his hands, that he should serve her as an organ aloud to express *her* prayer, and that in all liturgical acts, she desires not merely to hear his word, but the voice of the church. If there were no such place afforded the latter in the cultus, for her own expression as such, not only the freedom of the different members of the congregation, but that too of the moral person of the entire church-communion would be sold to the individuality and subjectivity of the single clergyman. Freedom in the sphere of the cultus, can never exist in the licentiousness of a single individual.

But although it is true that the entire congregation is comprehended in a direct unity in the congregational prayer already, spoken from the agenda, the action, essentially speaking, proceeding originally not from an individual in the congregation, but directly and at once from all the members of the congregation, there is still another form of representation in reference to the loud expression. In prayer, but one prays aloud in the name of all, the coöperation of the rest is altogether silent. Even though they would not pray after him, but join him immediately, nevertheless, all do not unite in the same manner. Consequently, there is still a certain counter position left to be overcome by the evangelical congregation, in her consciousness and feeling of the general royal priesthood. An occasion is here afforded her, besides the mentioned form of the direct coöperation of all to improve another, one where the coöperation by means of the word-element, is not produced by the delegated organ of an individual, but by the common loud expression of all.

It is absolutely inconceivable for many to speak together loudly and directly at the same time, without encroaching on the principles of order, decorum and solemnity, except in the form of *singing*. A most disagreeable and unedifying mixture and confusion of the different voices, can alone be avoided, if all alike are borne up by the wings of rhythm and melody, and so are made harmoniously to unite. This is the basis of the necessity of *singing* in the sphere of the christian cultus of the evangelical church. It is the only possible form, in which all may unite in loud expression, by means of the word-element, or the common devotion may be expressed in a common way, by the organ of all at the same time.

Church-singing, then, is significant at first, only as a congregational act, as *congregational singing*. A single person may participate in this act of worship, only so far as he is comprehended in the entire assembly, in a living reciprocal action by means of the word-element. As the congregation cannot respond but by singing, she must, for the sake of harmony, be addressed in the form of singing, in answer to which a response is expected from her. This is a full and ready answer to the question, whether the so-called collects and benedictions are to be spoken or sung by the liturg. If they are merely spoken, then the Amen of the congregation must be done away with, which is certainly not desirable, as the action thus loses much of its truly common and mutual char-

acter. The *response*, that natural expression of the character of the cultus-action now before us, and by which vitality is so much enhanced, has come altogether too much in disuse in our Protestant worship. But the congregation to be represented in these acts by a *choir*, forfeits nearly all the advantages again that might arise from such representation, and a non-activity of the congregation herself, in all her members, as is here involved, is more suited to Catholic than Protestant worship. The preference of superior beauty and technical correctness in the singing, that may be gained by the exclusive singing of the choir, when compared with the detriment inseparably connected, appears unessential and insignificant.

But if the principles of order, decorum and solemnity do not concede that the congregation should join to speak in concert but in the form of singing, the principle of truth on the other hand demands, that singing should only be referred to, where the congregation feels herself urged to manifest her self-activity in the way of immediate coöpertion by means of the word-element, and that in order to this joint speaking, nothing is afforded her which is not adapted to be sung in her worship, both respecting form and contents. No sensible person will think of claiming the rhythm of poetry and the notes of music for a dry didactic discourse, or a prosaic contemplation, and an entire assembly cannot possibly feel herself called upon to speak aloud in direct concert, where the object is to instruct and explain. For this object the arranged speech of individuals only in the assembly is suited to the assembly. An assembly can but then perceive the impulse to speak in concert, when the object is the expression of a common frame of heart and soul, of a common emotion of mind and feeling, or still more definitely, of a common perception, and consequently, such a faculty of the mind is existing, to which *eo ipso* already the poetic word and singing are the best adapted. Whether we notice the wants of the congregation, verified in this act of church-singing, or the form in which this want alone can find its satisfaction, we shall ever return to the fact, that the church hymn is not to observe the language of the understanding, but of the heart and mind, and that, essentially speaking, it dare not be a prosaic contemplation of doctrine, but contain a fresh, living and poetic expression of christian feeling and emotion.

Let it not be understood, as if but a general mood, a dark and indefinite feeling, a thoughtless emotion is to be uttered in the hymn. Definite thought is as little excluded or set

aside here, as definite feeling or willing. But not in the form of thought or for thought, is the christian religion or the communion of man with God mediated by Christ, to be represented here in this instance, it is not at first to be mediated or further promoted for thought, but to be represented in such a manner as that communion living in the congregation, is already appropriated by her thinking, feeling and willing.

In proportion as the religious emotion of the congregation represented in the poesy and music of church-singing is expressed, involving an address to herself, or directly and exclusively to God, the church hymn bears the character of devout contemplation and an awakening, encouraging address of the congregation to herself, or that of prayer. We can, therefore, not subscribe to the assertion of *Hüffell*, that church singing is nothing more than prayer heightened and increased by its connection with poesy and music. Many of our most beautiful and excellent hymns do not bear the character of a prayer. We must recognize the two named classes of hymns as alike proper and justifiable, as in both tendencies the emotion and the excited mind of the congregation naturally is uttered, and as both too are already represented by the lyrics of the Old Testament in the Psalms.

The church hymn having for its object, not to instruct the congregation, but to express the contents of her knowledge, feeling and will in the form of emotion, as something experienced in the way of emotion, but as this devotional sensation, this emotion of the mind is not a drop of Naphtha, to be decomposed into millions of parts, or a grain of gold, to be expanded a mile long, it is a great mistake, that many of our modern hymns have their object altogether too isolated, and in this isolation subjects too meagre, and that our more recent collections of hymns seem to have been compiled according to the principle, as if every chapter and every section of christian dogmatics and ethics, nay, as if every possible theme of a sermon must be represented by some particular hymn. To give to hymns such a speciality of contents could only have been done by first ignoring their proper character and destination in the cultus, and when they had commenced to find, in a manner, nothing more in them than another form of preaching.

Touching the relation of church-singing to the homiletic function and agenda, the former is, in a manner, between the two, the local congregation appearing as restricted, on the one hand, by the total congregation, inasmuch as the former is

confined to the use of a churchly approved and received collection of hymns, on the other hand verifying herself as free, inasmuch as a wide field for selection is afforded her for the single instance in which selection her individuality and speciality of the different circumstances and wants may be abundantly satisfied. The entire church-communion, on the one part, determines what hymns may and should at all be used for worship in their midst, and all she thus includes, are by this very decision, acknowledged as the churchly common expression of the common piety of the church; on the other part, it is left with the local congregation and her ministry or vestry, to determine what is to be sung in each single instance according to circumstances and wants. A greater or lesser alternative in respect to the hymns, and a more or less abundant variety will naturally occur, just as they appear to accompany more the homiletical or the liturgical functions.

Otherwise, the relation is the same respecting a churchly collection of hymns for the use of worship in the congregation, or with the churchly *hymn book*, as with the agenda. Its introduction belongs to the church regiment representing the unity of the entire church-communion, and acting in the true sense and spirit of the same, proceeding not self-willed and arbitrarily; and a principal fault is, if the book proves to be deficient in a definitely expressed, everywhere churchly and confessional character. Although, indeed, the church hymn is not to teach, and is always to be viewed as a failure, whenever we may perceive its object to be instruction, nevertheless the feelings, intentions, moods and emotions to be expressed, can alone have for their basis definite representations, and consequently the persuasion of faith lying at its foundation, or the doctrinal truth as appropriated and confessed by them, can never deny itself. If the doctrine, the persuasion of faith is not indeed that of the church, its reflex too in emotion and feeling, will not appear as belonging to and corresponding with the churchly commonwealth. The church can and dare not possibly, in respect to what she sings, contradict what she elsewhere confesses, and a churchly hymn book, arranging hymns composed in the most different mind and spirit of faith, by the side of each other, to suit every one's belief, although enjoying the same authority, is just as monstrous, as a churchly received collection of confessions and formularies contradicting each other. The more recent hymn books, alas! are mostly deficient in respect to church lines and character, aside from the fact, that the manner in

which they are edited, frequently bear testimony of a want of sense for the poetic in the old hymns, also of a truly sound and churchly taste, and of a great predilection for a poesy, indeed outwardly smooth, though inwardly hollow, watery and prosaic in its vacant sentimentality.

If it is objected against the Catholic cultus, that the church hymn and the proper congregational singing are being displaced, we must bear in mind, that it belongs as naturally to the peculiar passive position which the congregation generally is known to assume in it, as the great significance of church singing for the Protestant cultus, is conditioned by the entirely different position of the congregation in regard to it. Yet there might, perhaps, be found fault with the too great extension, thus becoming wearisome and monotonous, in our congregational singing, and it would be desirable that, besides these, the responsory singing between the liturg and the congregation would more prevail, whereby all the actions in our cultus would obtain a more dramatic, living reality.—Melody, according to its entire character, is always exactly to correspond with the contents of the hymn, and, as it were, date its origin from the same moment. To sing the most different hymns according to *one* melody, if they have but an equal number of lines and syllables, is a nuisance. In the aggregate, the most of our hymns might be sung in a less sleepy *tempo*. To change melodies that have been practiced in churchly life, and identified with the very hymns themselves, or to substitute others in their place, is a hazardous attempt, even there where the new melody is said to be really better, and more corresponding with the proper religious character of the hymn.

ARTICLE V.

EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SYNOD.

By Professor F. A. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania College.

The author of the following article, by Synodical appointment, delivered an address on the subject of education, at the meeting of the Synod of Pennsylvania, held in Allentown, in June, 1857. At the same meeting of this body, he was subsequently requested to give a copy of this address to the Editors of the Evangelical Review, for publication. This

request would have been at once complied with, but the writer was waiting for a committee to report, which had been appointed to examine the archives of the Synod, and prepare for publication, anything found therein, upon this subject. This committee, at the recent meeting of the Synod, in Easton, had made some progress in this work, but owing to circumstances, which need not be here detailed, were not able to present a final report, and were continued for another year. In this state of things, for the purpose of complying with the request of the Synod, avoiding all unnecessary delay, and presenting something which might be of historical value for the future, he concluded to prepare a new article upon the educational efforts of the Pennsylvania Synod, of which the *first* part is here presented, to be followed by the remainder at some subsequent period, if life and health be spared. It may be sufficient to mention, in this place, that the address above referred to, was principally on the subject of *ministerial* education, based upon the Scriptural words, *Apt to teach;* and the writer endeavored to show two things, that it was the duty of the Synod to have an educated ministry, and that this could be most effectually accomplished, by uniting in the support of Pennsylvania College and the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. Providence, in the judgment of the writer, had directed the previous action of the Synod upon this important subject, to this result. These prefatory remarks seemed to the writer to be necessary, to explain to the reader the occasion and circumstances which led to the preparation of that which follows:

THERE can be no subject presented, which has stronger claims upon our consideration, than that of education.—Whether viewed as physical, intellectual or moral, in connection with the church or the state, in its relations to time and eternity, it presents one of the widest and most interesting fields of study, and involves the most important issues. No wonder, therefore, that it has engaged the most profound attention of legislators, statesmen, philanthropists and Christians, both clergy and laity, in every age of the world, and under every condition of society. That men did not come into the world with their powers matured, and fully qualified for the stations they were to occupy in after life, was, from the nature of the case, a universally admitted axiom; the great question with them was, for what, and how they should be trained? The necessity for training of *some* kind was everywhere admitted, but the plan proposed, varied with the condition of society, the aim of the individual or state, the perfection or imperfection of their knowledge. The horizon of some was limited by mere physical considerations. Others

extended their views to the physical and intellectual aspects, a few, and always the best men among heathen or Christians, considered it in its most comprehensive sense, the improvement of all the powers of the individual, to qualify him properly to discharge his duties in this world, and to prepare him for the retributions of the future.

The Christian church, to pass by the rest of the world, ever viewed it in its connection with the church and the state, with time and eternity. Regarding man as an accountable being, and so regarding him, because thus taught by Divine revelation, its efforts were always directed to those means of education which would, in its judgment, best fit men for the greatest usefulness in time, and the richest rewards in eternity. The Bible itself, wherever it was received and circulated, awakened this interest and these efforts, and, as a consequence, wherever the light of the Divine word shone most clearly, unobscured by human superstition or devices, there was found the most advanced state of humanity, the profoundest thought, the most genuine piety, the greatest activity. This "lamp of life" diffused its own heavenly lustre, and removed by degrees the darkness of barbaric nations. In different degrees was this the case, subsequent to the appearance of the blessed Redeemer, until the period of the great Reformation in Germany. At this time especially; whilst it cannot be denied that throughout many portions of the preceding period, great attention was given to this subject, by the Christian church, and men of very distinguished excellence were never wanting, whose fame still continues, the influence of whose characters and writings is still felt, a new era was inaugurated, when, to quote the words of the Mantuan bard, it might justly be said:

Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.

It would be out of place here, to enter into any lengthy explanation of the causes producing this new and better state of things, it will be enough, for present purposes, to say, that it was due to the revival of the study of classical literature, the invention of printing, and the greater circulation given to the Sacred Scriptures, in the vernacular languages of the people, where this light existed. An astonishing degree of interest was awakened in Germany and the neighboring kingdoms, especially in those where the Protestant faith was predominant, not only on the subject of religion, but also education, and the consequence was, that the profession of the

teacher, as distinct from, but of coördinate importance with that of the pastor, was everywhere recognized; eminent men arose in this department of pursuit, and governments adopted plans for the better and more general diffusion of the blessings of Christian education among the people. Whilst this was especially the case with the Protestant kingdoms, the Catholic states, both from a spirit of emulation, and in self-defence, were obliged to adopt the same course of policy, so that society was everywhere the gainer.

It is well known what ardor Luther and Melanchthon, "the complements of each other," in learning and character, manifested on the subject of Christian education, what efforts they made use of, for the purpose of inducing the rulers and magistrates of the German states to make suitable provision for their people, by the establishment of schools and higher seminaries of learning. They were the warmest advocates of a learned ministry and a learned people, and the most constant friends of the professional teacher. Schools and higher institutions of learning were everywhere established by their exertions; the grade of studies was elevated during their lives, and in each succeeding generation subsequently, until at present, as the fruit of their toils, we see their native land occupying the highest pinnacle of literary eminence.—The scholars of all lands thankfully acknowledge their obligations to German labor, in theology, classical and oriental literature, philology and art. Luther and Melanchthon exerted themselves in an especial degree, to awaken an interest in this subject, both by their writings and their active efforts. The former, in addition to the use of other means, addressed an admirable letter to the rulers of Germany, upon the duty of establishing universities and Christian schools of an elevated character, in which he displays that fearlessness for which he has become so justly celebrated, a candor in the exposition of unwelcome truths, a concern for the glory of God and the welfare of his fellow-citizens, as well as an eloquence and depth of thought in the defence of principles, far in advance of the age in which he lived, which would, if he had no other claim, properly entitle him to the appellation of *benefactor of mankind.*

Melanchthon also, by his lectures to the students at the University of Wittenberg, sometimes amounting to several thousands, collected from neighboring and remote countries, awakened an interest in, and promoted the same great object —Christian education in his native and foreign lands.

Whilst we should be pleased to see this fine letter in a good translation in print, our more definite object will only allow us to quote a few sentences from each of these authorities, upon the general subject of education; merely adding in this connection, that the single aim of these men, in their noble efforts, was to furnish the means of obtaining a finished Christian education to all their countrymen, clergy and laity. Luther quotes with approbation, to show his appreciation of teachers, in his Catechism, the Latin sentiment, *Deo, parentibus, et magistris non potest satis gratiae rependi.* "Education and the pen must rule the world. Men without education are either raging wolves or grovelling swine. Educated men are not a natural growth, nor can they be hewn out of wood or stone, nor does God raise them up by working miracles. Rulers have the right to *compel* the people to educate. The prosperity of a state does not consist in the accumulation of ample treasures, firm fortifications, splendid edifices, arms and military equipments, but the best and most valuable source of prosperity, security and power in a state, is the possession of many upright, educated, intelligent, honorable citizens, who will be able subsequently to gather treasures and everything worth possessing, preserve and use them properly." Melanchthon also has said: "*Learning is a blessing, ignorance a curse to the church.*"

Nor did the long line of distinguished successors of these eminent men in Germany, depart from their principles. They followed their bright example, and everywhere strove to unite religion and education, to have the care of the young, to gather them into Christian schools, that they might be trained for usefulness in the church and the State. No better illustrations, among the more recent successors of the Reformers, in proof of this, could be selected, than Bengel and Franke, men who will bear favorable comparison, for learning, piety and Christian activity, with any who have lived in modern times.

It is natural to suppose, that these founders of our church in Pennsylvania, who came from the Fatherland, and were well acquainted with her history, and enjoyed the instructions of the Orphan House at Halle, as pupils, or assisted there or elsewhere as teachers, would follow in the footsteps of their great predecessors. We would be disposed to infer, in advance of all evidence, that they would be the ardent friends of Christian education, both for those intended to labor in the

church, or those to serve the State. Educated themselves, coming from a land of education, they would be anxious to transfer the excellencies of their native, to their adopted country. Such also was the fact. Having been selected by the worthy Fathers of the Orphan House at Halle, to whom the choice of the earliest ministers of our church in Pennsylvania was intrusted, they justified, by the success of their labors in this land, the wisdom and piety of those excellent men, to whom our Lutheran Zion owe a lasting debt of gratitude. Had either uneducated or ungodly men been sent, they would in either case have disappointed the expectations of those who sent and supported them, and their labors in this land would have been either useless, or beneficial only to a limited extent. The circumstances of the church and the times, demanded both educated and pious men; and having had such to lay the foundations of our Zion in this State, "workmen" of whom neither their contemporaries nor their successors had any reason to be ashamed, we may say with something of the exultation of one of old: *Walk about Zion, and go round about her; tell the towers thereof. Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces; that ye may tell it to the generation following.*

Scarcely had our early ministers reached the shores of America, before we find them mourning over the widespread desolation of our church in Pennsylvania, and devoting their earnest attention to the Christian education of the young, that they might be qualified for usefulness, both in the church and the state. Privately and publicly, in their individual and collective capacity, they did all they could to promote this desirable object. Though burdened with ministerial labors, pressed down with the cares and anxieties arising from obligations, voluntarily assumed to defray the expenses connected with the building and repairing of churches, and the procuring of ground for parsonages and burial places, wearied by incessant services in several languages, both on the Lord's day and during the week, they still, with a provident care for the future, instituted that series of measures for the education of the young, which gradually extending in area and depth, resulted in the greater efficiency of the present method of education. They might be blamed for not having done more, by one not knowing the circumstances; that they did so much, was only owing to their willingness "to endure hardship as good soldiers of Jesus Christ," to labor "in season and out of season," in an humble or more exalted capac-

ity, in imitation of their Divine Master, who "though rich had become poor, that through his poverty others might be made rich." Their efforts on this behalf, may be divided, for the sake of precision, into two points, the one extending from the arrival of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, in 1742, to the close of our Revolutionary war; the other from this latter event to the present time. This division, whilst it may be deficient in logical accuracy, may be sufficiently true, for the purposes of convenience. It will also have this additional argument to commend it, that the first of the two comprehends the time covered by the Halle Annals, upon which we must principally depend for accurate information, in reference to the earlier history of our church in Pennsylvania. To this first period this present article is confined; the subsequent paper will embrace the latter and more important one.

Now it will be found on examination sufficiently accurate, to characterize this first period as that during which provision was made for the education of the people, laity and clergy, in a more private way, by individual, rather than by Synodical agency; the latter as the era of colleges and theological seminaries. This is not strictly true; for the attention of our ministers was directed to higher seminaries of learning, as will be found subsequently, shortly before the close of this period, yet still they had no college of their own; and it may be justly called the stage of individual effort, for though the Synod did take action on this important subject subsequently to its organization in 1748, the number constituting it was so few, that its action may, for practical purposes, be regarded as that of individuals; for a few prominent ministers, those generally residing in or near Philadelphia, exercised a controlling influence, and as they thought and acted, so did the others. We have, therefore, not thought it necessary to separate the individual from the Synodical action; but have preferred to consider the two as essentially the same. During the subsequent period, however, the *Synodical action* will be the point of view to which the principal attention will be directed. The Lutheran church has always paid a great deal of attention to the education of the young, and by their education, she meant a *Christian* one. This was always her aim, and Muhlenberg, who arrived in 1742, and Brunnholtz in 1744, both had their fixed principles upon this subject. Their ideal was, that each congregation, in addition to the ordinary means of grace on the Lord's day, and on festival days, should also have all the children to assemble regularly on the

afternoon of the Christian Sabbath, for the purpose of being instructed in the principles and duties of the Christian religion, by the pastor of the church; and besides this, have a week day school, in which a man of Christian character should be teacher, to instruct the children out of God's word and Luther's Smaller Catechism, as well as in the necessary branches of a secular education, who could officiate as organist for the church, and, on special occasions, in case of the sickness, absence or death of the pastor, edify the congregation, by reading a sermon, or some religious book. For additional efficiency also, they intended that these schools should be under the special supervision of the pastor and people, the former of whom should visit them once or twice each week, for the purpose of examining and catechizing the scholars; and they provided further, that there should be quarterly or more frequent public examinations in the church, in the presence of the congregation. This was their standard for the congregational schools, and for the execution of this, they used their individual and united influence; and succeeded in instituting that series of educational agencies, which we found in existence in our churches in our boyhood, in all our prominent congregations, but which has now been superseded by the extended system of public schools, every where established by legislative enactment in our state. That we do Muhlenberg no injustice, we quote his own words, and the sentiments of Brunnholtz will be found the same, in an extract to be subsequently presented to the reader. Muhlenberg thus speaks of good Christian schools:* "Christian schools cannot be too zealously encouraged, or too highly valued. When the truths of religion are diligently and impressively taught to the young, and rendered intelligible to them by means of appropriate examples, seeds are deposited, which though rarely in the same degree, yet in their proper time, spring up and produce fruit. It is, therefore, not at all strange, that religious schools are especially envied, slandered, opposed and persecuted by Satan and his adherents, because by means of these, the kingdom of Christ is advanced, that of Satan and darkness broken down. A man may wear out his life in preaching to those who were neglected in their youth, and in old age have neither time, inclination nor capacity to comprehend the first truths of religion." All the earlier ministers of our church entertained the same views,

* Page 476.

and sought to have them realized by immediate and efficient action.

Muhlenberg, the first of the clergymen sent by the Fathers in Halle, though immediately after his arrival in the country having charge of four large congregations, at considerable distances apart, still during the week was engaged in teaching school, and preparing persons in the English and German languages for confirmation, many of whom, though grown up, were not able to read or write, nor had they an acquaintance with the merest elements of Christian truth.—His own words are these: "I myself was obliged, from necessity, to act as teacher. One week I keep school in Philadelphia, the next in Providence, and the third in New Hanover, merely for the sake of preparing neglected adults for confirmation and the holy sacrament, and sometimes for baptism." Of this irksome labor he was relieved, after an endurance of it for about two years, by the arrival of Messrs. Schaum and Kurtz, as Catechists, who relieved the pastors at Philadelphia and New Hanover of this part of their toil, as the first mentioned of these, after careful reflection on the part of Muhlenberg and Brunnholtz (who had arrived in 1744), was set apart as teacher in the former, and the other in the latter of those two places. They entered upon their labors in the fall of 1744, and it is even said, so anxious were the people to learn, that aged persons were not ashamed to sit among the children, for the purpose of learning the alphabet. These two young brethren also officiated in the capacity of teachers in other places, for instance at Raritan, in New Jersey; and among the instructions given to one of them, by the two senior ministers, is found the following:* "It will be your chief and most necessary duty, each succeeding week, to instruct the children of the church, for this is a matter of great importance, and is pleasing to the congregation."

Handschuh, who came in 1748, and Heintzelman, who arrived in 1751, each acted for a considerable period, in the capacity of teachers, in addition to the discharge of their regular duties as pastors, the former at Germantown, the latter at Philadelphia; and the same may be said of most of the other younger ministers. There was a much greater necessity at that time for the coöperation of the younger assistants and ministers in the work of teaching, as the congre-

* Evangelical Review for April 1856, p. 546.

gations were poor, and embarrassed with the expenses incurred by erecting churches and schoolhouses, and therefore a regular teacher could not always be employed in every congregation. Some there were, even at an early period, and men of exemplary character; among whom, Jacob Lœser is mentioned already in 1749 by Mr. Brunnholtz, and called by him "an excellent man;" and by Muhlenberg, "a competent and gifted man, who would be qualified for more important services." Pastors and teachers did the work, as circumstances demanded. In some favored localities, they had both laboring together harmoniously for the same great objects; in some, they had only the former, in others only the latter, discharging in either case, to the best of their ability, both functions. But in all of the prominent places of our church in Pennsylvania and parts adjacent, at Philadelphia, Germantown, Lancaster, Reading, New Hanover, Bedminster, &c., there were congregational or parochial schools, conducted with greater or less efficiency, prior to the year 1750. Those at Philadelphia, Reading and Lancaster, seem to have been the most flourishing. Very interesting details are given in the Halle Annals, by the different ministers, in reference to these schools. Thus Muhlenberg,* in 1752, speaks of the school at Philadelphia: "I found Pastor Brunnholtz cheerful and vigilant, and, in connection with Mr. Heintzelman, very much engaged with the newly organized school. I have not, at any time during the past nine years, experienced as much pleasure, as I did recently in Philadelphia, from reflections arising from the establishment of the new school; because such a work as this, is the basis of hope for the future improvement of the church and state. Oh that it may please the Lord to grant sufficient means and pupils, so that a great tree may spring up from this small mustard seed."

We think we need ask no apology for introducing the following more lengthy extract, from the same volumes, from the report of Pastor Brunnholtz to Dr. Franke in the year 1753:† "What I mentioned in my former letter, of the 16th of March, 1752, in reference to the school which we intended to open in this place, has been carried into effect, and has, under the Divine blessing, made encouraging progress. Yet it did not succeed without the experience of many difficulties. At one time this one was dissatisfied; at another some one

* Page 480.

† Page 627.

else, and again there was a deficiency of room, and the want of stoves and other necessaries. We commenced the school in the lower room of my house, the 6th of April, 1752, and the number of scholars soon increased to eighty, and finally one hundred and twenty, so that the room was too small; therefore, as the weather was warm, we transferred it to the church, where we continued to hold it throughout the summer. As winter approached, and it became cold, I did not know where I was to go to with such a number of children. It was too expensive to rent a house, therefore I had the partition wall between my two best and largest rooms taken down, the apartment fitted up as a school room and furnished with two stoves, and here the school was kept during the winter, and is still held. Each of us must be satisfied with a small chamber. Our congregational treasury will not yet allow us to build a school house, and the school is absolutely necessary. All instruction is lost upon most of the aged. The school gives us the hope of better times. Our dear children, never less than eighty, now one hundred and ten in number, learn extremely well, and I feel assured our dear fathers would weep for joy, and see some recompense for their multiplied toils, if they could hear our American children sing, pray and read. Our new and improved edition of the Smaller Catechism, and the Bibles and Testaments we had for sale, have been very useful to us. We have modelled our school after the German schools of the Orphan House. The children are divided into six classes. Every quarter we hold a public examination in the church, to which the whole congregation is invited, and many attend. They are examined in all their studies by classes. Afterwards cakes are distributed among them, with printed verses from the Scriptures. Our dear Mr. Heintzelman has heretofore manifested great fidelity and unwearied industry, and in consequence of the great number of scholars, has been obliged to give instruction, in conjunction with the organist, five or six hours daily. Occasionally, in pleasant weather, we go out into the country with the children, walking two by two. At one time, they repeat their verses, as if with one mouth; and at another time they sing, which animates me, even in the greatest despondency. Sundays they assemble in front of my house, whence they go by twos to the church, and are examined by Mr. Heintzelman. May God continue its existence, in spite of all foes."

* Page 628—9.

Muhlenberg, in his reports to Dr. Franke, in the same year,* confirms everything which is here said by Pastor Brunnholtz, and also expresses his deep concern upon the subject of the education of the young, to this good man, and his ardent wishes that means might be obtained, through the blessing of God, "who is the true father of all who are called children," for the erection of a suitable building, in which the assistant pastor of the congregation, "a qualified and upright teacher," and the organist might instruct the youth of the congregation, both the children of the poor gratuitously, and those of the rich for a compensation, and also train suitable teachers for the schools in the country. "Such a school would be a fine nursery for the vineyard of the Lord."

This desire of having a separate and suitable school house, with increased accommodations for the instruction of the young, was not immediately realized. They were obliged to labor on in hope, until the year 1760, when the vestry of the church determined to erect a suitable school house, and arrangements were definitely made for this purpose, the 28th of April of this year.* This school house was dedicated on Monday, the 27th of July, 1761. A short account of it is given in the Halle Annals.† Muhlenberg says: "Monday, the 27th of July, I rode in company with Provost Wrangel, to the residence of Pastor Handschuh. There we were accompanied by the elders and deacons to the church, where young and old were assembled. I preached upon 2 Kings 2, of the miraculous purification of a poisoned spring. Afterwards the scholars, pastors, elders and deacons went in procession to the new school house, consecrated it with prayer, singing, and a short discourse upon a part of the eightieth Psalm." After this the schoolmaster examined the children, and a collection was made amounting to a little more than twelve pounds.—After the consecration, we pastors, elders, deacons and some friends dined together." In the extracts which we have thus given, in reference to the school at Philadelphia, and the labors of the pastors in and around this city, in behalf of schools in other places, the names of individuals have been chiefly given, but still their action may be regarded as that of the Synod of Pennsylvania, which they founded, and of which they were prominent members. But it may be well to refer quite briefly to the interest the Synod, as a *body*, took in this

* Page 763.

† Page 866.

subject. Two references on this subject will be sufficient, one to the meeting of the Synod in Philadelphia, in June, 1762, the other to the succeeding meeting of the same body, in the same place, in October, 1763. The account of the first of of these two meetings, is given by Pastor Handschuh.* At this meeting there were fourteen Swedish and Lutheran ministers present, and the point to which special attention is invited, as showing the interest of the Synod in the subject of education is, that a particular period was assigned for inquiries on the state of the schools in each and all of the united Swedish and Lutheran congregations. The following is given as the state of the schools in regular succession: "New Providence has several small schools, the principal school at the church is vacant. New Hanover has still a school, and received a small support (£18 a year) from the society (for the diffusion of Christianity among the Germans) in London, but it has recently been suspended. In Philadelphia the condition of the schools is well known, and the public examination of tomorrow will give the best evidence. In the Swedish congregations, the Swedish schools, for several generations, have unfortunately been suspended, yet Dr. Wrangel has caused an English school to be established, in which the Lutheran Catechism, translated into English, is taught. In the Raritan congregation, there is at present no German school. In New York, the German school is in a wretched condition, on account of the bad schoolmaster. In the Oley congregation of Mr. Schaum, it was necessary to remove a bad schoolmaster, therefore it has ceased to be held. In Vincent township there is a good school, an excellent teacher, and about sixty scholars. In Reading there is a well-managed school of eighty or more children. Richmond has also a tolerably good school. In the congregations of Pastor Kurtz the elder, are several schools, namely, in Tulpehocken one of forty, in Heidelberg another of thirty scholars. In Lebanon, in consequence of the poverty of the people, there are not yet any schools. In Easton, from the scattered state of the people, there has been no permanent school. In Northkill the younger Kurtz keeps school himself, which amounted in the commencement to thirty scholars, but afterwards it decreased, owing to the high waters. In Lancaster the German school numbers, in the summer, fifty or sixty, in the winter, however,

* Page 954 sq.

eighty or ninety, and it is supported by the congregation, without any assistance from others."

The examination of the school in Philadelphia was also attended by the Synod in a body. It commenced in the church at two o'clock. Pastor Handschuh remarks, "the scholars amounted to an unusually large number, who were introduced, each class by itself, two by two, by their teacher, Mr. Hafner, and seated in regular order. The exercises were opened with singing and the prayer of the children. The higher classes were examined by the pastors, especially the Germans from abroad; the teacher took the lower classes.—In the intervals, the most beautiful hymns were sung. After this the teacher catechized all the children belonging to the school, in classes, in which the youth were so quick and ready even in repeating the proof-texts, that all the pastors from abroad, elders and deacons, were exceedingly surprised, and listened with the greatest satisfaction. Finally, the younger Mr. Kurtz stood before the altar, delivered a fine address to the collected youth, and closed with prayer. The whole was closed with singing and the distribution of cakes."

The other meeting of the Synod was the one immediately succeeding, and they again attended the examination, and as the circumstances were different, and manifest the Christian courtesy and liberality of our forefathers, we add what is said by Muhlenberg in reference to it:* "The 18th of October we went (the Synod) in the forenoon, at ten o'clock, into the church, and took the children with us. Afterwards the following additional gentlemen came in: Mr. Duche and Ingliss, of the Episcopal church, President Finley, of Princeton College, Mr. Senior Tennent, a Presbyterian clergyman from Newark, lastly Mr. Whitfield, and with him a number of English friends, so that the church was filled with German and English people, and the children were standing in the crowd. Mr. Whitfield went on the pulpit, prayed very feelingly, turned towards the pupils and made a kindly address to them about good children, from the Old and New Testament, and also mentioned some recent examples, which occurred in his own times, with tears and heartfelt emotion, and afterwards urged on parents their duty. After this, the children were catechised a short time by Dr. Wrangel, and also myself in German; but as Mr. Whitfield was very much exhausted, and the crowd in the church was too great, we

* Page 1128—9.

were obliged to close, and the services were concluded with appropriate music." Many more details might be furnished upon the same subject, but we think, whilst they would make the treatment of this portion of our narrative more complete, they would not render it more perspicuous. This system of congregational schools, as before remarked, was kept up in our church, until a comparatively recent period. We have met with nothing additional, except an allusion to a plan of Mr. Penn, for the establishment of charity schools for the English and German youth of Pennsylvania, with a provision for the education of four or six of the young men trained in them, at the University of Oxford. A committee was appointed, to carry the plan into effect, in 1754, among whom, to represent the Lutherans, was Mr. Conrad Weiser, but we have not found that much benefit accrued to them from this, and therefore we may safely pass it by, with this general mention.

We have said nothing, as yet, of the provision made by the founders of our church in Pennsylvania, and the Synod of Pennsylvania, for the education of *ministers*. At this early period, the thought of preparing ministers in this country was not so much dwelt upon; they still, as did their successors for a long time, continued to look to the mother country for supplies of vacancies, occasioned by death, and for the new posts of labor still to be occupied. The extraordinary exertions they were called upon to make in other directions, would have been sufficient to have deterred them from attempting to originate, at that time, a separate institution for the education of ministers. Even as late as 1784, at a Synodical meeting held at Lancaster, consisting of fourteen Lutheran clergymen, the question was proposed for discussion: "Whether and how preachers should be called from Germany?" and the answer was given, that as the harvest was great, and the laborers few, it was absolutely necessary that at least two additional clergymen should be written for, although the greatest difficulty would be to procure the necessary funds, to defray the expenses of their voyage. Yet whilst most of the early pastors were sent from Germany, and the Synod still looked, at a later period, for a further supply, they did not altogether neglect the duty of obtaining and educating suitable persons to fill the ministerial office.—The pastors themselves, in addition to their other duties, also assumed this one of preparing applicants for the sacred office. Some of those thus educated, had received their preparatory

training in Germany, others in some of the schools of this land; some were trained by them to become teachers, others catechists or helpers, and others, again to discharge all the duties of the ministerial office. Candidates of this kind were taken into the families of the older ministers, often boarded at their expense, and furnished, in addition, gratuitously, with books and instruction, to qualify them for their important duties. Under the supervision of their instructors, they catechised the children, visited the sick, read sermons for the congregations, occasionally officiated at funerals, or gave instruction in the schools, until they were supposed to be ready to appear before the Synod as candidates. Thus were trained by the older ministers, Muhlenberg, Brunnholtz, &c., Kurtz, Schaum, Schrenk, Weygand, Rauss, Von Buskirk, and others; and many more in a similar way by their successors. After having undergone a sufficient training under the direction of "wise master builders," and thought by them competent "rightly to divide the word of truth," they were brought before the Synod at its annual meeting, examined by a choice committee of the body, and, if considered competent, and accepted by the Ministerium, were solemnly ordained to the sacred office. It is quite interesting, to read of the care they manifested in the selection, training and examination of these candidates for the ministerial office. They heeded the apostolic exhortation, "to lay hands suddenly on no man." Examinations and ordinations of this kind took place often; we propose to present brief accounts of two, as specimens of the whole, which are given in the same volumes already often mentioned. One of these examinations was that of Mr. William Kurtz, which took place before the Swedish and Lutheran ministers, assembled in Synodical session at Providence, the 19th and 20th of October, 1760; the other, that of Mr. Daniel Kurtz, at a meeting of the Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania and adjacent States, held at Lancaster in 1784. Muhlenberg thus writes in reference to the former of these:* "In the afternoon at three o'clock, the Rev. Ministerium commenced the examination of Mr. Wm. Kurtz, as several congregations in Heidelberg had earnestly requested he might become their pastor. After prayer, he he was requested to open the Greek Testament, at the third chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, and explain it in Latin, which he did satisfactorily, without hesitation. Af-

* Page 861.

terwards, two Psalms were given him in Hebrew, to be translated at once literally into Latin, which was done with equal readiness and fluency. Provost Wrangel was very much pleased, and said that he had not expected this in the American wilderness, and thereupon began to question the candidate in Latin upon some articles of the Creed; thus the examination was continued on the different branches of theology, and he received the unanimous testimony of the members, that he had given satisfactory evidence of his qualifications. It was also resolved, to ordain him at the next Ministerial session, D. V., on which occasion he was to give his answers to the written questions proposed to him." Pastor Helmuth furnishes us with the account of the examination of the other Mr. Kurtz, in his diary.* "The candidate, Mr. Daniel Kurtz, a son of the aged Mr. Kurtz in York, was recommended for licensure. He had received instruction, for nearly three years, in the languages, theology and the sciences; and his instructor, Pastor Muhlenberg the younger, at Lancaster, gave him an excellent recommendation, both as regards diligence and upright deportment, and requested his examination. Pastor Voigt made a commencement with Hebrew, Greek, &c., Dr. Kunze also in Greek. The assembled clergy testified their satisfaction, and gave him the following questions to answer in writing:

1. How is it shown that Christ was not only a teacher of men, but also truly rendered satisfaction for their sins?
2. What are the operations and benefits of the Holy Spirit?
3. How may a person know that he is converted?
4. How is the validity of infant baptism proved?
5. How is the eternity of future punishment made manifest?
6. Were the apostles infallible in their preaching?

These two examples are sufficient to show what circumspection they used, in the case of candidates for the pastoral office, and their conduct in this respect we need not fear to follow, harmonizing, as it does, with the practice of the best men of the church in the Fatherland, and the more certain directions of the word of God. But alas! after all their care, these pioneers of Lutheranism in this western world, felt the necessity of additional measures for the multiplication of ministers of the word. Muhlenberg, we learn from the Annals,† had frequently called the attention of the Fa-

* Page 1459—60. † Page 1253.

thers in Europe to this subject, and at length, in the year 1773, had proposed to them the erection of a kind of catechetical school, for the purpose of preparing a greater number of assistant laborers in the work of spreading a knowledge of the Gospel. His plan seems to have been, as far as we can gather from the meagre details given of it, to prepare men "who would be qualified to explain in a simple and intelligible way, the fundamental truths of the Christian religion, and of our evangelical faith, from the word of God; to instruct the rising generation and edify the aged, to conduct both classes in the way of repentance and faith, to a holy life, to set them a consistent example, even though they would not be as thoroughly instructed in such an Institution, as in the Universities of Germany." It was not intended to send them out prematurely; this, as has already been shown, was entirely alien to the principles and practice of those worthy men, but from the great destitution which prevailed, and the difficulty and expense connected with procuring a sufficient number of pastors from Germany, they thought men thus trained "might be used, under the supervision of *experienced* and *educated pastors*, as deacons and assistants, in diffusing a knowledge of the way of life among the widely scattered German Lutherans in Pennsylvania." We find nothing further in reference to this, but our attention is next directed to the Seminary or Latin School proposed by Dr. Kunze, and established by his more immediate agency, though meeting, in its essential features, with the approbation of the other Lutheran pastors at Philadelphia. Dr. Kunze's Seminary was more aspiring in its features than the one already referred to, and encumbered with a greater multiplicity of details, and requiring too large an expenditure of means, for the condition of Pennsylvania, as it was at that time It however shows his zeal on behalf of education and Christianity, and deserves to be dwelt upon, for historical purposes, at somewhat greater length than under other circumstances we could be disposed to do, as it is really the *first* attempt of the Germans to have a College or University of their own in this land. It was established by the pastors in Philadelphia, the 9th of February, 1773, and seems to have maintained a precarious existence until the year 1778, when, in consequence of the occupation of Philadelphia by the British, from want of adequate support, it was brought to a close.*

* Page 1409.

We give the history of it from his own words. We condense it as much as possible; the curious reader may find fuller details in the pages of the Halle Annals, referred to below.† The Dr. remarks in the outset, that for several years he had been cherishing the desire of establishing a school, in which the languages and sciences should be taught, for the Germans in America, and that his ministerial labors had never cooled his ardor. He was persuaded of the difficulties of the undertaking, yet he was convinced of the necessity for a commencement. He was waiting for a favorable opportunity for beginning, when providentially, as it seemed to him, a Mr. Leps made application as candidate, at the beginning of the year, for employment. This Mr. Leps had been a student at Halle, subsequently a soldier, then had applied himself to the study of the law, and finally had been employed as teacher for a number of years in the Danish West India islands of St. Thomas, Santa Cruz and St. John. The Dr. advised him to open a Latin school, promising him his assistance.—This was the occasion which led to the opening of the Seminary. Dr. Kunze immediately wrote an advertisement in the paper, consulted with Dr. Muhlenberg, and after careful reflection and mature consultation, the following plan of operations was agreed upon: A number of Lutherans were to associate themselves together into a body, to be called: "*The Society for the promotion of Christianity, and all useful knowledge among the Germans in America.*" This was to consist of twenty-four members, who should each contribute ten pounds to the treasury, and be entitled, consequently, to send their children to the school gratuitously. The society was to consist of these twenty-four regular members, as they might be called, the class of foreign patrons of noble rank, and that of honorary associate members. The Seminary was to be under the direction of a committee of the twenty-four members, consisting of six. The studies of the school were to be, the higher sciences, English Law, Medicine and Theology. There were to be two annual meetings of the Society, one in February, the other in August. It was supposed that eventually, many ministers for the church in Pennsylvania, Missionaries for the Indians, Orphan Houses, etc., might result from this small beginning, which the Dr., however, did not expect to be the case during his life.

† Page 1376—84.

They proceeded to carry the above plan into effect. Two persons carried round a paper, signed by the elder Muhlenberg, Kunze and the younger Muhlenberg, and the requisite number of twenty-four, was obtained without much difficulty. Their first meeting was held on the 9th of February, 1773. The elder Muhlenberg and Mr. Keppele were chosen Directors, Dr. Kunze and Mr. Kuhl, Associate Directors, and the younger Muhlenberg and one to be elected annually, Inspectors. These constituted the committee of six, to whom the control of the infant Institution was intrusted. Dr. Kunze prepared a call for Mr. Leps, the young student already mentioned, for one year, and he was to have as support, his boarding and fuel, and fifty-two pounds in money. "On the 15th of February," says the same authority, "we commenced the school with five scholars, among whom there was one who paid. All, even Senior Muhlenberg, were present. We began with singing a German hymn. I made a prayer, delivered a short address, and commenced to examine in the doctrines of Christianity. Mr. Muhlenberg the younger, made some remarks on geography and history. Mr. Leps then delivered a neat German address, and commenced giving instruction in Latin. One of the scholars had already made sufficient progress in this language, under the instruction of the younger Muhlenberg, to translate Lange's Dialogues. Thereupon I prayed again, we made an appointment for further consultation, determined that the school should henceforth be carried on regularly in God's name, and separated." Mr Leps did not continue long in connection with the school, in 1774 he was ordained, for the purpose of supplying the congregation at Lunenburg, in New York, and a Mr. Schröter is mentioned as a successor, and these are the only additional facts we can here communicate, besides the one already given, that this school, when the British, on the occupation of Philadelphia, "had made a hospital out of Zion's church, and a garrison out of St. Michael's," ceased to exist, and thus the fondly cherished hopes of its founders, as to its brilliant future, ended in disappointment.

In 1780 a new effort was made by Dr. Kunze in a different direction. In 1779 the University of Pennsylvania was organized, and there was a provision in its charter, that the senior ministers of all religious denominations should be among the Trustees. By virtue of this provision, Dr. Kunze was elected a Trustee of this Institution, and subsequently appointed one of a committee of five, to prepare a plan for

its organization. He proposed to this committee, the establishment of a German Professorship of Philology; the recommendation was cordially acceded to by them, though when their report was presented to the Board of Trustees, it met with some opposition, until after the explanation of the circumstances of the case by the Dr. himself, the proposition was adopted, and Dr. Kunze elected to fill the chair thus created. He labored in this post until 1784, when he was elected Professor of Oriental Literature in Columbia College, New York. Dr. Helmuth was hereupon elected his successor, and appears to have served in this capacity until 1810. Both of these ministers had great hopes from this new arrangement, and for a time the connection seemed to work advantageously. Dr. Kunze writes in 1782:* "We have now been laboring in the Academy two years, and at present my first four scholars, youths of promise, have become members of the University, after having devoted their attention for two years to Latin, Greek, Geography, Logic and Hebrew. They still attend to the Humanioria with us, and with the English Professors to Philosophy and Mathematics." Dr. Helmuth gives the following interesting account of their first public exhibition in oratory:† "September 20, 1785. To-day our *Actus oratorius*, the first of the kind in America among our Germans, was held in an imposing manner. The members of the Legislature, the Supreme Executive Council and Censors of the State, the Magistrates, the Trustees of the University, the entire Faculty and German Society, together with many other gentlemen and ladies, honored us with their presence. The German Society had made arrangements for the music, which was performed during the intervals. I made the commencement with a prayer in the English language, after which, one of my pupils delivered an English address, in which he returned thanks, in a very polite way, to the Trustees, for their favor towards the Germans, in establishing a German Professorship. One of the young students gave an account, in the German language, of the establishment of the school. Two entertained the auditors, with the discovery of a planet, their journey to and residence upon it, also in the German language. . . . . Another described, in German verse, the day of judgment; after him, another also in Ger-

* Page 1423.

† Page 1477.

man verse the greatness of God. Next four came forward, who conversed in German about ghosts and witchcraft, and the recent discovery of the so-called animal magnetism was described by one of them. Three others spoke on religious toleration. Three represented farmers' children, of whom one had been to school for two years, and gave instruction to the others upon subjects with which they had no acquaintance. This was intended to encourage our wealthy farmers to give their children a better education. Hereupon, as a member of the German Society, I delivered an address, and our Provost closed with an English prayer." It may be mentioned incidentally, that though the Synod, as such, had no further formal connection with this institution than that already mentioned, some of its most prominent members have received their preparatory education there.

Influenced, perhaps, by this action of the Trustees of the Uuiversity of Pennsylvania, towards the Germans, and also by a desire to secure their patronage, the Trustees of Dickinson College at Carlisle, in 1784, addressed a communication to the Synod, in session at Lancaster, informing them that they had elected the elder Kurtz, Schultz and Muhlenberg, Trustees of their Institution, and asking their coöperation and support. The Synod directed these pastors to reply orally to this communication, and to promise the aid of the body, in the furtherance of the interests of the Institution, by contributions and favorable commendations of it.* Several of the ablest preachers of our church, in other Synods, acknowledge this Institution as their *Alma Mater.*

These were the incipient efforts of our predecessors, to furnish our people with the means of obtaining a liberal education; these the "mustard seed," spoken of by the elder Muhlenberg, Kunze, &c., which, planted in faith and prayer, we thus see already shooting up, and which we propose, in a subsequent article, to trace in its progress to maturity, from the first establishment of a college of their own by the Germans, shortly after this period, to the more perfect educational arrangements for clergy and laity, resulting therefrom, which we, by the blessing of God, at present enjoy.

* Page 1461.

ARTICLE VI.

BACCALAUREATE ADDRESS.

No. VI.

At the Annual Commencement in September, 1840, the Graduating Class consisted of the following young gentlemen: Gottlieb Bassler, James A. Brown, Hugh D. Downey, David A. Martin, Eli Schwartz and Columbus Witherow. An extemporaneous Address was delivered to them, the outline of which is now, for the first time, filled up.

YOUNG GENTLEMEN:—In addressing you on this interesting occasion, I have chosen as my theme, that which should be our aim in life, viz.: to do good. That this should be our aim, can hardly admit of doubt. No one proposes to do mischief, or to make it the aim of his existence. If the question were asked of any young man, what do you propose to effect in the future? he would not willingly give any other answer than, I propose to do good. It is taken for granted that you have no other purpose, and start with the expectation that your career will hereafter, be distinguished by efforts to advance the interests, the true interests of your kind. It becomes then an important question, how is this to be effected? No time can be considered more appropriate for the enquiry, than the present. You have long been engaged in preparation for the duties of life; you have accomplished the preliminary steps, you have been pronounced qualified to enter upon professional study, or any other mode of effecting the objects of life. Having made your choice of a *modus operandi*, and not without a reference to the end to be attained, it may be remarked that, whatever may be the mode—and there are various modes of exerting a beneficial influence upon others—intelligence may be regarded as a primary requisite. To this, then, your attention is first directed. You know how to study, and have acquired a fondness for it.—Knowledge, it has been said, is power, and it is by knowledge wielded by a cultivated intellect, that we are to operate. "Wisdom," says the Hebrew sage (and it is synonymous with knowledge), "is the principal thing; therefore get wisdom, and with all thy getting, get understanding." That knowledge which is necessary in our sphere of action, knowledge of our profession or particular employment, ought to be re-

garded as of primary importance. All other knowledge, however valuable, holds a secondary place. An ignorant minister of the Gospel, physician or lawyer, may do incalculable mischief. The first, called by his profession to teach men the way of salvation and to expound the holy oracles of God, if he should be a blind leader, will not only fall into the ditch himself, but carry others with him. It is a fearful responsibility which rests on him who watches for souls under a strict surveillance, and his lips should keep knowledge, and he should be apt to teach. How this can be done without knowledge, diligently acquired, constantly sought, and carefully laid up for future use, it is not easy to see. The steward, for such is the minister of Christ, must bring out of his treasury things new and old. This is the order of the Lord's house, and it involves the diligent pursuit of knowledge. The physician must be armed with knowledge, that he may battle with morbid action, and become victorious in subduing disease. The progress of that science to which he is specially devoted, he must know, and mastering all the new truths and new discoveries, qualifying himself with new methods and appliances, he must be ready to make the most perfect known resistance to the advances of the foe. To be ready for this, requires careful, diligent study. The same may be said of every other method of operating upon man. Knowledge is absolutely necessary, and as science is progressing, as new truth is constantly appearing, and new discoveries are constantly making, the duty of all who would be successful agents in effecting human happiness, is to be readers and thinkers; and reading and thinking cannot be restricted to any period of life, but must be extended over the whole. But of what use will it be for us to bring knowledge from afar, unless we ascribe righteousness to our Maker. Knowledge unsanctified, is not the great desideratum. Its power is vastly augmented when, it is accompanied by a living faith in the Son of God. It is folly for us to think of doing good during life, in the highest sense, without pure hearts—hearts animated with the love of God. Whatever we may accomplish without this, and it is not denied that worldly men may, in various and important ways, do good, it is equally true that all this good, undiminished by godliness, will be vastly increased by its existence. The men who have accomplished most for the real good of others, are they who have combined with the pursuits of life the sanctity of Christianity. Expect then to realize results such as are worthy of you, not in an unsanctified devotion to

human interests, but in an humble imitation of the sublime virtues of the author of Christianity. He and they who labored in his spirit, have been pre-eminently the benefactors of men, and if we would take our place with them, we must imitate their zeal, and follow their example. Systematic effort, in the direction in which we operate, is important. We lay ourselves out for accomplishing good, and we ought to be diligent and persevering. Having determined how we may successfully accomplish our purpose, it is to be pursued, not by paroxysms or by fitful efforts, but with a steady and determined purpose.

Life is designed for action, not repose. The rest is future, now is the time of toil. Carry with you the conviction, that if you would perform well your part, time must not be wasted, but turned to account, considered a precious talent, which is to be employed carefully, both in getting and imparting good. This then our aim—to do grod—to do good to men—to do good to their bodies—to do good to their souls—to contribute to their earthly happiness—to contribute to their eternal welfare.

If we ask ourselves what claims such a course has upon *us*, the answer is, it has claims upon every man. It may be averred with perfect safety, that your position pre-eminently imposes this upon you. You labor in this work in the service of that Being to whom you are indebted for everything. You labor in the service of him who made you, and gave you an exalted place in his creation, who allied you closely to himself, by the capacities and endowments which he furnished you. You labor in the service of him who has made the most ample provision for you future and eternal happiness, in the richer provisions of his Son's redemption. You labor in the service of him who, in his providence, furnished you with the means and opportunities of occupying a higher social position than others, and of operating more energetically and evtensively for their good. God has lifted you up from the dust, he has surrounded you with a true opulence, and in directing this opulence to the advancement of his glory—the advancement of human weal—his requisition is reasonable, and comes to you with imperative force. To you is applicable the principle, that where much is given, there will much be required.

The course which is indicated, deserves your sympathy—because it cannot but appear to you, even with a hasty glance, as the only one calculated to reflect on you honor.

Rational, accountable, and qualified pre-eminently, by your endowments and attainments, to pursue such a course, sanctioned by reason and commanded by God, every claim to honorable regard is forfeited by another procedure. Recreant to duty, rebellious against authority, the enemies of your fellow-beings, your humanity is stained, and deep disgrace spots your garments. No intellect in the Universe can accord to you anything but the stigma of reproach, unless it be an intellect perverted and unsanctified. Honor is thought to belong to birth, family, gifts, physical and mental, successful enterprises, opulence, but the proper standard is overlooked in such estimates; true honor attaches to moral worth, to benevolence, to beneficence. It is the property of him who lives for others as well as for himself; who devotes himself to the advancement of God's glory in human happiness, whose efforts, uncircumscribed by time, are extended to eternity.—Such a man may have no special record on earth that is visible to the eye, his life may not be written by the pen of flattery, his humble virtues may not glitter in the glowing panegyric, no costly stone may cover his dust and proclaim his virtues; but he has a record on high; his name is written in a truer book, and a more enduring register; it mingles with no names of dishonored men, and is associated solely with the pure and noble, whom God claims as his, and whom he delights to honor. The praise of such a one may not be of men, it will be of God. Their rank is with those to whom the Great Shepherd will say, on that solemn day when all hearts shall be revealed, and when every one shall receive according to the things done in the body, whether they be good or whether they be bad: "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: For I was a hungered, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me."

No course, however promising, which invites men, can contribute so much to true enjoyment. Whilst it is truly honorable, and will ultimately be recognized to be so, in the open proclamation to be made before the Universe, it is the only course which will secure for us a proper self-respect.

What is man without self-respect? Can anything compensate for this? Will not the want of it vitiate every good, and embitter every enjoyment? What is the complacency of the world, when unsustained by an internal approval?—

Of little value is it to be praised abroad, if we must condemn ourselves at home. Tell me, if you know, what in life is a more precious possession than self-respect, a proper, christian self-respect, not an over-estimate of ourselves, but a sober estimate, a consciousness that we have acted from pure motives and under God's precepts; such as can say: our boasting is this, the testimony of our conscience, that with simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world. If you have nothing to suggest, then prizing the possession as it should be, make it your own by the approved method, no other being known, of pursuing the way marked out in the word of God, and consisting in making your aim—doing good to men. This is the secret of that internal tranquility which is at the basis of true happiness, without which, at war with ourselves, with intervening insurrections in our internal man, we are torn with anguish, and perpetual disquiet reigns undisturbed. For what is that produces reproach, that castigates and torments us, that strikes discord in our bosoms, and keeps up an unceasing agitation? It is the voice of conscience disclaiming our conduct, and reprobating the career which we have pursued.

This, then, is the plan by which we can do most for our fellow-beings. If this be our aim, we will be successful in it. In any other sphere, success cannot be guarantied, but in this there is a certainty that our toil will not be misapplied or unavailing. No task-master, who claims to control us, however magnificent the proffers of remuneration which he holds out to us, can present us so much as the great task-master, or so certainly secure the fulfilment of the promise. What is done in any other service, may be repaid, but it may not; in this the reward is certain, and whether it consist in the accomplishment of the object at which we have aimed, no inconsiderable part of it, or the fulfilment of expectation in the glories of eternity, it will not fail. The service is rendered in the interest of an unlimited power, is supported by an unchangeable faithfulness, and will be rewarded by a boundless goodness. With these motives, than which there can be no stronger, go to your work, raise high your banner, with this inscription, our aim in life to do good: march boldly forward, amidst the harmonies of nature and the sweet notes of revelation, beloved, admired, winning victories over vice, conquering wretchedness, and triumphing in sustaining the glory of your Captain. Accompanied by our interest,

sympathy, and our most earnest prayers, pursue your way onward, onward. Devoted to the same work, we will welcome you as adjutants, and though we may not see you, or even hear much report of your success, we will tend to the same point, and, in the end, mingle together on another theatre, and be inseparably united where the good dwell forever.

ARTICLE VII.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE SPIRIT.

The Spirit itself beareth witness with our Spirit, that we are the children of God.—Romans 8: 16.

This is an interesting passage of Scripture, although different interpretations as to its meaning, have been given. The exposition which is more generally received, and which we adopt, is, that the Holy Spirit, by his sanctifying influences on our heart, furnishes testimony to our mind, that we are the children of God—that the fruits of the Spirit in our life, produced in us as the appropriate effects of his influence, afford conclusive proof that we have been adopted into the Divine family, and are heirs of eternal life.

In opposition, however, to this interpretation, the opinion is maintained that the testimony of the Spirit is *an inward impression* on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God *directly witnesses* to our Spirit that we are the children of God—an *immediate communication*, *direct suggestion*, or *special intimation* from Heaven that our sins have been pardoned, and that we have been accepted—an absolute test possessing certain *criteria*, by which the divinity of this testimony is instantaneously, mysteriously and infallibly demonstrated.—This theory, moreover, represents that the sinner cannot tell whether God has forgiven him, unless the fact of this forgiveness be made known to him by a special revelation from Heaven, and that this impression is produced upon the mind before holiness has made a commencement in the heart, even before we can savingly believe that Jesus Christ loved us and gave himself for us; that this act of mercy, which takes place in the mind of God, must remain unknown to us, until God is pleased to reveal it; and that we cannot love God

until this revelation is made, for we cannot love God before we know that he loves us.*

In our analysis of this passage, our attention is first directed to the expression, Αυτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα, which Grotius and others interpret as "the very spirit," the filial feeling received from God by the Gospel. But we much prefer the old and common rendering, which refers it to the "Holy Spirit himself." The connexion seems to require this interpretation, because the Apostle is speaking of the Holy Spirit. Besides, this is the natural meaning of the language. It would be unnatural to speak of the spirit of adoption bearing witness, or any affection or disposition of the mind which the adopted person may experience. Τῷ πνεῦματι ἡμῶν means the *spirit* or *mind* of man, the internal conviction of the mind and conscience, our understanding, the seat of light and information. The word συμμαρτυρεῖ signifies *to witness with, to testify with*, i. e., at the same time and to the same effect. We are not to understand that this is done by means of inspiration, or any immediate or special revelation, but by the ordinary operations of the Spirit, communicating peace to the soul. There is, from the change effected in our thoughts, affections and actions, a consciousness begotten in us, that we have the nature and disposition of children. This influence is often ascribed to the Holy Spirit—*Vide* 1 John 5 : 10, 11; 2 Cor. 1 : 22. The Holy Spirit, dwelling in our hearts, excites child-like feelings towards God, and testifies in union with our own spirit, that we possess this evidence. In other words, there is in us a consciousness, in the renewed mind, of this filial feeling towards God, which has been imparted to us by the Holy Spirit, of which we were formerly destitute, when we were in bondage to sin, and habitually disobeyed God and disregarded his will. Whilst our hearts were in this state of alienation, we were in constant dread of his wrath, and consequently cherished no such filial feelings. We could not realize that we had an inheritance to eternal life—there was no "title clear to mansions in the skies." If a man bring forth in his life the fruit of the Spirit—"love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance"—the appropriate result of the Spirit's influence, he has the testimony of the Spirit. If not, he has no such testimony. By a sincere and earnest inquiry, we can ascertain

* *Vide* Wesley's Sermons; Watson's Institutes.

whether these fruits of the Spirit actually exist in our minds. If they do, the witness is clear and decisive; if not, our confidence is vain, our boast empty; all visions, raptures, fancied communications from Heaven, "inward joys and airy flights," will be mere delusions. How many do we find who profess to have experienced all these, and yet manifest none of that faith, which works by love, which purifies the heart and overcomes the world, who exhibit in their walk nothing of the spirit of their Master. "If we have not the Spirit of Christ, we are none of his."

We object to the other interpretation, because there is an unwarranted mysticism connected with the doctrine. There are evidences of regeneration, Scriptural modes proposed of ascertaining the fact, and if the change has taken place in our hearts, we are able to perceive it, just as we perceive any other change in character. It becomes a matter of consciousness. The great inquiry should be, "Have I the Christian temper?" "Do I love God?" "Am I striving to do his will?" "Have I ceased to do evil and learned to do well?" "Do I hunger and thirst after righteousness?"—*How* the Holy Spirit proceeds in the work of regeneration is a mystery. *How* this Divine agent operates in producing and maintaining the Christian graces, we cannot tell—we do not know. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it came and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit." Therefore, to employ sensible images, and to speak of impressions and revelations, is to be "wise above what is another;" it sets up a factitious standard in Christian experience, and leads to the greatest extravagance. There is no account given of a supernatural voice or a vision, or an "inner light," which may not be defended in the same way, and the door thus opened for all kinds of wild fanaticism. The most extravagant mysticism must be the result, and the evil, no matter how preposterous or monstrous, will not be easily exorcised. In proof of the Divine origin of Christianity, before Divine revelation was completed, Christ did miraculously appear to Saul of Tarsus, when journeying to Damascus, and to Peter, when he fell down in a trance, and was directed to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles; but the day of miracles has passed. They are unnecessary, because the claims of Christianity have been established.

This view also tends to destroy the healthful action of Christianity, by creating a constant, an absorbing demand for

religious excitement. Religion is not mere sentimentalism. Genuine feelings do not spring from direct efforts to produce them. They are the result of the proper cultivation of human nature, and to make them the great object of our attention, is calculated to derange and destroy the symmetry of Christian character. There is danger of giving undue importance to the feelings. They should never be made the prominent evidence of conversion, or the attention will be withdrawn from that which is of greater weight. Religion will, then, become "an examination of frames and impressions," whilst that which is practical, fidelity in the discharge of the relative duties of life, will be regarded as secondary. In our judgment, feeling will then transcend every other consideration, and in our estimate of the religion of others, this will be our chief concern. All other tests will be made subordinate to this. Religion will then become a thing of feeling, rather than of principle; the intelligent culture of the affections, and the exemplification of the truths of Christianity, cannot be properly appreciated. But feeling is not religion. There may be much feeling and no religion. Religion is character: it is "walking in newness of life," and "proving what is that good and acceptable, and perfect will of God."

Another objection to the doctrine is, that it is likely to produce a spasmodic religion. Let a man be taught to depend upon his spiritual frames and feelings, to regard them as the soul of religion, the standard of regeneration, and he will be subject to the greatest vicissitudes. His Christian experience will be "as the morning cloud, and as the early dew that passeth away." Spiritual declension must be the inevitable result. When an individual entertains the opinion that he cannot be religious without a certain amount of feeling, it is natural that his devotion should decline, just as frequently, and in the same proportion as the feeling subsides. The animal excitement, which is mingled with his religion, must, from the necessity of the case, suffer a collapse, and when this change is experienced, his religion has evaporated; and under the influence of this impression, he abandons it, and gives himself up to a state of insensibility.

Finally, this doctrine denies the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and diminishes their authority as a revelation of God's mercy. We do not find any declaration in the Bible, to authorize the belief that supernatural communications are made to the human race at the present day. The teachings of

God's word declare that every penitent sinner "who believes with the heart unto righteousness," shall be forgiven. The operations of the Holy Spirit, in Christian experience, are perceived only by their effects, by the moral exercises and changes they produce. From certain and distinct characteristics, we may conclude, that we are the children of God.—Without any recourse to mysticism, depending solely upon *criteria*, furnished in the sacred volume, we may decide the important inquiry: "Hereby know we that we know Him, if we keep his commandments, and do those things that are pleasing in his sight." "My little children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue, but in deed and in truth." "And hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before him."

If we are faithful to our vows, and careful to maintain our Christian integrity, if we listen to the monitions of God's word and grieve not the Holy Spirit, we shall enjoy his comfort, his incitement to prayer, his censure of sin, his impulse to works of love, "a calm and heavenly frame of mind," the peace "which passeth all understanding." "This is our rejoicing, the testimony of our conscience," inscribed on the tablets of our heart. We will be satisfied in reference to our adoption into God's family; we will have "the mind of Christ," "the Spirit which is of God;" we shall be conscious of possessing "the fruits of the Spirit," the mark impressed upon all God's children. We will then be able to rejoice in our acceptance, to read the lineaments of our renovated character and to exclaim with the Great Apostle of the Gentiles: "I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

ARTICLE VIII.

Hermeneutical Manual: or Introduction to the Exegetical study of the New Testament. By Patrick Fairbairn, D. D., Principal and Professor of Divinity in the Free Church College, Glasgow. Author of "Typology of Scripture," &c. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38, George Street. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. Dublin: John Robertson. 1858. For sale by Smith & English, Philadelphia.

Dr. Fairbairn has become well known in our country, as a distinguished theologian, and writer on theological subjects. His talents and learning are unquestionably eminent, and he displays throughout his writings, the spirit of a man who had been taught in the school of Jesus Christ. This last production of his pen, pertains to a branch of theological study of great moment. It bears upon the interpretation of that portion of the Sacred Canon, which, without disparaging other portions, may be regarded as of primary importance. The literature of sacred Hermeneutics is very copious. Since the Reformation, theologians of the different Protestant churches, have turned their attention to it, and have accomplished much towards determining the principles on which the interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures is to be conducted. Our own church has distinguished itself in this department, and furnishes a storehouse from which treasures of great value have been drawn by later writers. Flacius, Glassius, the Pfeiffers, Rambach, Ernesti, Morus, Seiler, Plank, not to mention others, are well known. Some of these authors have been used as text books in our Seminaries of theology, particularly Ernesti, and all have furnished materials to compilers. Horne, in his Introduction, has made large use of these distinguished writers, and Davidson, in his Sacred Hermeneutics, constantly avails himself of their help

Notwithstanding the large amount of material, there seems to be needed a manual properly arranged, and presenting a moderate quantity of illustration. Such a work, presenting the science in its present development, and suited for class instruction in our prophets' schools, would meet a want which, as we have felt, we presume others have too. Horne has matter in great abundance, extracted from the best sources, but it is badly arranged, is often diffuse, introduces, if not

heterogeneous topics, yet topics not necessary in a treatise on Hermeneutics. Ernesti, with additions from Morus, edited by Professors Stuart and Henderson, is valuable, but is not sufficiently extensive, deals too little in illustration, and altogether wants the attractiveness which might and ought to be thrown around the subject. Davidson, covering ample space, occupies a great deal of it in discussions which, however interesting, unfit it for the purpose mentioned, and make it as much a treatise on Biblical Criticism as a manual of Hermeneutics.

We hoped that Dr. Fairbairn would supply the desideratum, and therefore eagerly caught up the book, but were disappointed. The volume appeared to be of the right size, the title appeared right, the author qualified, our expectations were high. When, however, we discovered that much more than half of the book was devoted to "Dissertations on particular subjects connected with the Exegesis of New the Testament, and the use made of Old Testament Scripture in the writings of the new, we became apprehensive that we would be disappointed. An examination of the portion devoted to Hermeneutics confirmed our apprehensions. It is altogether too meagre to meet our views. No exception can be taken to what is given, but there is not enough, and it is not illustrated as we could desire.

We do not design to condemn the book, by representing it as not meeting our own conceptions of what is needed. We have no evidence that others have felt as we do, and if they have, we have no special right to demand of Dr. Fairbairn, when he writes a book on a particular subject, that he should write it to suit our views. Looking at his production, without any such reference as we have made, we are prepared to give it our decided commendation. The first one hundred and eighty pages are devoted to the "discussion of facts and principles bearing on the language and interpretation of New Testament Scripture." Here we have discussed, the original language of the New Testament, the characteristics of New Testament Greek, collateral sources for determining the sense, explaining the peculiarities of New Testament Scripture, general rules and principles to be followed in the interpretation of particular words and passages, of false and true accommodation, or the influence that should be allowed to prevailing modes of thought in fashioning the views and utterances of the sacred writers, the respect due in the interpretation of the New Testament, to the analogy of faith, or

from one part of Scripture to another, and the further respect to be had to the religions of the ancient world, the true and the false, the relation of the Old to the New, in God's dispensations more exactly defined, with the view of preventing mistaken or partial interpretations of such portions of New Testament Scripture as bear on it, on the proper interpretation of the tropical parts of the New Testament, the parables of Christ, their proper interpretation and treatment, on the subject of parallelism, as bearing on the structure and interpretation of New Testament Scripture." Much valuable matter may be found in these sections, but we have been more pleased with the section on parallelism than the rest. In a brief compass there is presented a very satisfactory outline of the subject, but a salutary protest is raised against the extent to which parallelism has been carried.

Due reference is made, and credit given to Lowth and Jebb for their discoveries, and the more recent extension by Boys and Forbes, of the principle to other and larger sections of the sacred record, tested and condemned. We had looked with some interest into Forbes, and found much occasion to admire his ingenuity, but the feeling could not be repressed, that "this extreme fondness for parallelisms, and the attempt to discover them in the simply didactic or historical portions of New Testament Scripture, tend to give too artistic and constrained an appearance to such portions, but it leads occasionally to fanciful conceits and false interpretations."

From the second division of the work, containing exegetical discussions on various important subjects, we give an extract from the first, on the two genealogises of Christ, given respectively by the Evangelists, Matthew and Luke. We select this on account of the interest of the subject, and because our pages have already presented important articles on this subject, particularly the paper of Wieseler, translated by Professor Muhlenberg, from the pages of the Studien and Kritiken. Dr. Schmidt's review of Da Costa's four witnesses presented the views of that eminent man of Jewish origin, on the same subject:

"Such being the case, there is plainly nothing in the way of our holding, that the table of Matthew may, equally with that of Luke, admit of relationships being introduced not of the nearest degree; nor, further, anything, so far as form is concerned, to render the position untenable, that in the one way we may have the succession in the strictly royal line, the legal heirs to the throne of David (Matthew's), and in the other (Luke's) the succession of our Lord's real parentage up to David. So that, were this view tobe accepted, we should have Christ's legal right

to the kingdom established, by the list in the one table; and by that of the other, the direct chain which connected Him with the person of David. This is substantially the view that was adopted by Calvin, though not originated; for he refers to some as preceding him in the same view. It was first, however, fully brought out, and vindicated against the errors involved in the current belief, by Grotius. In opposition to that belief, which owed its general prevalence to the authority of Africanus—the belief that in St. Matthew we have the natural, and in Luke the legal, descent—Grotius remarks, "For myself, guided, if I mistake not, by very clear, and not fanciful grounds, I am fully convinced, that Matthew has respect to the legal succession. For he recounts those who obtained the kingdom without the intermixture of a private name. Then Jechonias, he says, begot Salathiel. But it was not doubtfully intimated by Jeremiah, under the command of God, that Jechoniah, on account of his sins, should die without children (ch. xxii. 30). Wherefore, since Luke assigns Neri as the father of the same Salathiel, a private man, while Matthew gives Jechoniah, the most obvious inference is, that Luke has respect to the right of consanguinity, Matthew to the right of succession, and especially the right to the throne—which right, since Jechoniah died without issue, devolved, by legitimate order, upon Salathiel, the head of the family of Nathan. For among the sons of David, Nathan came next to Solomon."

This view has lately been taken up, and at great length, as well as in a most judicious and scholarly manner wrought out by Lord Arthur Hervey, in a separate volume. The work as a whole is deserving of careful perusal. On this particular part of the subject he reasons somewhat as follows:—First of all, since St. Matthew's table gives the royal successions, as far as they go, one can scarcely conceive why another table should have been given, unless it were that the actual parentage of Joseph did not properly coincide with that. If Joseph's direct ancestors, and Solomon's direct successors, had run in one line, there had been no need for another line; since having already the most honorable line of descent, there could have been no inducement to make out an inferior one. But, on the supposition that a failure took place in Solomon's line, and that the offspring of Nathan (the next son of David) then came to be the legal heirs to the throne, another table was required to show, along with the succession to the inheritance, the real parentage throughout. A second consideration is derived from the prophecy of Jeremiah already noticed, in which it was declared concerning Jehoiakim, "He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David" (ch. xxxvi. 30); and again, of Jehoiachin or Jechoniah, the son, who was dethroned after being for a few months acknowledged king, "Write ye this man childless, for no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah." After such explicit declarations, it is not conceivable that these men should yet have been the parents of a seed, out of which was at last to spring the ultimate possessor of David's throne. A third consideration is supplied by the names found in both tables immediately after Jehoiachin. It was precisely there, that the lineal descent from Solomon was broken; and there, accordingly, the two tables again coincide; for the next two generations the names Salathiel and Zerubabel occur alike in both tables—brought in, we may reasonably suppose, from Nathan's line, to supply the place of Solomon's, when it became defunct, and so are connected with Solomon's line by Matthew, but with Nathan's by Luke. So that, the line being traced by one Evangelist through Solomon, by the other through

Nathan, the double object is served. of showing Christ to be at once David's son and Solomon's heir, the latter being the type of Christ as David's immediate son and heir. And thus also the genealogy of the one Evangelist supplements that of the other, by showing the validity of the right of succession as traced by Matthew, since Joseph was Solomon's heir only by being Nathan's descendant.

A collateral confirmation is obtained for this view in certain double genealogies which occur in the Old Testament Scriptures; the one having respect to the parentage, the other to the inheritance. One of the most remarkable of these is that of Jair, who, in 1 Chron. ii., has his genealogy ranked with the house of Judah, being the son of Segub, the son of Hezron, the son of Pharez, the son of Judah. By Moses, however, he is always called the son of Manasseh (Num. xxxii. 41; Deut. iii. 14, 15), and is represented as having come to the possession of a number of small towns in Gilead, which he called Havoth-Jair, *i. e.*, the towns of Jair. A notice in the genealogy of 1 Chron. ii- 22–23 explains the discrepancy. We there learn that Hezron, his grandfather, in his old age married the daughter of Machir, the son of Manasseh, who bare him Segub, and that Segub begat Jair—while Ashur, another son by the same marriage, had his inheritance in Judah. So that Jair, by his real parentage, was a descendant of Judah; though, in respect to his inheritance, and, no doubt, in the reckoning of the public registers, he was of the tribe of Manasseh. Another example is found in the case of Caleb, who, in the earlier records, is always called the son of Jephunneh (Num. xiii. 6, xiv. 6, etc.), and is reckoned of the tribe of Judah; while yet, it would seem, he did not originally and proberly belong to that tribe: for in Josh. xiv. 14 he is called "Caleb the son of Jephunneh *the Kenezite*," and, in ch. xv. 13, it is said that Joshua "gave him a part among the children of Judah, according to the commandment of the Lord to Joshua." If he had by birth belonged to that tribe, there should have been no need for a special commandment appointing his inheritance to be given out of what fell to that tribe; this would have happened to him as a matter of course; and both, therefore, on this account, and from his being called a Kenezite, we are led to infer that, not by birth, but by adoption, he had his place and portion fixed in the tribe of Judah. But, in order to this, he must be reckoned to some particular family of that tribe; and, accordingly, in the public genealogy given in 1 Chron. ii. 18–20, the paternity of Jephunneh is dropt, and that of Hezron, the son of Pharez, the son of Judah, put in its stead: "And Caleb, the son of Hezron, begat children of Azubah, his wife, and of Jerioth," etc. It is probable that one or other of these wives belonged to the family of Hezron, and that Caleb became, by marriage, connected with it; while afterwards, on account of his steady faith and resolute behavior, he had the honor conferred on him of a special allotment in the tribe of Judah.—We have thus the interesting fact brought out, through these comparatively dry details, that Caleb was originally a stranger, probably a native of Egypt, or an Arab of the Desert, but that he joined himself to the Lord's people, and was not only counted of the seed of Jacob, but became one of the most distinguished heads of its chief tribe."

We can very cordially recommend Dr, Fairbairn's book, and should it be published by our friends, Messrs. Smith & English, as they contemplate, and may now have it in pro-

gress, we think the purchasers of it will not consider their money wasted, or the publishers fail to obtain a just remuneration.

ARTICLE IX.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Zwingli: or the Rise of the Reformation in Switzerland. A life of the Reformer, with some notices of his time and contemporaries. By R. Christoffel, Pastor of the Reformed Church, Wintersingen, Switzerland. Translated from the German by John Cochran, Esq. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38, George Street. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. Dublin: John Robertson. Philadelphia: Smith & English.—1858.

A full and instructive biography of the great Swiss Reformer. No one will think, however ardent his veneration for Zwingli, that his merits are not adequately set forth. Some may think that the praise is overwrought. The controversy between him and Luther, and particularly the celebrated Marburg Conference, turds out very differently, according to the theological predilections of the narrator. The warm admirer of Luther will not willingly receive as infallible, the account in these pages of that transaction; it will require some allowance from him, The narrative is very full and documentary, in regard to the controversy between Luther and Zwingli, and embraced under the heads: "Doctrine of Zwingli and of Luther in regard to the Lord's Supper; the Idiosyncrasies and different developments of their minds; origin of the strife about the Lord's Supper; how the contest regarding the Supper broke out, and with what reasons Zwingli rebutted the objections of Luther against the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The different manner in which Zwingli and Luther conducted the contest; the result of it; the attempts at union." In such controversies we must expect divergence in the accounts given of them. It is, therefore, best fo read both sides, and then form an independent judgment. The translation reads well—the book deserves perusal.

Bengel's Gnomon, noticed in a former number as in a course of publication in a translation into English, with important additions, is now finished. We are exceedingly gratified that this great work is now accessible to the English reader. Although a Lutheran Commentary, it is

in high favor with all English Divines. Smith, English & Co. are agents in the United States. The subscription price is $8,00; by mail prepaid, $10,00.

Stier's Words, or Discourses of our Savior, can now be had from the same house. It is complete in eight volumes. The translation is made from the second edition of the original. Having announced before, the great value of this work, we add nothing more. Smith, English & Co.

The Sinlessness of Jesus: an Evidence for Christianity. By Dr. C. Ullmann. Translated from the sixth German Edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. Sold by Smith, English & Co., Philadelphia.

Soon after the first appearance of this profound and luminous treatise which its title imperfectly represents, it fell into our hands. It was published first in the celebrated journal, of which Dr. Ullmann has long been a leading editor, the Studien and Kritiken. We regarded it then as a masterpiece. It was received with uncommon favor in Germany, and has been very much enlarged, and published in a separate form. Its popularity in Germany has not diminished, and it is often quoted as a standard production. It cannot fail to meet with a favorable reception in its English dress.

The Baptist System examined, the Church vindicated, and Sectarianism rebuked. A review of Dr. Fuller and others, on Baptism and the terms of Communion. By Rev. J. A Seiss, A. M. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz, 151 Pratt Street.—1858.

We took occasion to speak with favor of Mr. Seiss' work, when it first appeared, some years ago. Its value is very much enhanced in the present beautiful duodecimo edition of four hundred pages. It has been generally re-written, considerably enlarged, and is designed to be a *resume* of the whole conrroversy. "The aim of the author has been, to produce something more than is to be found in the ordinary and small treatises on the subject, and something less elaborate and scholastic than the larger works which are seldom found outside of the libraries of the learned." The work is divided into three parts; the first embracing a full discussion of the Baptist system, the second entering more particularly into the subject of Infant Baptism, and the third is an examination of the terms of communion as practiced in the Baptist church. We have no doubt in reference to the ready circulation the work will receive.—When the former edition was exhausted, there were frequent orders for the book, and in a short time more than a thousand copies could have been sold. We are confident, too, that the production will add to the

reputation of the author, who has, with his pen, already rendered great service to the church. The publisher has executed his part in admirable style, so as to render the volume very attractive.

The New York Pulpit in the Revival of 1858*: A Memorial Volume of Sermons.* New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co.—1858.

This volume, which is designed as a memorial of the Great Awakening during the past year, in the city of New York, is composed of Sermons contributed by ministers of different denominations, and on subjects appropriate to the circumstances for which they were prepared.—Among the authors we recognize the leading Divines of the great metropolis of the Union. Although the discourses were called forth in the ordinary ministrations of the pulpit, they present the truth as it was earnestly and pungently preached at a time when God was manifesting his power, in the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the churches.—They exerted an influence when delivered, in turning men from the error of their ways, to the love and service of the Redeemer, and it is to be hoped that their mission for good may be continued.

Sermons of the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, of London. Fourth Series. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co.—1858.

The author of these sermons has produced the greatest sensation, wherever he has preached, and his works have had an extraordinary circulation. At this we are not surprised, for whatever may be the defects of the discourses, they are earnest, bold and strong, abounding in striking thought, and full of warm, glowing, evangelical appeal, and rich, felicitous illustration. Spurgeon's ministry has been attended with the most remarkable success, and all will be interested in reading the truth, as presented by him to his own congregation, which was owned by God in the conversion of such a multitude of souls.

Select Discourses by Adolph Monod, Krummacher, Tholuck and Julius Müller: Translated from the French and German, with Biographical Notices, and Dr. Monod's celebrated lecture on the delivery of Sermons. By Rev. H. C. Fish, and D. W. Poor, D. D. With a fine steel portrait of Dr. Monod. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co.—1858.

The design of this volume is to introduce to the acquaintance of English readers generally, several celebrated authors, whose writings have already, in some directions, had a wide circulation. Dr. Monod's name is familiar to European Protestants, as a devoted, faithful, evan-

gelical Pastor, a prince among preachers, and the most finished orator of his day. For many years he also filled a Theological Professorship in the Reformed Church of France, during which period he wrote the most of his valuable publications. He died in 1856. His discourses in the volume on Woman, and on the Temptation of Christ, are regarded as among the best and most eloquent of his productions. His Lecture on the Delivery of Sermons, which is appended, has also been much admired. Dr. Krummacher is known in the United States. The son of the author of the celebrated Parables, he was brought to a saving acquaintance with the truth, by contact with certain humble day-laborers, who had read and been enriched by the writings of Gerhard Tersteegen. He has labored successively at Barmen, Elberfield and Berlin, having been called to the last place by the King of Prussia, as Court-preacher, with some five thousand souls under his charge. His published writings are numerous—several volumes of sermons, a refutation of Rationalism, a system of Christian Doctrine, Last Days of Elisha, Elijah the Tishbite, the Martyr Lamb and the Suffering Savior. Dr. Krummacher is a man of undoubted piety, exercises great influence over the king, and is considered one of the most eloquent divines living. The sermons here presented are on the Temptation of Christ—the object and agent in the temptation—the onset and the arms in the temptation—the demand and the promised reward—the last assault and the issue of the contest—the peril and safety of the church—and the believer's challenge. Dr. Tholuck's name has long been before the American public. He was born in 1799, so that he is not far from sixty years of age. He is of humble extraction, and labored while a boy as a jeweler, until aided by some friends, in his efforts to secure an education. He was, in early life, strongly inclined to Pantheism, from which he was rescued, principally through the influence of the learned Neander. When brought under the saving power of the Gospel, he determined at once to devote himself to the study of Theology. At the age of twenty he became Professor at Berlin, and at twenty-seven was appointed Professor of Theology at Halle, where he has ever since continued. Mainly through his efforts was this venerable seat of learning delivered from the rationalistic sentiments which were for a season so prevalent. Dr. Tholuck has a high reputation as a scholar and a lecturer. He is a laborious student, writes for several religious periodicals, composes elaborate works, and preaches at least once a fortnight to the members of the University. His publications are voluminous, consisting principally of Commentaries and Sermons. His discourses selected for this work, on the Betrayal of Jesus—the Christian life, a glorified childhood—the Touchstone of Human Hearts—and the Father drawing men to the Son—will give the reader some idea of the originality and freshness of his thoughts, and the fervor and richness of his eloquence. Of Dr. Julius Müller perhaps there

is less known. He was born in Silesia, in 1801, studied at the Universities of Breslau and Göttingen, and first entered upon a course of Law, which, after many struggles, was abandoned for the study of Theology. Under the direction of such men as Neander and Tholuck, he reached a firm and peaceful faith, and in 1825 became Pastor at Schönbrunn and Rosen, where he remained some years. He has labored successively as Professor at Göttingen, Marburg and Halle. As an author, he has a high reputation. His great work is "The Christian Doctrine of Sin." He is a contributor to the "Studien and Kritiken," and has written an able reply to Strauss—also a work in defence of the Evangelical Union against the attacks of exclusive Lutheranism. In his Theological views he occupies the same position as Neander, Nitzsch and Tholuck. He is a man of devoted piety, earnest character, practical wisdom, and profound erudition. He is, at the present time, one of the chief attractions at the University of Halle. His discourses, in this work—on the superior might of God's servants—the walk of Christ upon the waves—the relation of religion to business—the longing for home—appear for the first time in an English dress, and show how the gifted author presents the truths of the Gospel from the sacred desk. The volume is altogether a most interesting one, and not a few readers will gladly welcome this addition to our religious works.

The American Educational Year Book. February, 1858. Boston: James Robinson & Co., 119 Washington Street. pp. 252. 8vo.

The first volume of this work was published in 1857. Its publishers have endeavored to procure statistics of some of the most prominent educational institutions in the country, sketches of learned societies, and brief outlines of the different plans of public instruction pursued in some of the large cities of the United States. The design of this publication is excellent, and it contains a great deal of very valuable matter. It is, however, still susceptible of much improvement. The College statistics out of New England are exceedingly meagre, and private schools are almost unnoticed. To remedy these defects is, however, necessarily a work of time. But a fair commencement has been made, and it remains for teachers and the friends of education, to supply what is wanting. In the meantime, no teacher, nor, in fact, any one who desires to have clear views of the state of education throughout our country, can afford to be without this "Year Book."

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ARTICLE I.

THE NEW TESTAMENT BISHOP, A TEACHER.

Till I come give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine.—1 Tim. 4: 13.

These words are, at once, the most comprehensive and critical definition of the duties of a minister of the Gospel. We recognize in them the characteristic difference between a Gospel minister, and a minister of the Law. Here he is a priest, there a preacher. In the former economy the minister stood behind the altar, and through days, and months, and years, and centuries, offered the spotless lambs of the people of God—until the day when God should offer his own lamb; neither prophesying nor preaching, only offering sacrifices. But in the latter economy, the minister stands before the altar, the last typical sacrifice has been offered, and with it, has forever disappeared the priest. Sacrifices are, indeed, still offered; but only as consequences, not as antecedents of forgiveness of sin.

The text clearly sets forth the *didactic* nature of the ministerial office, under the new dispensation. *The minister is to be a teacher.* The very frequent recurrence of this idea in the pastoral epistles, proves that it was both true and important. Writing to Timothy, Paul uses such language as this: I. 4, 11; "These things command and *teach.*" (13) "Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, *to doctrine.*" (16) "Take heed unto thyself *and unto the doctrine.*" (5: 17) "Let the elders who rule well be counted

worthy of double honor, especially they who labor *in word and doctrine.*" (6 : 2) "These things *teach* and exhort." Tit. 2 : 1. "But speak thou the things which become sound *doctrine.*" (15) "These things speak and exhort and rebuke with all authority."

That teaching is the New Testament minister's special work, is evident from the warnings given to Timothy and Titus. Tim. 4 : 7. "But refuse profane and old wives' fables"—"doting about questions and strifes of words"—"perverse disputings of men : from such withdraw thyself"—"avoid profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science, falsely so called"—"charge them before the Lord, that they strive not about words to no profit, but to the subverting of the hearers." "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth"—"but shun profane and vain babblings"—"foolish and unlearned questions avoid"—and to Titus he says : "give no heed to Jewish fables and commandments of men."

The Scriptures are urged on Timothy, mainly on the ground of their efficaciousness in the teacher's hand. "They are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness," and thus it is that "the man of God is perfectly furnished unto every good work." Having such a magazine of arms and armor and ammunition, Timothy is charged to preach the doctrine, by reproof, rebuke, exhortation and patient teaching ; or, to paraphrase the text, these were the Scriptures which, in his calling as a teacher, he should read in the church, expound and enforce.

I will only cite two facts more, to show how prominent and characteristic teaching is of the ministerial office. Among the qualifications of a bishop, mentioned by Paul to Timothy, in his first and second epistles—"aptness to teach," is specially included ; for while he enumerates many Christian virtues : such as blamelessness, vigilance, self-restraint, comity, hospitality, integrity, holiness and generosity, forbidding covetousness, iracibleness, drunkenness, stubbornness and a controversial spirit ; as necessary or desirable for bishops, the same are also enjoined as qualifications of deacons and deacons' wives, and even private Christians ; but "aptness to teach" is no Christian grace ; many possess it who are not Christians, and many are Christians, who do not possess it. This, therefore, among the marks of a bishop, is a diacritical mark, designating and defining his proper sphere of duty.

If any fact could give additional force to the inference from what has already been adduced, it would be this word of Paul to Timothy, in his second and last letter: "And the things that thou hast heard of me, among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also." Here we have the whole question of ordination in a single verse; it is to be applied to believers who are competent to teach, because teaching is *the* work of the ministry. When Christ ordained the twelve to their missionary work, it was "to preach the kingdom." In prosecuting this part of their mission, their miraculous powers were only the symbolical language of their healing mission, and a recommendation of it. Publicity was to be the marked feature of their work, as it had been of their Master's work. When Peter is enjoined to give proof of his love, it is by feeding Christ's sheep, i. e., instructing the church. The final commission to the apostles of the church, was *a teaching commission.* When Paul justified himself to the Ephesian elders, he did it on the ground, that he had declared to them the whole counsel of God, both in his public and in his private teachings; and the chief point of his solicitude, when charging them, was in reference to their teaching. He foresaw, what has been fulfilled a thousand times since, that heresiarchs would arise from the clerical ranks, and pervert men from the truth; and to meet such, and counteract their influence, Paul commends the elders to the efficacious and edifying word of God's grace.

How strongly didactic the Gospel dispensation is, may be further inferred from the fact that even the deacons, such as Philip and Stephen, who possessed the aptitude to teach, became ministers of the word. The same seems to have been true of Presbyters, whose first duty was to rule.

The following are some of the reasons why we believe that teaching is the characteristic work of the New Testament minister: This supposition gives the best explanation of the titles "teacher," and "master," as applied to Christ. He was the fountain-head of the didactic succession. It offers the best explanation of the commissions to the apostles, to proclaim his truth to the ends of the world, as the means of establishing the kingdom of God. In the light of this idea, we can best understand the gift of tongues at Pentecost, and in the succeeding age of the church: that every nation, in its own language, might hear the wonderful works of God. This explains the missionary tours of Paul and Peter, Bar-

nabas and Silas, Philip and Stephen, when they entered houses, schools and synagogues, to fulfil their mission. This thought is the key note of Paul's charge to the elders of Ephesus. It is the central idea of the pastoral letters to Timothy and Titus, accounting for the frequent recurrence to "sound teaching," the equally frequent admonitions against false, foolish and contentious teachings; the peculiar eulogy on the Scriptures, as introduced there; the rite of ordination, the history of Stephen and Philip, and the characteristic marks of a bishop, as one "apt to teach," holding fast "the faithful word," and "the form of sound words," "rightly dividing the word of truth," that he may be able by "sound doctrine," both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers. Such is the chief officer of the New Testament; a teacher first, and last, and always and everywhere, and chiefly, if not only.

The subject and nature of the teaching, may be gathered from the terms describing it. It is called "the kingdom of God," "the kingdom of heaven," "the Gospel," "the Gospel of Christ." The same is meant when it is said that Philip "preached Christ to the Samaritans," or "Jesus unto the eunuch;" and Paul "showing that Christ was the Son of God," "proving that Jesus was Christ," and "preaching Jesus and the Resurrection," was teaching the same thing. So too, "the preaching of the cross," and "Christ crucified," describe the Christian minister's theme. Sometimes it is spoken of as "the truth," "the words of truth," "the grace of God," "the faith," "the mystery of faith," "the mystery of godliness," "the doctrine which is according to godliness." "the doctrine of God our Savior," "the word," "the faithful word," "wholesome words," "the form of sound words," "sound doctrine," "sound speech," These are some of the terms by which the sphere of "the man of God" is bounded. You will observe here, in the very language describing the minister's office, is involved his duty. If it were known only as "the Gospel," or "the grace of God," proclamation would be enough, and a herald could do the work; but it is called "the word," "the truth," and "the word of truth." It is "sound doctrine," and "the doctrine of God our Savior." It is "wholesome words," as opposed to sickly words. Now truth and words and doctrine are the peculiar province of the teacher. The teacher is a "doctor," his teachings are "doctrines," and his teaching is "indoctrinating;" and all these things are brought about by words. How

appropriate that "aptitude to teach" should be *the* mark of a minister of *the word.* Teaching, then, being the proper work of the minister, let us inquire into his qualifications. In the school room, teacher and master are synonymous. So too our Bible translates the Greek word for "teacher" by the English word "master." The root of the word master is "most," meaning one who has the most of all, more than any body else. The Latin "magister" has for its root, the comparative of "much," meaning one who has more than another. The Hebrew for master means "much," and for scholar "little;" all teaching the truth: that the master must know. The master, says the Hebrew, must be "much;" "more" says the Latin; "most" says the German. This superiority must be genuine, not assumed; it must be intrinsic, not official. It is a mockery and a fraud, for one who is inferior, to assume to teach his superiors. It is a futile and pernicious attempt to suspend or annul a fundamental law of God. To the capable, by a divine right, belong place and power; and whether we infringe on this right, in church, state or school, the divine statute avenges itself. If sciolists control our schools, ignorance and impudence will shame the land. If wicked rulers fill the throne, men will hide themselves, and the land mourn; and if the church ordains novices and instals impotence, she must look for "dotings about questions" and "strifes of words," for "babblings, and foolish and unlearned disputes." The teacher, then, must be of robust mind, capable of laying hold of truth and error both; drawing the former from her deep well, and dragging the latter from her dark haunts. If a man have a vision to tell, he may tell it but if; not, he has no right to take the name and the place of a prophet. The physician who knows no more of disease than his patients, is justly branded with the stigma of quack; but what shall we say of him, who takes the name of a teacher, and yet knows not as much as his pupils. He preaches not so much from a pulpit as from a pillory. Of such a preacher it may be said, possibly, as David said of Ahimaaz, "he is a good man, and cometh with good tidings," but discreet men will rather adopt Joab's language—"wherefore wilt thou run my son, seeing thou hast no tidings ready?" A weak ministry may be less wicked than a hireling ministry, but it is doubtful whether it is less hurtful. The source of its weakness may be threefold. It may be because of inadequate endowments and acquisitions; the want of the power of expression; or it may be from the

most serious cause—a want of spiritual life. It is not enough, then, that the preacher be in advance of his hearers, in those matters which pertain specially to his work; he must also possess the faculty of making his superior endowments of mind, knowledge and grace available, for their strength, intelligence and piety. It is difficult to define the nature, or measure the power of the didactic faculty. The genius of teaching is as much a peculiarity, as the genius of painting. It is not enough for the artist to conceive one of Raphael's cartoons, he must execute it, if he would be called a painter. So the teacher must not only have thoughts, and good ones, but he must be able to tell them, and tell them much better than any one else, or he is no preacher, nor called to preach. Some minds think in the forms of instruction, and feel in the modes of persuasion. They are natural teachers—so natural that the smallest stock of knowledge, some seven items in their hands, like the Chineze puzzle, assume a thousand different, yet intelligible and instructive shapes. It may be that his knowledge is all in a bundle of anecdotes, but he weaves them into such a magic web, that his audience are entranced. His genius shines through all, and like Angelo, his heads, though done with charcoal, are heads of Jupiter—so awful, so impressive, so divine. His capital may be only Scripture texts, but so potent and cunning is his genius, that these utterances of God are reared into a temple of truth, sublime in its proportions, and full of religious light. Or it may be that, without a fund of secular parables, or sacred texts, and possessed only of a lively experience of Christ in his heart, he shall unfold his soul with a force that shall confute sceptics, and instruct the learned. Such are some of the manifestations of the teaching gift, and no one, who has sat under the ministrations of this talent, but has felt its force, and will be ready to admit, that to teach in the highest of all schools, the preacher must have some of it, or must not preach.

One more quality must enter into the character of the New Testament minister, since he is to be a Gospel teacher. *He must share the Gospel grace.* Origen was right, the Bible has an occult sense, a hidden meaning. It uses the words of time, but it teaches the principles of eternity. Its sounds are earthly, but they have a heavenly echo. Its colors too, like the rainbow, reach from earth to heaven. It needs a spiritual vision to see the spiritual colors; a spiritual ear to hear the spiritual sound; a spiritual heart to understand its spiritual meaning. If a minister does not know these spirit-

ual truths, how can he teach them? They are foolishness to him, how then can he make them wisdom to his hearers? Plainly then, a preacher of the Gospel must be imbued with its spirit, before he can be entrusted with its message. Without this, he may be a teacher "apt to teach," but never a Gospel teacher. Never a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing "the word," i. e., the Gospel of Christ. The practical duties which belong to the office of a Gospel teacher, are well summed up by Paul in these words: "doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness."

The first duty then, of the preacher, is doctrine—instruction. Diffusing knowledge in divine things. Disseminating religious truth. Appearing among his people, with his mind filled with knowledge. In discharging this part of his office, he is as a sower going forth to sow. In his hand should be both abundant and good seed. It cannot be supposed that in assuming to sow truth, he should go forth with error, or in undertaking to sow a field, he should not carry seed enough for a garden. The field of the minister is the world, and the very ignorance of men of the world, as to their present and full duties, makes it necessary that a large supply of knowledge should be laid up in the preacher's mind for use. It is true, a man can teach without knowing much. But how can he teach? A piece of barren land can grow grain, but how much, and how good grain can it grow? There is just as much difference between the pupils of a superficial or a profound teacher, as there is between the products of a thin soil and a deep one. Teaching is a vital process. The teacher must energize his pupil's mind, stirring up its hidden forces. The man that does not think, cannot make others think, and if hearers do not think, they cannot feel, and if they do not feel, they do not learn. Preaching is not merely *uttering* wisdom, but it is *communicating* it. Now a superficial, spiritless preacher, is no preacher at all; he is a babbler. It may be said, many hearers cannot understand profound thoughts, recondite speculations, intricate reasonings, hard words—perhaps not: but will men learn to think deeply, by hearing shallow preaching? or will they learn to reason long and closely, by listening to sermons that contain no reason at all? But suppose that some of a congregation cannot understand everything of every sermon, yet there will be some who can, and our plan should be, rather to raise the ignorant and weak, than to lower the intelligent and strong.

The kingdom of God is a monarchy, in talent and power, though a democracy in privileges and motives. Everybody is commanded to enjoy the means of knowledge, but only some succeed, and only a few rule, and only one is the highest. Now it is the minister's duty to preach something for all; but also, so to preach that his best hearers will always have something to grow on. One educated, thoroughly furnished hearer, is worth more to God and the church, than a dozen of weak, indolent and unthrifty listeners. Now we say that a sermon that goes down to the bottom of a man's mind, is the best sermon. Such a discourse raises the whole soul. Such preaching is like subsoil ploughing, contributing to the moisture, freshness and richness of the soil. If a discourse makes a man think, and sends him home thinking, he has grown. He has put another ring to his trunk, another fibre has come out from his root, another bud has swollen on his topmost branch. Opinions are like fashions; the few invent them, the many wear them.

The second duty of the minister, is reproof—that is, conviction by argument. This term brings clearly before us the rational nature of a preacher's work. This thought has already been alluded to, but it deserves further notice. Man is a rational animal. Reason and understanding are just as much a part of his nature, as are conscience and will. Man's freedom implies that he is to be dealt with by arguments. The whole economy of nature is arranged with reference to man's rationality. Instinct, which governs and guards brutes, is comparatively weak in man; and as his intellect and years increase it grows weaker; and in heaven, I think, he will have none at all. His reasoning powers are his means of livelihood here, and his resources for preparing for a hereafter. If, then, the search for and comprehension of that better life is commended to reasoning creatures, should not the instruction, which the preacher gives them, be addressed to their understanding?

Nothing is more characteristic of an awakened interest in religion, or any other important subject, than an inquiring, reasoning, debating state of mind. Never are the prospects of the church more encouraging, than when good people and bad people begin to reason. From the collision of the mind with truth, the sinner with law, results are sure to follow. I love to read those parts of our Savior's life, where questionings arose among his hearers. Some good was sure to

follow. Equally interesting to me, are the disputations of Paul. When he encounters the Jew in the Synagogue at Damascus, or on the temple stairs; when he pleads before Felix or Agrippa; when he enters the school of Tyrannus, or the Agora at Athens, and reasons with his hearers, and makes them reason, I know something will follow. It always is so. The stormy times of the Reformation were times of deep conviction, earnest and even angry disputation. The days when Cromwell's soldiers filled up the leisure of their campaigns by reading and debate, were the palmy days of Puritanism. Let the minister, therefore, aim at conviction—conviction of truth, of error, of sin, of death. Let him bring his people face to face with duty and law. Let him tie them to the truth by bands of logic. Let him load their understandings with arguments. Let him reduce them to the dilemma of sinning in the face of argument; of doing wrong in the light and presence of right. Let the hearer go home feeling that if he will sin, he must do it willfully, and with an effort; and, I assure you, the fruits of such preaching will appear decidedly, somewhere.

A third duty of the Gospel teacher, is correction—setting things right. The preacher finds a world ignorant and indifferent, needing instruction and conviction; but he finds too, a world full of wrong, and therefore needing to be set right. After all that has been said on this subject, it need not be argued that this world is very much out of order, and very much bent on wrong. "There is none that doeth good, no not one." Look through your neighborhood, who is perfect—look through your city, take into your survey the whole human family—not one. Now to be a reformer, a minister needs much sound wisdom. He must be a profound student of the principles of men's thoughts and feelings. He must be far and clearsighted. He must know more than his neighborhood or church. He must know men and things. He must be conversant with the history of men. The race is a unit, a living whole. It develops itself under the same great laws of God. To know its past, is to predict and guide its future. The law of right is the same, the heart is the same, motives are the same, the Holy Spirit is the same; but all else is changed, all else is changing. Art, science, literature, social, civil and political life, customs, laws and manners.

Now the preacher must use the *old* law, the *old* motives, &c., but he must apply them to the *new* circumstances; ap-

plication then, is the preacher's point of departure. Hence plainly he must "preach to the times." Each age, each country, each church and each individual exhibits a particular phase of sin. It is ever the same old sin, but always a different phase; the old fact, with a new face. Now it is formalism, now sectarianism, then covetousness, then pride, then pleasure. Selfishness has as many Awatars as Vishu. Now, as a physician, should the minister prescribe for the hand, when the eye is sick? or for the stomach, when the patient is lame? The Pharisees were formalists, hypocrites and covetous; what should Christ preach to them? Herod a debauchee, what should John the Baptist preach to him? The Romish church presented a different problem to Luther, from that which the English church offered to Whitfield. The preacher, therefore, in setting things right, it seems to me, ought to take hold of the things which are wrong, and not the things which are not wrong.

The fourth duty of the minister of the Gospel is, to instruct in righteousness. When men's minds have been enlightened by knowledge, convicted by argument, reformed from sin, then they must be educated in holiness. This is the minister's last and best work, and I think I may say for all of them, this is their most grateful duty. It is so pleasant, so sweet, so full of all comfort, to go in and out with your people in peace, not so much correcting their faults as commending their graces. Nothing can be more painful for a minister of the Gospel of peace, than to feel that his hearers, and especially his people, think him their enemy, because he so frequently must tell unpleasant truths. He would so much sooner always preach the precious promises of God, than even occasionally proclaim the terrors of the law, if you kept the law, or tried to keep it, or wished to keep it. The beauty of holiness is so much more consonant with his feelings, than are the deformities of sin, that he would never tire in unfolding its charms, encouraging to its practice, and dwelling on its future inexhaustible felicities. The Song of Solomon is pleasanter to him, than the burdens of Isaiah; or even the lamentations of Jeremiah. Does he love to prophesy evil? Does he love the terrors of Hell? Does he love to be a man of bitterness and strife and contention? Oh no, not at all, not at all; but he must preach these sharp things, and he can only do it, and does do it, because he loves your souls, and because his Savior loves you too. If it were not for this, he

would instruct you evermore in righteousness. He would delight to lead you "in green pastures, and by still waters,"—with the voice of the gentle shepherd of Israel ever in your ears.

If in this popular sketch of the proper work and qualifications of a New Testament bishop, we have represented the truth, as it has been revealed in the pastoral letters, and in the apostolic history and practice, then some plain and important inferences follow, as to the endowments, natural and gracious, which should be sought in those who "desire the office of a bishop;" the intellectual training, which they should receive and the theological discipline demanded by this work. No demand for ministers ever can be so urgent, as to justify the introduction into the ministry of unqualified persons. No exigency will excuse sudden "laying on of hands." An important and efficient mode of increasing the ministry, is to make it honorable. A thoroughly furnished preacher of the Gospel, next to the spirit of God, will incite the most men to this work. A good minister turns his church into a training school for the church of God. We think too, that if the above is anything like a correct view of the minister's official duty and qualifications, it throws important light on his relations to his parish. It suggests the limits of his duties to his people. We all know that there has grown up a sentiment or prejudice, in our time, which makes a distinction between the pastoral and the didactic office of the minister. So morbid has this feeling grown, that even the minister's wife is included in the bond of her husband's duties, as a pastor, though, we believe, never as a teacher, albeit the apostle Paul, however minute as to the duties of deacons and deacons' wives and bishops, never says a word about ministers' wives. Have people in our day supplemented this hiatus in inspiration concerning ministers' wives' duties? saying *so much*, because the Spirit said *so little*, and shall we follow men, or shall we follow Paul?

We would, in the light of the preceding discussion, venture the remark, that the exacting demands upon the minister, as a pastor, rather than a teacher, are superstitious and papistic, proceeding on the assumption that he is better, and is bound to be better, than other Christians, and that his visits and prayers are better than those of other good people; and that his "virtue" is so abundant, that it passes even to his wife, so that, as a minister's wife, her prayers and her visits are more

saving than the prayers and visits of any other good Christian wife. We think if "the pastor" were, in some degree, to retract within "the teacher," that the membership would be more "pastoral," and the minister, instead of, in some sense, "serving tables," might give himself more fully to "the word and prayer." The constitution of a working Christian church is drawn out in Rom. 12: 4—8. That is the standard toward which minister and people should labor. That would give us the right men, in the right place.

ARTICLE II.

THE SABBATH.

By Rev. A. H. Lochman, D. D., York, Pa.

Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.—Ex. 20: 8.

Among all Christian nations, we find one day out of seven set apart, for rest from the ordinary employments and pursuits of life, and for the worship of God.

The necessity and importance of such a day, even for the State, in reference to moral, as well as intellectual and physical culture, has been acknowledged by the wisest and best of statesmen.

Experience has clearly established the fact, that a people uninterruptedly engaged in the pursuits and enjoyments of the world, will gradually lose a feeling sense of their dependance upon and obligation to their Creator, forget their high and endless destiny, and sink into immorality and licentiousness.

Experience has likewise abundantly corroborated another fact, viz., that both the faculties of the mind and the energies of the body, require a day of rest, to recruit their exhausted strength. Hence the kind and benevolent Creator has appointed such a day for the welfare and happiness of his creatures. For the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath.—Mark 2: 27.

I am well aware that many are of the opinion, that the appointment of this day rests upon human authority. That it was set apart by wise and sagacious statesmen, for the welfare and recreation of the people. If this were the case,

how did it happen, and whence did they conceive the idea of appointing precisely the seventh day, or the seventh portion of time? Why not the sixth, or eighth or ninth?

No, He who created man, with all the powers of body and the faculties of his mind, also knows whether any and precisely how much time is necessary for him to rest and recruit his exhausting energies, both of body and mind. To dwell upon his high and exalted destiny, and to adore and worship his Creator.

And he has appointed the seventh day, or the seventh part of our time for this purpose, immediately after the creation of man. For we read, Gen. 2: 2, 3, "And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made: and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it: because that in it he had rested from all his works which God created and made."

God here designed to show that man also should labor six days, and rest from his labors on the seventh. This is clearly to be inferred from the commandment he gave on this subject on Mount Sinai, Ex. 20: 8, 11—"Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work. But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son nor thy daughter, thy man servant nor thy maid servant, nor thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates." And in assigning the reason for this rest, God clearly intimates that he, in the beginning, set apart the seventh day. "For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is, and rested on the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it."

God, however, not only rested on the seventh day, but hallowed it, invested it with a special honor, set it apart from all other days, for holy and sacred purposes.

The recognition of such a day we find again, Ex. 16: 23. "This is that which the Lord hath said: To-morrow is the rest of the Holy Sabbath unto the Lord."

And when God gave the commandments on Mount Sinai, he did not first give instructions in reference to a day which they should keep holy, but speaks of it as appointed long before, as a matter of which they had long been cognizant—remember *the* Sabbath day. We maintain, therefore, that this day is not of human, but of divine appointment.

Some are of the opinion that the day originally appointed by God, was designed merely for the Jews, and that the obligation to keep one day out of seven holy unto the Lord, ceased with the abrogation of the ritual observances of the Jewish polity, and that, consequently, the observance of a particular day is a matter of mere expediency. In opposition to this view, we remark:

First. If the Sabbath, or day of rest, were a matter of mere human appointment or of expediency, and not intimately interwoven with the plan and purposes of God, in regard to the welfare and salvation of the human race; the due remembrance of it would long since have passed away, or would, at best, be only associated with the records of antiquity. We remark,

Secondly. This day was set apart from the beginning, while our first parents were yet in a state of innocence, and consequently before all the ceremonies of the levitical law, and was, no doubt, designed for the whole human race.

Thirdly. This institution stands upon the same footing as that of marriage. Marriage was appointed before the fall, but as it was designed for the whole human race, it existed after the fall, before and under the law, and after its abrogation, and although the institution itself may have been enshrouded with various ceremonial observances, and many and severe penalties annexed to the violation of it, still the abrogation of these ceremonies and penalties, could in no wise affect or annul the original institution. The same may be said of the Sabbath, although through the Levitical law, many ritual observances may have been united with it, which were only designed for and obligatory upon the Jews, yet the putting away of these observances could in no wise affect the original institution; we maintain, therefore, the perpetual obligation of keeping one day out of seven holy unto the Lord.

Lastly. We remark Jesus Christ teaches us expressly, Mark 2: 27, the Sabbath was made for man. Not for our first parents, nor for the Israelites, under the old covenant merely, but for mankind in general, under all circumstances, in every age.

It may, however, be objected here, that the seventh was the day originally set apart, whereas the first day is now universally observed by Christians. Is not this contrary to the design of the Almighty? Have you any express command for the change of day? We answer unhesitatingly No; we

have no express injunction for the change. But we have reasons and arguments sufficient to convince every sincere and candid inquirer, and to justify the Christian church in its observance of the first day of the week.

1. God in his wisdom has appointed the seventh part of our time to be specially set apart, for rest from the ordinary employments of life, and for his worship. Now if we observe the first day, we employ the same portion of time in the manner required, as if we observed the seventh day.

2. When God gave the commandment, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy," he appears to have made a distinction between the Sabbath itself, as a divine institution, and the day on which it was to be observed. The Sabbath, as such, is to be kept holy. We are to remember the Sabbath the seventh part of our time, without any special reference to the particular day. For if we examine the commandment, we will find that the words "remember," "blessed and hallowed it," have a special reference to the ordinance, and not to the day on which it was to be observed. It is not written, remember the seventh day, but remember the Sabbath day. Nor is it written, "wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day and hallowed it," but "wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it."

3. As God rested on the seventh day from all the works which he had made, the Sabbath was specially set apart for the contemplation of his glorious attributes, as displayed in the works of creation. If, however, afterwards, a work was performed which more gloriously displays the perfections of the Deity, we should presume at least that the day on which this work was completed, should be kept as the holy day, in order that this greater work might be continually kept in remembrance, and that the children of men might have a clearer, more glorious exhibition of the character of Jehovah, and be penetrated with a deep and an abiding sense of their obligations to him.

But the work of redemption is unquestionably greater and more glorious, than that of creation. And as Jesus Christ arose from the dead on the first day, and by his resurrection has finished, crowned and sealed the great work of the world's redemption, we should judge that this day would be the most appropriate for Christians to observe as the day of rest, the Sabbath, the Lord's day. And this appears to have been the opinion of the Lord and his disciples, for

4. We have the example of Jesus and his apostles in confirmation of the observance of the first day.

On the evening of the day on which he arose from the dead (the first day), as the disciples were assembled, Jesus appeared in their midst with the salutation, "Peace be unto you."—John 20: 19. This circumstance, in itself, might perhaps furnish but little proof for the change from the seventh to the first day, but when taken in connection with the twenty-sixth verse, "And after eight days again his disciples were assembled," it affords presumptive evidence that from the time of his resurrection, Jesus and his disciples kept the first day instead of the seventh; and if we follow the example of our Lord and his disciples, we will not be in danger of erring in reference to this or any other duty.

5. The first day was also particularly singled out and consecrated, by the extraordinary effusion of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles. It was the day on which the Gospel was first preached, with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven with such manifest power that three thousand were converted. It was then that God honored, set apart, and hallowed the New Testament Sabbath.

6. And lastly, the keeping of the first day of the week is intimately interwoven with the history of the church in every age, from the days of the apostles unto the present time. In every age, in all Christian lands, the first day has been kept as the day of rest, the Christian Sabbath.

But how is this day to be kept?

This brings us to consider the due observance of the day. And here we remark:

1. We are to refrain from the ordinary occupations of life.

This was the express command of God in reference to the Sabbath, under the Jewish dispensation. "On it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man servant, nor thy maid servant, nor thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates."

But the moral law contained in the ten commandments, has never been annulled. Jesus tells us, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets, I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil."—Matt. 5: 17.

And it is specially worthy of note, that when Jesus made this remark, he must have had a particular allusion to the moral law of the commandments, for he immediately enters upon an exposition of some of them, as, for example, Thou shalt not kill (v. 21), thou shalt not commit adultery (v. 27).

This also appears to have been the sense of the church of Jesus Christ in general; for the ten commandments are found in the Catechisms of all denominations of Christians.

If, therefore, the moral law of the commandments remains in force, then we also are bound, on this day, to abstain from the ordinary pursuits of life. We, our sons and daughters, our servants and our cattle.

This, in itself, exerts an important and salutary influence upon our moral sensibilities, and will lead to profitable reflection. When the busy marts of business are closed, when the sound of the workshop is not heard, when the plough rests in the furrow, when all is hushed in quiet, when old and young have laid aside their soiled garments, and decked themselves as if for some festive scene, is it not calculated to call forth profitable reflection, and to excite emotions of a calming, hallowing character? Does not this very fact loosen the grasp with which so many fondly cling to earth, and seem to whisper to them, you are in this world, not merely to eat and drink, and amass riches, but for a higher and nobler purpose, to contemplate and prepare for your eternal destiny.

Were men continually engaged in an uninterrupted routine of business and toil; were no day appointed on which the anxieties, and labors, and pursuits of business were suspended, they would become so wedded to, and entangled with the concerns of this world, that nothing could call their attention and affections away from these to something higher, holier and enduring. If there were no day on which we were called to abstain from the ordinary occupations of life, there could be no public worship of God, and how, without this, could the holy doctrines, the sublime precepts and sacred ordinances of the religion of Jesus Christ, be kept in continual and lively remembrance.

In the nature of things, then, if there is a necessity for the appointment of a day for the worship of Almighty God, for the serious contemplation of our destiny for another world, and for attending to the interests of our immortal souls, there must consequently be a cessation from the ordinary business of life.

Works of necessity, charity, and mercy are, however, not forbidden on the Lord's day.

What we are to understand by these, and what works come under this category, the Savior gives us distinctly to understand, Matt. 12: 10. When the Savior was about to heal a

man who had a withered hand, the hypocritical Pharisees murmured, and asked him, is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath day? To them he replied, what man shall there be among you, that shall have one sheep, and if it fall into a pit on the Sabbath day, will he not lay hold of it and lift it out? How much then is a man better than a sheep? And again, Luke 13: 11—15. When he healed a woman which had a spirit of infirmity for eighteen years, and was bowed together, and could in no wise lift up herself, he replied to these sanctimonious Pharisees, "Doth not each one of you loose his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away to watering, and ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan has bound, lo these eighteen years, be loosed from this bond on the Sabbath day?"

Therefore, it is not only lawful, but a duty, to help the distressed, to succor the needy, to visit and wait upon the sick, and the like, on the Lord's day, as well as any other time. But to gather in the harvest, because you fear the weather may become unfavorable, to engage workmen under the plea you have no other time, to pay social and pleasure visits, to look over and cast up accounts, post your books, to write letters on business, to read the secular papers of the day, and things of this sort, are not only inappropriate, but also sinful on the Lord's day.

Here I cannot refrain from adverting to and reprobate a practice which obtains to a great extent in some sections. Many persons, and even members of the church, single out the Sabbath to visit their friends and acquaintances. One day they meet at this house, and the next they meet at another place. Great preparations are made for a Sunday feast. The servants are all engaged in making suitable provisions for the company. They eat and drink, and engage in light-minded, frivolous, and even sinful conversation; canvass the character of their neighbors, laugh at and ridicule their more conscientious acquaintances, who attend the services of the sanctuary. Thus one Sunday after another is spent. Will any one say this is right; this is spending the day in a becoming and profitable manner? I think not. Such persons not only deprive themselves of the privileges and blessings of the sanctuary, but also keep others away, who might perhaps go, and rob their domestics of a day which God has instituted for their good.

Again. The Lord's day ought not to be spent in idleness and laziness.

There are many who, from conscientious scruples, or from fear of sacrificing the good opinions of their fellow-men, will refrain from engaging in their ordinary business, or from performing any manual labor, but who feel no scruples of conscience in spending the day in lounging about in the house, in strolling over the fields, in attending to matters about the barn, or in sleeping away the half of the day. They scarcely ever attend the public worship; they scarcely ever read their Bible, or any religious book. If they read anything, it is a political paper, or a ludicrous story in an Almanac, or a work of fiction. Of what advantage is the day of the Lord to such? Nay, instead of being an advantage, they turn it into a curse, for they incur the guilt of desecrating a day which God requires to be kept holy.

Again, much less should this day be devoted to sinful amusements and wickedness.

This is done to an alarming extent. Scarcely has the day commenced, when they clothe themselves in their best style, seek for their companions, and then sally forth. You may see crowds on steamboats, on the cars, in pleasure gardens, in public houses, and hear the merry song, the boisterous laugh, the witty jest, the low and vulgar remark. Many whose families are in the most needy circumstances, thus spend their hard-earned wages of a whole week's toil, and return in the evening, to maltreat and abuse their families.

It is true, we have but little hope of reaching such, and of benefiting them; for such scarcely ever purchase, much less read a book, which might be useful to them. But it might, nevertheless, in the providence of God, be the case, that perhaps a father might put this book in the hands of a prodigal son; or a friend might lay it in the way of a friend, and that through the influences of the blessed Spirit, one or another might be brought to reflect upon his course, and turn from the evil of his ways unto God.

Or if this result be not attained, perhaps some one who is in danger of being enticed by evil companions, may take warning, and be kept from ruin, which may God in mercy grant.

Again, it is our duty, on this day, regularly to attend, and devoutly to engage in the public worship of God.

The public worship of the sanctuary has a greater and more extensive influence than the generality of men are willing to admit.

It exerts a general influence upon the community at large. It moulds public sentiment, as well as the moral and religious feeling of the community.

This is sufficiently apparent when we contrast the state of things in this respect, in the community where public worship is constantly maintained, and regularly attended, with those communities where there is either no public worship, or where it is neglected by the mass of the people.

The public worship of God has, however, also a special salutary influence upon individuals. By it the remembrance of God, of our dependence upon and obligations to him, are kept in lively remembrance. The great plan of salvation is vividly portrayed, salvation freely offered through Jesus Christ, our duties towards God, ourselves and our fellow-men, not only set forth, but enforced by every consideration which can have any weight. There the understanding is enlightened, conscience awakened, the heart touched, and wooed and won for Christ. The apostle knew full well the importance and necessity of public worship. Hence he exhorted believers of his day, Heb. 10 : 25, "not to forsake the assembling of themselves together as the manner of some is."

But how many are there, who either neglect public worship altogether, or at least attend only occasionally. Such seek to excuse themselves in a variety of ways. Either they don't feel as well as they might wish, or it is too cold, too hot, the roads are rather bad, they can't well leave home, circumstances require their presence in the family. If, however, it were another day, and they had any important business, or if they could make a profitable speculation, think you that any or all of the excuses alluded to, would keep them back? I tell you, no.

Others say there is nothing which we can learn in the house of God, which we do not already know; and yet an indifferent speaker, and a man of ordinary attainments, may utter many useful and important truths; he may revive impressions which may have been slumbering for a long time in your mind, and unexpectedly recall you to a sense of your duty.

Another replies, I can worship God in my closet, and read the Bible in my dwelling, and ponder over important truths, at my own fireside. But the question is, do you do this? are you not prevented by a variety of obstacles, which continually present themselves? Does not experience teach us that our soul is more easily warmed into devotion, and the

affections more readily called forth, and holy aspirations excited, when we are engaged with our fellow-men in the exercises of God's house?

Who, then, would neglect this sacred duty, and deprive himself of so exalted a privilege? Is it not a wise and gracious provision of the church, made by the great Head of the church, Jesus Christ himself? He who absents himself from the house of God, neglects an important duty, robs and cheats his own soul of its wholesome influences, gives a bad example to others, and cannot keep the day in an appropriate manner.

Again, we are not to neglect private devotion in our families on the Lord's day.

A part of the day should be spent in devotional exercises, in holding communion with God. This is a duty which should not be neglected on the other days of the week; it is, however, specially appropriate on the Lord's day. On this day we have more leisure, we are not so liable to have our thoughts distracted, and our minds called away by the interruptions of our secular calling. The sacred stillness that prevails around us, and the idea that thousands of our fellow-mortals are engaged with us, in the same holy exercises, cannot but have a quickening, enlivening, hallowing influence upon our spirit, and aid it in its aspirations heavenward, and in commingling its notes of praise and voice of supplication with those of thousands which ascend to the throne of all grace.

This day is, however, also peculiarly calculated for sober and profitable reflection and meditation. Everything around us seems favorable to the performance of this duty; we ought to reflect, and seriously to meditate upon our condition and character; upon the being and attributes and works of God; the plan of salvation through Jesus Christ, and our duties in the various relations of life. Especially ought we to read and meditate upon the word of God, to call to our aid works on practical and experimental piety, and lay to heart and seek to experience the power, and practice the duties of our holy religion.

Finally, on this day we ought, in imitation of our Divine Master, to improve every opportunity of doing good. He healed the sick and visited the distressed. He taught us by his example, and enforced it with "wherefore it is lawful to do well on the Sabbath day." A variety of opportunities of doing good on this day, present themselves. We may persuade others to attend the services of God's house on this day, and

thus bring them under Gospel influences. We can engage in the Sabbath School, and hunt out many children whose parents are thoughtless and careless, and induce them to attend. We may visit the sick, relieve the distressed, cheer the widow and the orphan in their affliction, and thus, in some humble degree, imitate the example of our Lord.

And now we pray you to consider, lay to heart, and practice what, in much imperfection, we have said in reference to the sanctifying of God's holy day, and may God in his infinite mercy and goodness, dispose your hearts and give you grace to remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy.

ARTICLE III.

A WANT IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH MET BY THE FOUNDING OF THE MISSIONARY INSTITUTE.*

By Prof. R. Weiser, President of Central College, Des Moines, Iowa.

On an occasion like this, when the Corner-Stone of a Missionary Institute, the first of the kind in the United States, is laid, it would seem our duty honestly to examine the merits of such an enterprize. This we will do in the light of the history of the church, and of the Bible. We live in an age of improvement, and if we wish to advance in the church with the spirit of improvement in the world, we cannot be governed by what our fathers did. We must strike out into new channels of Christian enterprize, in order to develop the energies of the church.

The Lutheran church always has been, and is now, and we hope ever will remain, an educated and an educating church. The founders of our church in Europe were all learned men; many of them were giants in intellect, and vast magazines of learning; by their wisdom and genius they revolutionized, not only the church, but also the world of letters. As ministers of the Lutheran church, we would be untrue to that church, if we would seek to reduce the standard of education, especially in those who minister at her altars, and who are to

* An Address delivered at the laying of the Corner-Stone of the Missionary Institute, Selinsgrove, Pa., September 1st, 1858, and published by request of the Board of Directors.

carry forward her enterprizes, when we have gone. But still as we consider the knowledge of God of more importance than mere human wisdom, we will, on this interesting occasion, endeavor to show you the paramount importance of sound theological knowledge, and genuine piety in ministers of the Gospel.

In advocating the claims of the Missionary Institute, we shall be obliged to glance at the history of the Lutheran church, and present the trials and conflicts through which she has passed. The Institution has naturally and spontaneously grown out of the wants of the church. The Lutheran church has a history which may be divided into four periods, viz :— 1. The age of revolution. 2. The age of progress and conquest. 3. The age of theoretical symbolism, and 4. The age of conflict between symbolic orthodoxy and true piety, or between high churchism and experimental religion. To each of these periods we will now call your attention, and from the facts elicited, we will illustrate the truth of our position.

I. *The age of Revolution.*

This age in the Lutheran church may be dated from Oct. 31, 1517, when Luther nailed his famous ninety-five theses upon the church door at Wittenberg. Leo X. was then slumbering in security at the head of the church, little dreaming that an obscure monk, in a distant province in Germany, was then laying his plans to shake the whole Papal church to its very centre. No sooner was the clarion voice of Luther heard, than the nations of the earth who had been sighing and groaning for liberty of conscience, were startled as from the dead; and they rushed in crowds to the standard of the truth, which he had erected. From the apostles' times there had always been those who stood up bravely for Jesus. There had been pious, holy ones, in every age of the church—like beacon lights, they were scattered all along the path of the church, sometimes, indeed, standing out in bold relief, like bright stars in a dark night—and the very darkness by which they were surrounded, only increased the splendor of their virtues.

The church of Christ was ushered into the world amid a revival of religion; for it was not fully organized until after the three thousand were converted on the day of Pentecost. The promises of the Savior to his church have never been ignored. The gates of hell were not to prevail against his

church; and they never have prevailed, and they never will. Heaven and earth may pass away, but not one jot or tittle of his word shal ever fail. The nations of the earth may be convulsed with revolutions; earthquakes may shatter and engulf half our globe, planets may forsake their orbits, and rush with maddened fury through the immensity of space; blazing comets, in their eccentric courses, may dash the satellites of other systems into pieces, and scatter their fragments like snow flakes over the wide domains of God, but his promises concerning his church can never fail. This is a precious, a comforting thought to his people, and its truth has been verified in every age of the world. From the age of the apostles to that of Constantine the Great, the church passed unscathed through the fires of ten pagan persecutions. Her walls were cemented with the tears, and the blood of her martyrs. Never did the church achieve such triumphs as when her martyrs suffered and bled, and died. The great founder of his church, Jesus Christ, led the way in this baptism of blood. During the first three hundred years, the church was blessed with the labors of the apostles, and the Lord's disciples—all holy and pious men—who were full of the Holy Ghost and of faith. These men, too, were deeply versed in the theology of the heart. Some sects, to support their errors, contend that they were not learned men, but ignorant and uneducated. It is true, they were not learned in the liberal professions, but they were men of good common education, and sound sense; they were also somewhat advanced in life, for Peter and some of the others had families before they were called to the ministry. Then, too, it must be remembered that these men were under the tuition of the Great Teacher for nearly three years. And what are all the advantages we now possess, even in our best theological seminaries, compared with theirs? What would we not give if we could now go directly to Jesus, as they did, and ask him to explain some of those dark and hidden mysteries that have perplexed the church for ages? But we have Moses and the prophets, and the writings of Jesus and his apostles, and with these we must be content. We may not now sit at his feet, like Mary, or touch the hem of his garment, like the poor afflicted widow, but, by faith, we can still approach him. With these advantages, we should vastly prefer the education of the Lord's disciples, to our own. They were not required to spend years of toil and labor in acquiring the Greek and Hebrew languages—these were vernacular. So

also they had not to study the manners and customs of the Jews; nor had they to study huge systems of dogmatic theology. The immediate successors of the apostles, shared very largely in their advantages. Hence Father Clemens Romanus, Ignatius and Polycarp, who were cotemporary with the apostles, were learned men, possessing great advantages over their successors, and hence their views of Christianity should have great weight with all the followers of the Lord. Then come Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Clemens of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, and Cyprian, all bright and shining lights in the church, and most of them among the most learned men in the world. During this period the fires of ten Pagan persecutions blazed forth in every province of the Roman Empire. Yet the church grew and multiplied. There were many, too, who were not so learned, yet they were useful. In the year 306 Constantine ascended the throne of the Cæsars, and then the church had peace. But no sooner were the fires of persecution quenched, than the more pernicious fires of religious controversy were kindled, and those fires have blazed on for ages, and, I suppose, will blaze on, until they are extinguished in the full light of the millennial glory. As controversy increased, true piety declined. The clergy, nursed, and fostered, and pampered in the arms of the State, became indolent, carnal and ambitious. The church of Christ never received a severer wound, than when she was united with the State. It was an alliance over which angels wept, and devils shouted a jubilee in hell. Nearly all the persecutions that the church of Christ has ever inflicted upon herself, has grown directly out of this union. From the year 306 to 606, the church had her trials and her conflicts. Error was often in the ascendancy, but, "Truth crushed to earth shall rise again." The church groaned under her severe trials, instead of leaning on the arm of her beloved, she leaned on an arm of flesh. Still God did not, even in that dark period, leave her without a witness. She was still graven on the palms of his hands, and dear as the apple of his eye. During this dark period, God raised up a Lactantius, famous for his learning, his piety, and his eloquence; who labored hard to roll back the tide of ignorance and sin; also an Athanasius, famous for his firmness and his piety, who stood firm amid all the errors of the Court. We see too, a Basil, a Hilary, an Ambrose, a Jerome, and an Augustine, the brightest star in the whole moral firmament. These holy and

pious men kept the fires of true piety burning upon the altar of God, from generation to generation. About this time commenced the workings of the mystery of iniquity. The Roman Catholic defection dates from 606. This was the year in which the Bishop of Rome was declared universal Bishop. With the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff commenced a system of errors of the most pernicious character. The worship of images was now introduced. Monkery was resorted to; the sale of indulgences; the power of priestly absolution, and the doctrines of purgatory; all to oppress and delude the people. Forms and ceremonies took the place of true spiritual devotion. *Like priest like people.* The great mass of the priests were ignorant of letters, many could not even read; their theological education consisted in committing written forms of prayer and the Mass to memory, and repeating them off to the people. Preaching was almost universally neglected; the Bible was nowhere to be found; even some schools of theology had no Bible. Andrew Bodenstein, or Carlstadt, declared that he himself was made a Doctor of Divinity before he ever saw a Bible. And Luther found one chained at Erfurth. In this age of gross darkness, called with great propriety the "dark ages," we still see a few glimmerings of light struggling through the dense mists of error and superstition. We see in the pious Anglo-Saxon Willebrord, the true spirit of missions exemplified. We see, too, many of the Christian virtues clustering around the venerable Bede, and the illustrious Alcuin. In Claude of Turin, Alfred of England, in Berengarius and Anselm, we see how the grace of God in a dark age can triumph, even over sin and error. God had his holy ones during all this long dark night of error. From 1095, the age of the Crusades, to 1517, the age of the Reformation, the church was, if possible, even in a more deplorable condition. Theological education was altogether neglected; Duns Scotus, Aquinas, and other schoolmen, took the place of the Bible. The philosophy taught was mere unintelligible jargon; the theology was nothing but the legends of saints. But time would fail us to point out the sad state of the church. Yet even in this ignorant and wicked age, the Lord had his holy ones; persecuted it is true, but still firm and unshaken in their attachment to their Lord and Master. Peter Waldo, John Wickliffe, John Huss, Jerome of Prague, and John Ziska—these were all faithful and true followers of the Lamb. But the darkest night must have an end. A dark, dark night of sin

and error had brooded over the church for a thousand years. Well may we here ask, must sin forever reign? must Pagan altars forever smoke? shall the human mind forever remain in bondage? shall the church of Rome forever trample under foot the ransomed of the Lord? has the Lord forgotten his promises? No, no! the day is beginning to dawn, the morning stars of the Reformation have risen above the horizon. Wickliffe and Huss flashed and blazed upon the world; the down-trodden nations of the world are looking for a brighter day. Just at the proper juncture of time God raised up Luther. His preaching produced powerful effects, such as had never been felt before in Germany. No wonder the people were carried away by his eloquence; his matter, his manner, his doctrines, were all different from any they had ever heard. The religion he preached was deeply imbedded in his very soul, his words flowed like honey from his lips, and fell like peals of thunder upon the hearts of his hearers. As a man and a preacher, take him all in all, he never had a superior, and perhaps never an equal. Luther's voice was sweet and manly, his elocution was faultless, his gestures easy and graceful, his powers of conception were rapid, his imagination vivid, his knowledge of human nature almost intuitive, his range of intellect vast and comprehensive, his piety fervent; add to all this a deep pathos, and an exuberance of feeling, a searching eye, and the zeal of a martyr, and you have the finished orator. Nature and art had combined their energies, and made Martin Luther altogether the greatest orator of ancient or modern times. And just such a man was needed for the crisis; until Luther rose, there was no power on earth that could cope with the church of Rome. Even kings and emperors had to bow in humble submission at the feet of the Pope. By his eloquence he shook the Roman church to its very centre. He feared no power on earth; Christ was his Master, and he acknowledged no other. The Bible was his creed, and he recognized no other authority.

This was indeed the age of revolution. Luther himself was learned in the Classics; his theology he learned from the Bible. Melanchthon too, was a learned man; he too, like Luther, drew his theology from the Bible and St. Augustine. There were many other learned men in the age of the Reformation; but the great mass of the Romish priests who went over from Rome to our church, were not learned in theology or anything else; and during the first decade of this stirring period, men had no time to study theology. In 1529 Luther

and Melanchthon visited the churches in Saxony and Misnia; they found such an amount of ignorance, not only among the common people, but also among the clergy, that they were induced to prepare the two Lutheran catechisms, the smaller and the larger; the one for the people, the other for the clergy. In this visitation they found many pastors so ignorant and vicious, that they had to dismiss them. Luther was a wise master-builder in the temple of our Lord, and on account of the ignorance and prejudices, many things were retained in the Lutheran church, that should have been rejected. As, for instance, the celebration of the Mass, private confession, the celebration of the Lord's Supper in one kind, and exorcism; also the retaining of pictures and crucifixes in the churches, and the wearing of sacred vestments, thus keeping up a popish distinction in the church of Christ, between the clergy and the laity, that is not only not recognized, but utterly rejected in the New Testament. All true Christians are recognized in the New Testament as kings and priests unto God. And Luther himself, in his famous address to the nobility of Germany, fully acknowledges the universal priesthood of all Christians. According to the New Testament, every Christian who has the ability, has the right to preach the Gospel; he has not only the right to do it, but it is his solemn duty.

When Luther died, in 1546, Melanchthon was, by almost universal consent, acknowledged the leader of the Reformation. Things became more quiet; the schools and seminaries prospered; Melanchthon prepared, even before Luther's death, his *Theologici Loci*, the first regular system of theology in the Lutheran church. The Greek and Hebrew languages were studied. Such had been the ignorance of the Romish priests, that we are told of one who preached against the Reformation, and in warning his people against the books of heretics, asserted that the Greek Testament was from the devil, and whosoever read the Hebrew, was sure to become a Jew. Much had been accomplished; the powers of Rome were shaken; light had been shed upon the masses of Europe; many souls had been converted. But alas! Luther had scarcely closed his eyes, until his misguided followers again kindled the torch of discord. The controversy on the Lord's Supper, which had already commenced, in Luther's lifetime, and which he looked upon as having been settled at the celebrated Conference at Marburg, was renewed, and raged fearfully in the church, until she was almost destroyed.

These controversies, it is said, broke the heart of poor Melanchthon, and he was in the habit of writing in the albums of his friends this sentence, viz: *A contentioso theologo libera nos, bone Deus—From a contentious theologian good Lord deliver us.* It is also said by one of his biographers, that after his death, a paper was found in his desk, which contained his reasons for desiring to leave this world, and says that he would then be delivered from the *rabies theologorum —the fury of divines.*

These terrible controversies destroyed the piety of the church, and led, in 1580, to the adoption of the *Form of Concord.* This was, of course, intended forever to settle the matter. But it only increased the contention. From this period we may date the age of contest between rigid symbolism and true piety. This has sometimes been called the iron age of symbolism, and is worthy a careful study. To say that there were no pious and holy men among strict symbolists, would be saying too much; for even good men are sometimes in error. Thus the sweetest singer in our Lutheran Zion, Paul Gerhard, was certainly a good and a holy man, and all must respect and honor his steadfast devotion to the symbolical books; yet we admire his devotion to the Bible still more. It was, after all, the Bible, and not the symbolical books, that made him savingly acquainted with Jesus Christ; and he would have been just as good and holy a man, if he had never seen the symbolical books. The fact is, we must remember that the great contest in our church, called Pietism, did not assume the form of symbolism and anti-symbolism. So far as the mere adherence to the symbols of the church was concerned, all parties seemed to be satisfied with them. But the contest seemed to be between theoretical and practical piety. John Arndt received the symbolical books, perhaps as cordially as his mortal enemy, John Corvinus, of Dantzig. Spener and Franke also received the symbolical books, but not in the sense in which their enemies and persecutors received them. During this polemic age, religion suffered immensely; Rome regained much of her lost territory. Is it any wonder? Rome had a far better show for her ancient dogmas, than the Lutheran church. Dr. Tholuck informs us that in this age, exegesis and practical theology were altogether neglected. The *Theologici Loci* were thrown aside, together with the Bible, to make room for "*Hutter's Loci Communes*," a work filled with dogmato-symbolism, and little of the Bible—full of patristic theology, but little of

the apostolic theology. The book of Concord, and not the Bible, was the umpire in all matters of doctrine. Exegesis and dogmatics were nothing more than weak attempts to justify the teachings of the symbolic books. Dr. Tholuck, in his history of the theology of the early part of the eighteenth century, says exegetical lectures were almost totally abandoned. Spener declares that he knew ministers who had spent six years at the University, and never heard a lecture on Scripture. How deplerable must have been the state of the church under such pastors! Gerhard says, "the most diligent church-goers live in open sin, and yet you dare not question their piety; and if you were to commend serious piety, they would call you a Pharisee or a hypocrite." Henry Muller, a pious divine, declaimed against the four dumb idols of the church, viz: "The Baptismal Font, the Confessional, the Pulpit and the Altar."

Ministers were not expected to be converted; all that was required was a correct external deportment, and a little knowledge of Rhetoric and Logic, with a thorough knowledge of the symbolical books. But such a state of things could not long exist. The Lutheran church needed another reformation. She could never accomplish her mission under such a system. God again raised up bold and fearless champions, who were able, with the hammer of divine truth, to demolish this lifeless orthodoxy. God raised up Arndt, Sebastian Schmidt, Dannhauer, Spener, Henry Müller, Breithaupt, Anthon, Franke, and others, who turned back the tide of worldliness and sin. And we bless God that these holy men were ever born, and permitted to labor in our church. Far be it from us, even to insinuate that there were no pious men in the Lutheran church before the days of Arndt. There were, even amid this dark night of symbolism, many devoted followers of the Lord in the Lutheran church. But we mean merely to assert, that with the preaching and writings of John Arndt, commenced a regular and systematic opposition to the lifeless orthodoxy of the church. Arndt labored and prayed faithfully to restore the church to her primitive apostolic condition. He encountered great opposition; he was charged with mysticism; when he preached on the necessity of regeneration, the old symbolical party insisted that the child was already regenerated in baptism; hence the doctrine of regeneration was looked upon by the symbolical party as heresy. Arndt may be regarded as the father of that form of Christianity which in Germany was called Pietism, in

England Puritanism, and which has been called Christianity in earnest. The next prominent laborer in this spiritual reformation of the Lutheran church, was Dr. James P. Spener, who was born in 1635. Though actuated by the same holy impulses which had influenced his illustrious predecessor, he directed his efforts in a different channel. Whilst Arndt labored to enlighten the ignorant masses, Spener with perhaps a deeper insight into the wants of the church, labored to improve the clergy, by instituting a better system of theology. In 1670 he published his *Pia Desideria*, the longings of the church for a better state of things. This work had a powerful influence in awakening the people and ministers to a sense of their danger and duty. He also wrote a series of practical sermons on the Lutheran catechism, and thus restored that excellent system of instruction, which had fallen into disuse. But the great work of this pious divine, was his agency in founding the University of Halle. He influenced the Elector of Brandenburg in founding this distinguished school, for the express purpose of teaching a better system of theology than was then taught in any Lutheran seminary. It was through the influence of Spener that Franke was appointed Professor at Halle. He was just the man for this great work; himself a man of talents and education, with a deep religious experience. Franke was assisted by Breithaupt and Anthon. This Institution was highly favored of God; it sent six thousand and thirty-two ministers into the church from 1694 to 1724, i. e. in thirty years—over two hundred a year. Taking the same number *per annum*, this Institution has sent out over thirty thousand ministers in one hundred and sixty-two years. What a blessing has it not been to the world and the church! Franke was not converted until after he was a minister; he entered fully into Spener's plans; the six thousand ministers who were sent out were all truly pious; they were scattered through the church; their influence was felt in India and in America; evangelical pietism took the place of cold orthodoxy; a new system of Biblical interpretation was inaugurated; missionaries were sent out to the ends of the world. In the early part of the eighteenth century, the University of Halle was the first Institution in the world, and it exerted an influence upon the church, such as no Institution had ever exerted before. This Institution was built in faith; it was consecrated by the prayers of Franke. No wonder, therefore, that the blessings of heaven and the benedictions of all good men have rested upon it.

The Lutheran church in America is deeply indebted to the University of Halle. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, the Father of our American Lutheran Zion, was educated here. The old orthodox symbolism of Germany fought long against the evangelical pietism of Halle. The contest was severe, and sometimes doubtful; at length the evangelical element triumphed, and symbolism was fairly driven from the field.

The next element of opposition to evangelical piety, was rationalism; this antagonism seems to have taken the place of the old symbolism. Hence the enemies of experimental piety always have, and do now, lay rationalism at the door of vital piety. This is on the same ground the Holsteiner lays the infidelity of his countrymen to the charge of the pious Claus Harms. It is true that, in the old iron age of symbolism, and farther back under the Papal system, when men were not permitted to think at all, there were few heretics. Rationalism grows out of the corruptions of human nature; and its great antagonist is experimental piety. And you might as well charge the Gnosticism and Nicolaitanism of the Apostolic age, upon the teaching of Christ and his disciples. The American Lutheran church was saved from the storms of rationalism that swept over the church in the Fatherland from 1780 to 1820. Whilst rationalism again reconquered the field in Germany, and poisoned even the University of Halle, our church in this country was safe. She multiplied, and God prospered her. Our church in this country, properly speaking, dates back to 1742, although it was in existence here for more than a century before. The spirit of evangelical piety that prevailed at Halle was inaugurated here, and became the prevailing element of our church. Although the symbolical books, especially the leading one, the Augsburg Confession, was not formerly rejected, yet we do not find that these symbols were overrated by the fathers of our American Lutheran church. They received the Augsburg Confession in the same way that it had been received by their fathers at Halle, i. e., as subordinate to the Bible, and receiving all its force from the Bible. The Lutheran church in this couutry, as is abundantly proved by the Liturgies, Hymn Books, the *Halle Annals*, and the other writings of the fathers, clearly set forth the evangelical tendencies of the fathers. Hence the system of interpretation of Scripture, and the manner of preaching adopted by Arndt, Spener and Franke, prevailed here. Mühlenberg, Kunze, Schmidt, Schultz, Heintzelman, Handschuh, Bager, the two

elder Kurtzs, and others, were all of this school. Helmuth, who was the first man in the Lutheran church in his day, may be regarded as the first theological school teacher in this country. Lochman and Schmucker the elder, were among his older pupils, and the greatest number of ministers of our church now in this country, were either educated by these men, or by their students.

Our Seminary at Gettysburg grew indirectly out of Dr. Helmuth's private Divinity school in Philadelphia, and all our other theological seminaries sprang from Gettysburg. The theological schools of Buffalo and Fort Wayne, are not of us; they are the pure representatives of the old rigid system of symbolic orthodoxy, perhaps somewhat modified by the spirit of the age. But we are not to flatter ourselves that the age of conflict between true pietism and symbolical orthodoxy is passed. True revivals of religion are, however, the best antidotes for forms and ceremonies. Strong efforts have been put forth in various quarters, to destroy the system of living piety in the church. A recently imported foreign element is now at work in our church, which threatens to drive us back, not to the system of our Halle forefathers, but to the system of rigid symbolism. Our seminary at Gettysburg and her daughters, have all been sound in the faith, and are now doing good. Why then, it may be asked, get up another institution for the education of ministers in our church? Why not rally around Gettysburg, and make her even more useful than ever? Can we not educate all our young men at the schools already in existence? To these questions we would simply reply, that ours is an age of progress, an age of experiments, the age of railroads and telegraphs, the age in which continents are chained together! Experience has taught us that our present mode of training men for the ministry is too slow; the churches in our connexion are outstripping the number of ministers; there is a vast disproportion between our churches and our pastors; we have twenty-four hundred churches, and only about eight hundred working ministers—three to one. This Institution is an experiment in this country, and is designed to meet a want that has long been felt in the church. It is not to be considered as a rival to other seminaries. It is, of course, intended to prepare ministers of the right stamp—not symbolists, but revival men, men who will stand on the foundation of Christ and his apostles. Nor is it the design of this Institution to lower the

general standard of ministerial education in our church. The founders of this Institution are themselves men of education, and they are well aware that the Lord requires different kinds of workmen in his temple. Whilst the church requires men of profound attainments to defend the citadel, she also needs sappers and miners, missionaries and working heroes, who may not be so learned, yet as useful as others.

The celebrated John Harris, D. D., an able theological writer of the present century, in a discourse on the opening of the Lancaster Independent College, says: "Our object is, not to furnish the student in divinity with the highest scholastic attainments; this the brevity of his term of study forbids; not to store his memory with facts and general information; mere scraps and driblets of miscellaneous knowledge are all the most diligent collector of facts could take away with him; but to furnish him with that mental training which is necessary to the intelligent and useful discharge of the Gospel ministry. Knowledge, indeed, he will be acquiring, during the entire process; knowledge of the most useful kind; but that which is more important still, is, that he will obtain the power of using it, and of augmenting it indefinitely. His capital in actual knowledge may be comparatively small, but give him the right mental habits, and his 'pound will soon gain ten pounds' in addition. Show him the importance of great principles, and give him the power of dealing with them, and you have done more for him than if you had deposited an Encyclopædia of knowledge in his memory. For he knows the principle of a truth, has in effect mastered all the facts and phenomena belonging to it. He who knows the principle of a truth, like the angel in the midst of the sun, stands in its centre and sees to its circumference.

Further, that education of the ministry which we advocate, is meant to correspond with the state of education generally. If there are some classes of the community, for instance, still comparatively unacquainted with even the rudiments of knowledge, we would not insist that their ministers should receive the highest educational advantages. And as there are such classes, we rejoice in the existence of some theological institutions in which men of God are qualified, by a comparatively elementary course of training."

God sometimes converts and calls men to the work of the ministry, when they are somewhat advanced in life. Who can doubt this? Such men, when they become converted, may be encumbered with families, and it would be impossible for

them to spend five or seven years in a college, and they may be intelligent, well educated, practical men; indeed, they perhaps have acquired more knowledge and practical wisdom in their extensive intercourse with the world, than most students ever acquire at college. Is not one of the great ends, aimed at in college, to impart practical wisdom, to make us business men, to prepare us for the active duties of life? Now when a man of this kind becomes converted, and has a burning desire to preach the Gospel, is he to be cut off from all hopes of ever entering the ministry, merely because he was not converted in his youth? And yet such men are now virtually cut off. It is true, some such have entered our seminaries, and have been, and are now, among the most useful working men in our church, but they entered our present institutions, and pursued their studies under great discouragements. The general rule, in all our existing institutions is, that all who enter the theological department, must be well prepared in the sciences and the languages, and we think the rule a good one. Men, therefore, who have not the required literary attainments, are, of course, regarded as occupying an inferior position, and this is the very reason why they ought not to be there. It is, therefore, not at all the design of the founders of this Institute, in any way or manner, to reduce the standard of theological education, It is merely designed to furnish facilities for pious laymen, who may not have had the advantages of an early education, and who may not have been called to the work of the ministry until somewhat advanced in life. Here men of this description will not feel as much embarrassed, as they would at another school. The very existence of this Institution will exert a powerful influence upon the pious and talented laymen of our church. It will be a perpetual call to the ministry. Yes, there are scores of pious laymen scattered over our church, who have been converted in the numerous revivals that have recently visited our congregations; they have long been thinking of the ministry, and they have long since been convinced that the Lord has called them, but there seemed to be no way opened for them. In the Methodist, or Baptist church, they would long since have been brought out, and been burning and shining lights in the church. Now their objections will all be removed, and I have no doubt the Holy Spirit will direct many of them to this Institution. That passage of Paul, "Wo unto me if I preach not the Gospel," will now ring anew in their ears, and give them no rest until they consecrate

themselves to the work of the ministry. The old system of preparing men for the ministry in our church, would seem to take it for granted that none are called but young men. This of course we do not believe. God always has, and even now calls men to the work of the ministry at various ages. Look at the past history of the church. John Calvin was a lawyer, and somewhat advanced before he was brought under the influence of the truth, and gave himself to the work of the ministry. John Bunyan was not converted until after he became the head of a family, and although he was no classical scholar, yet who would question his usefulness and his theological attainments? Thousands of our most learned Divines might sit with profit at his feet and learn theology. Look too at John Newton, one of the sweetest singers in Israel; he was nearly fifty years old when he was called to the ministry; his early education was very limited; he never had more than two years education, and yet the good he accomplished, no human mind can compute. He was instrumental in the conversion of Claudius Buchanan, Thomas Scott, Legh Richmond, Henry Martyn, Judson and Newell.—Look too at Andrew Fuller, who entered the ministry without any preparatory training, yet he became one of the most learned theologians of his own or any other age! Dr. James P. Wilson commenced his splendid career as an attorney, and yet reached a most prominent position in the Presbyterian church, as a theologian. Dr. Milnor, of precious memory, was also a member of the bar, and at the head of a family before he was called to the ministry, yet his praise is in all the churches. Yea, the history of the church is replete with illustrious examples of lawyers and physicians, merchants, farmers and mechanics, and even stage-actors, who in after life became converted, and entered upon the work of the ministry, and were eminently useful in the church. Why should it not be so again? For such this Institute opens her arms—such she invites. Is there anything wrong in this? Can those who think they can best glorify God by pursuing a different course, find fault with us?

It has been said by those who are not friendly to this Institution, that it must necessarily have a tendency to reduce the standard of education. Not at all. Has the missionary Institute at Basel, or the one at Creischona, still of a lower grade, or Gossner's Private School, still lower, had any such effect in Europe? The fact is, our Theological Seminaries can now elevate the standard of education, and will not

be compelled to abridge the regular course, in order to meet the wants of such men.

Although this Institution has been founded by Lutherans, and will be mainly supported by them, its doors will be opened to all, no matter with what churches the applicant may be connected. The Bible, and the Bible alone, will be the great text book of this Institution. We are, it is true, Lutherans, and we love the Lutheran church, and intend to labor for her prosperity while life endures; but we also love all God's people, and rejoice in the success of other evangelical denominations. We bid them "God speed" in the work of converting the world. We honor all churches. We thank God for the good they are doing, and we most cordially invite them to make use of this Institution, and to coöperate with us in the great mission of furnishing an evangelical ministry to meet the spiritual destitution that exists in the world.

ARTICLE IV.

"IS IT RIGHT TO BAPTIZE THE CHILDREN OF PARENTS NOT IN CONNECTION WITH ANY CHRISTIAN SOCIETY?"

By Rev. Jonathan Oswald, A. M., York, Pa.

In discussing this question, two things are necessary:—first brevity, and secondly, some latitude—some things merely hinted at, or passed over in silence, which logically, on the general subject of Baptism, or Infant Baptism, ought to have a place; and some perhaps noticed, which would *seem* at first sight, not necessarily to belong to the subject.

The query at the head of this article, has exercised the minds of serious men in our connection, and therefore merits serious consideration; yet is it far too general and *indefinite*, as the framers of it would no doubt readily admit, upon mature reflection, to permit of anything but a, perhaps, rather discursive article, to cover the whole, if possible, and to reach the difficulty, or answer the question intended—"Is it right?" &c. We will take it for granted, that by "right" is here meant, *is it scriptural?* and this latter, rather than the former word, the inquirers should, in this instance, have employed. The great standard to which to appeal in such a case, must be the Bible. Whatever is in accordance with it,

or is sanctioned by it, is "*right*," and whatever wants this sanction, is *wrong*. Our creed is not what the best men say, nor what the most men say, nor what Synods decide, but what God has declared in his own blessed word, which is the test that never fails—the balance that has no deceit—the rule that has no crookedness—the Judge that decides all controversies.

Again, in reference to the indefiniteness of the question, "Is it right to baptize?" &c., I may observe that the term or phrase, "Christian society," does not seem to be sufficiently churchly, by which I mean *Scriptural*, and upon close scrutiny, it becomes a grave inquiry—what is here intended by it? what does it mean? I suppose it has no reference to the church of Christ, i. e., *to the church general*, of which also, at least in some sense, all merely baptized persons are members. But does it refer to some *particular* church, as the Presbyterian church, the German Reformed church, the Lutheran church, &c., or to some *one congregation*, of some *particular* church, or branch of the church general? I *suppose* the latter is intended, but if so, it would have been safest and best to have said so at once, or to have stated the question so clearly, that there could have been no *supposition* in the case.

Finally: "Is it right to baptize the children of parents not in connection with any Christian society?" Now "parents not in connection with any Christian society," *might* be:—

1. Worshipers of the Grand Lama, of Brahma, or of Jupiter and all the Gods—might be very heathen. It is not *probable*, indeed, that such will offer their children for Christian baptism, yet it is *possible*. From all that I have ever been able to learn concerning the Gipsies, though dwellers in England, in Spain, in France and in Germany, &c., yet have they never amalgamated with any of these nationalities, in blood, or adopted their customs, or *their religion*; but after the lapse of centuries, are *heathen still;* yet a gipsy once brought her child to me, to receive this rite of the New Testament church, which, of course, under the circumstances, was refused.

2. Parents not in connection with any "Christian society," *might* be Mohammedans, or unconverted Jews; and if such requested baptism for their offspring, under all ordinary circumstances, compliance with such petition could not so much even as be thought of.

3. Parents not in connection with any "Christian society," such as heathen, Mohammedans, Jews, and unbaptized unbelievers, might have children, who might providentially fall into the hands of Christians, (has this never occurred in the history of the church?) and whether such professors of the Christian religion, might not consecrate those children (so entrusted to them) to God in baptism, is a question which my feelings, I believe the usages, perhaps I should rather say the *spirit of our church*, would lead me to answer in the affirmative. Nay, I will go a step further. When God instituted the rite of circumcision in the family of Abraham, he said: "This is my covenant, which ye shall keep, between me and you, and thy seed after thee; every man-child among you shall be circumcised. And ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin; and it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and you. And he that is eight days old shall be circumcised among you, every man-child in your generations, he that is born in the house, or bought with money of any stranger, he who is not of thy posterity. He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised: and my covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant."—Gen. 17: 10, 11, 12, 13. Now, if circumcision was the initiatory ordinance in the Old Testament church, as baptism is in the New, and if baptism has taken the place of circumcision, and they of the Abrahamic family were not only permitted, but *required* to circumcise those who came into their possession, though *not of their seed*, but Gentiles, heathen; then, too, are Christians under obligations the most solemn, to receive into the Christian church, children of whatever origin, whose bringing up, whose religious training is providentially and *solely* placed into their hands.

4. "Parents not in connection with any Christian society," may be, and in this country frequently are, such who were themselves baptized in infancy, and are, therefore, members of the church of Christ, i. e., of the church general, though not of a *particular* church, "Christian society" or congregation. Should such parents present their infant children for Christian baptism, is compliance with their request "right?" I answer in the affirmative, and I think by authority also, from that Book from which there is no appeal, especially if such parties consented, among other requirements, to embrace the earliest opportunity to do that which constitutes individuals members of *particular* churches and congregations, which

is, in fact and in effect, whatever the special forms and ceremonies, an agreement mutually made by Christians, to worship God together, in the same manner, and in accordance with the same principles; and to unite in the same fellowship and the same discipline.

But to proceed, baptism signifies in the sacred Scriptures, *suffering*. "But Jesus said unto them, ye know not what ye ask; can ye drink of the cup I drink of? and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?" "But I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how I am straitened till it be accomplished."—Mark 10: 38; Luke 12: 50.

Again, baptism signifies investiture or endowment with the miraculous powers of the Holy Ghost. "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance: but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire."—Matt. 3: 11; see also Acts 11: 15.

Finally, though the words Βαπτιζω and Βαπτισμα have no necessary connection with water, yet is baptism with water a sacrament, or rite of the New Testament church. "And as they went on *their* way, they came unto a certain water: and the eunuch said, see, *here* is water; what doth hinder me to be baptized? And Philip said, if thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. And he commanded the chariot to stand still: and they went down both into the water, both Philip and the eunuch; and he baptized him."—Acts 8: 36, 37, 38. And again: "Can any man forbid WATER, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we."—Acts 10: 47. Baptism with water, is then a *reality*. It is a divine institution. This has been denied by several classes of men in the history of the church. "Persons who deny the doctrine of the Trinity, or the satisfaction of Christ, are, in a sense, constrained to deny baptism also, in order to preserve consistency in their opinions. The command to baptize in, or into, the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is a plain, unanswerable exhibition of the doctrine of the Trinity. The cleansing with water, also, is too unequivocal a symbol of our spiritual purification by the blood of Christ, to suffer any rational denial or doubt;" hence the marvel is not, that they who deny these important and essential doctrines, should deny also, but the wonder is that they should at all admit, the institution of baptism. But if there have been those who

have denied baptism, in the proper sense, to be a *divine institution*, there also have not been wanting those who perverted this ordinance from what its divine Author had constituted it. Instead of a beautiful initiatory ordinance, they have made it essentially regeneration, thus "proclaiming a heresy as deadly and as mischievous, in its consequences, as its correlative and sister heresy, transubstantiation: for the party who makes baptism with water regeneration, does with one sacrament what others, who make the bread and wine the literal body and blood of Christ, do with the other sacrament. The one ascribes to the water the virtues which belong to the Holy Ghost; the others pretend to change the bread and wine into the Deity and humanity of Jesus. Both equally pervert signs by turning them into substances, instead of holding them as signs of great and precious truths." When in the progress of her history, the church, in the fourth century, became triumphant throughout the Roman empire, she suffered more from imperial favor, than amid the blaze of burning fagots. In the intoxication of her outward prosperity, she laid aside her robe of victory, and put on the livery of Cæsar, and all the seeds of the predicted apostacy, sown broadcast by Satan in the days of persecution, quickly produced, under the patronage of the State, a most disastrous harvest; and it is remarkable, that the first development of this apostacy, manifested itself in the universal perversion of the sacrament of Baptism. Eusebius, of this (fourth) century, speaking of the church of his day, said: "It looked like the very image of the kingdom of Christ, and altogether more like a dream than a reality. What so many of the Lord's saints and confessors before our time desired to see, and saw not, and to hear, and heard not, that is now before our eyes. It was of us the prophet spake, 'the wilderness shall rejoice, and the solitary place blossom as the rose;' whereas the church was widowed and desolate, her children have now to exclaim to her, 'enlarge thy borders, the place is too strait.' The promise is now fulfilling, 'all thy children shall be taught of God, and great shall be the peace of thy children.'" But all this dream of glory was a grand mistake. It was indeed but a dream. The apostolic church was now becoming, to a great extent, apostate. Many of the elements of popery were in full activity, and their first manifestations were in reference to baptism. Cyril, eminent in the church of that day, defines it thus: "Baptism is the ransom to cap-

tives, the remission of offences, the death of sin, the regeneration of the soul, the garment of light, the chariot to heaven, the luxury of paradise, the gift of adoption." New and superstitious rites were now added to it, and such, it is said, "was the universal confidence in the regenerative efficacy of this sacrament, *ex opere operato*, that vast numbers of converts, in order to enjoy the world as long as they could, delayed it to the hour and agony of death, and then were baptized as their passport to heaven. Among others was Constantine, as is shown by a medal with the relieve of that illustrious personage, bearing the inscription, 'NATUS BAPTIZATUS;' that is, born again by baptism. In fact, this beautiful initiatory ordinance had ceased to be what its Divine Author had constituted it, and instead, it had been caricatured into an amulet, an exorcism, a potent chemical drug that served as an antidote to sin, and a specific for regeneration." Milner, the historian, speaking of this century, says: "There was much outward religion, but the true doctrine of justification was scarcely seen; and real conversion was very much lost, and external baptism placed in its stead."

The question, however, at the head of this article, is, we may say in general, an inquiry after the *proper subjects* of baptism. We mean not, that the query itself is general, for it is not, (i. e., in intent, though far too indefinite in fact, as already shown) but our observation, and to meet the specific end proposed by the inquiry, we remark generally:

1. That all those who believe in Jesus Christ, and openly or publicly profess their faith in his name, are proper subjects for baptism. This, we apprehend, no one who receives the Bible, or acknowledges it as the word of God, will deny, but as not essential to the main inquiry, we dismiss it, without further consideration, and proceed to observe:

2. That the children of believers are Scriptural subjects for baptism. Inasmuch, however, as this is not the specific subject of inquiry, it might properly have been left altogether unnoticed in this place, but for one consideration, as we shall see presently, or if noticed, but for this one thing, it might have been dismissed with the single remark, that the infant children of believers should be baptized—"*Quia liberi Christianorum fœderis gratiae sunt participes, et ideo signis et sigillis hujus fœderis a liberis infidelium sunt distinguendi, et quia olim infantes mares Judaeorum circumcidebantur; etiam baptismus, qui in circumcisionis locum successit, infantibus Christianorum non est denegandus.*" The one

consideration which required a notice of this point, and which renders its summary dismissal improper, is derived from the fact, that it is *essential* to make good this position as preliminary to the main inquiry. Assuredly, if the infant children of believers may not be offered, or consecrated to the Triune God in this holy sacrament, then must we indeed look for proper subjects for baptism among infants in vain.

In support of the duty of baptizing children, (of course, we here mean, the infant children of Christian parents) the following reasons have been justly urged: that it is reasonable in itself, and in accordance with our best affections; that the analogy of God's dealings in past ages, is in favor of the doctrine of infant baptism. In all the covenants which God made with men, children were always connected with their parents. Thus it was with the covenants with Adam, with Noah, with Abraham and with David. God dealt favorably with the children of Lot, for their father's sake; and he declares himself a jealous God, visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, to the third and fourth generation of them that hate him, and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love him and keep his commandments. It is most unlikely then, that God, in the Christian church, has departed from the invariable economy of his dealings, and sundered the connection between parents and their children. Blessed be God, that in spite of Anabaptists and Antipædobaptists, (Baptists improperly so called) believing parents may consecrate their offspring to God in this holy ordinance, with the hope that living, they may in mature years be found of God, like Noah, just and perfect in their generation, or that, if like buds, they prematurely wither from their mother's bosom, they may meet them again in the New Jerusalem, amid the glories of the new heaven, and on the new earth, in whose habitations shall be no death, on whose winds shall be borne no sound of weeping, and in whose acres shall be no graves.

But though it is no part of our purpose, in this place, to argue this point specially for its own sake, yet we cannot in justice withhold the testimony of history having a bearing on this subject. Justin, who wrote about forty years after the death of the apostle John, says: "We have not received this carnal circumcision, but the spiritual circumcision; and we have received it by baptism." The Christian fathers considered baptism as having come in the place of circumcision, and such it would appear, from the quotation above made, must have been the opinion of Justin. The testimony of the

peaceful Irenæus, the great advocate of peace in a world of conflict, is, that "Christ came to save all persons who by him are baptized unto God, *infants*, and *little ones*, and children, and youths, and elder persons." Tertullian, who was contemporary with Irenæus, although he advises to delay baptism in the case of infants and unmarried persons, yet speaks most expressly of infant baptism as a prevailing and established practice. Origen, who was born within eighty-five years of the death of John, and was descended from Christian ancestors who must have lived in the apostolic age, speaks repeatedly and expressly of infant baptism, and declares that the practice had come down from the apostles. Subsequent to this period, infant baptism is mentioned often, and in the most positive terms, by all the principal Christian fathers, as Cyprian, Optatus, Basil, Gregory, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Jerome and Augustine. It is recognized in the acts of councils, as well as in the writings of individuals. It is represented as resting on apostolic example and authority. Indeed, the right of infants to baptism, was denied by no one in the primitive church, except those who rejected water baptism altogether. Pelagius, in his controversy with Augustine, had strong inducements to deny it; so strong, that he was reported by some to have done so; but he repels the charge as an injurious slander. "Men slander me," says he, "as if I denied the sacrament of baptism to infants." "I never heard of any, not even the most impious heretic, who denied baptism to infants." Dr. Wall, who has so thoroughly investigated the history of infant baptism, as to leave little to be done by those who come after him, assures us that the first body of men, of which he can find any account, who denied baptism to infants, were the Petrobrusians, a sect of the Albigenses, in the former part of the twelfth century.—And Milner says that "a few instances excepted, the existence of Anti-pedobaptism seems scarcely to have a place in the church of Christ, till a little after the beginning of the Reformation."

We have catalogues extant of all the different sects of professing Christians in the first four centuries—the very period in which infant baptism must have been introduced, if it were not of divine original—in all which, the differences of opinion which obtained in those times respecting baptism, are particularly recounted and minutely designated. Yet there is no mention of any, except those who denied water baptism altogether, who did not consider infant baptism as a divine

institution. Is it not certain, then, that infant baptism *is* a divine institution; that it is not an innovation, but was sanctioned by the apostles themselves? On this ground, and this only, all sacred and profane history, relating to the subject, appears plain and consistent, from Abraham to Christ, and from Christ to this day."

Having said thus much in reference to the proper subjects of Christian baptism, as preliminary to the main inquiry, I now remark:

3. *That infant baptism is, in the sacred Scriptures, confined to the children of believers, or of professing Christians alone*, which parents, of course, belong to the church general by baptism, and must almost necessarily be supposed to be in connection with some *particular* church, as heretofore defined, and *also with some congregation*, or "*Christian society.*" This position, I apprehend, covers, or is a sufficient answer to the question at the head of this article; and this, I maintain as alone true, "right" or Scriptural. The two exceptions to this, (as some might be disposed to call them) which I heretofore made, are not exceptions in fact, whatever they might seem to the cursory reader, for, in the one case, the parents do already belong to the church general by baptism, and enter into solemn covenant to observe all *special* requirements, and in the other case, it is *supposed* that God has *providentially* placed the children of aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, *into* the hands of Christians, and thus given them *these* in the *stead* of their natural parents. Is not this a fairly supposable case? May it not happen? Has it not often occurred in the history of the church? The *exposed* children with whom, as is well known, pagan barbarism was formerly accustomed to people its *ergastula*, its schools of gladiators, its places of prostitution, but with whom the church, in her charity, recruited the fold of Jesus Christ; whom she nourished, fed, clothed and educated, and brought up to a trade, *and instructed in the faith*, is it to be thought for a moment, that these whom the church adopted, for whom she did all else, were left like their heathen ancestry, unbaptized? Nay more, does not the church, even at this day, establish herself most firmly among the heathen, by this kind of proselytism, the most honorable of all? It is said, that the missionaries, in the different heathen countries, especially in China, are chiefly engaged in seeking out and bringing up exposed children, and unless they be of those who deny infant baptism altogether, is it probable that they refuse to these the initia-

tory rite of the New Testament church? When such children are separated from their former connections, and *adopted* by individual Christians, or by the church, they are *ipso facto*, no longer strangers to the covenants of promise, but the children of the church and of believers, (by adoption) and hence, that which at first sight might seem an exception to the position which I have laid down, ought not, I think, neither in letter nor in spirit, be regarded as an exception at all. But to proceed; the visible church, both under the Old and New Testament dispensation, is substantially the same. It holds essentially the same doctrines, enjoys the same spiritual promises, and professes the same religion—the religion of the Bible, and hence children must be considered in the same light, under both dispensations, unless the Scriptures have changed the state of their relations and privileges, which they have not. All in the Abrahamic church, i. e., the males, were circumcised; all made a public profession of religion, entered publicly into covenant with God, and all partook regularly of the Passover, and hence the children of every Israelite were the children of a professor of religion, and as such, received the initiatory seal of the covenant of grace. But as none but the children of such as publicly professed the religion of the Scriptures, could lawfully receive this seal under the Old dispensation, it is manifest that no children but such as these, can lawfully receive baptism under the New or Christian dispensation, unless an alteration has been made with respect to this subject, which cannot be shown.

Again, this view of the subject, viz: that infant baptism is confined in Scripture, to the offspring of professing Christians alone, is sustained by the declaration of Peter to the Jews. "The promise is to you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call."—Acts 2: 39. "Those who were *afar off*, were Gentiles; as St. Paul has taught us, Eph. 2: 17. *Christ came*, says the apostle, *and preached peace to you, who were afar off, and to them that were nigh;* that is, to the Ephesians, and other Gentiles, and to the Jews. *The promise*, St. Peter informs us, is to as *many* of these Gentiles, *as the Lord our God shall call.* That it is to them in the same manner, and on the same terms, as to the *Jews*, is decisively concluded; because neither *St. Peter*, nor any other Scriptural writer, specifies any difference. The scions of the wild olive, *St. Paul* informs us, were grafted on the good olive, where they

grew, and partook of the fatness of the root, in exactly the same manner as if they had been the natural branches. The terms, it is to be remembered, are the same: and the promise conveys no more, as well as no less, to the Gentiles than to the Jews; unless the alteration is declared. Such children, then, among the Gentiles, as are born of those who profess the religion of the Scriptures, are included in the covenant, and are to be baptized. But the warrant extends to no others."

Again, the view which we are now taking of this subject, viz: that the children of believing, or of professing Christian parents, *alone may be baptized, and no others*, is clearly taught or set forth by the apostle Paul, 1 Cor. 1: 14. "For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: else were your children unclean; but now are they holy," i. e., they may be offered to God, but there is no other mode of offering children to God in the Christian church, than by baptism, and hence the children of believers may be baptized; baptized if but one of the parents, either the father or the mother be a Christian, *but certainly excluded from receiving this seal of the covenant of grace, if both parents are unbelievers.*

Finally: the circumstance related by Matthew, "Then there were brought unto him little children, that he should put *his* hands on them, and pray: and the disciples rebuked them. But Jesus said, suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me: for of such is the kingdom of heaven. and he laid *his* hands on them, and departed thence."—Matt. 19: 13, 14, 15. See also Mark 10: 14, and Luke 18: 16. This circumstance, i. e., the saying of the Master, "suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me," rightly understood, cannot be taken as a warrant *to baptize children promiscuously*, without reference to the parental condition and relation to Christ and to his church. These parents were *professors of religion*; they were such certainly as Jews, and from their conduct, we infer that they were believers also in the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth. It has, moreover, been justly remarked by another, that Christ, when he opposes the conduct of his disciples, who would have hindered these children from being brought to him, says, not, "suffer little children," but "suffer the little children" to come unto me, and forbid them not. The words in all the three Evangelists, who have recorded this story, are τὰ παιδία, *the little children;* and cannot be pleaded as a warrant for bringing to

Christ in baptism, any other children than such as are in like circumstances with those mentioned in this passage.

Such, then, are our views on this subject, and which we regard as alone "right" or Scriptural. I am aware that they differ from those of not a few learned and pious men, both in the ministry and out of the ministry, who maintain that children may be baptized in their own right, without respect to their parental relation, and under the general commission of Christ: "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," (Matt. 28: 19,) or, who requiring a profession of religion from the parents before baptizing their children, yet "*neither require nor expect them to partake of the Lord's Supper.*" Now in *disregarding their parental relation* in the baptism of children, these do that which God does not do, who declared himself a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth *generation* of them that hate him; and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love him and keep his commandments, and in exacting a partial obedience from parents to the requirements of Christianity, i. e., to make a profession of religion before baptizing their children, and yet neither requiring nor expecting obedience from such parents to the Savior's command, "This do in remembrance of me," is teaching parents "that there is a distinction between the qualifications which, in the view of the Scriptures, are necessary to warrant us to offer up our children in baptism, and those which are necessary to make us lawfully communicants at the table of Christ." But it cannot be shown that such a distinction is found in the Scriptures, and therefore, should not be made, because unwarranted, and fraught with danger, as are all practices not sanctioned by that Book which decides all disputes, and discloses all responsibilities.

In conclusion, I will yet say, that baptism is an outward ordinance. It is an ordinance which has been grossly perverted, and thus made to serve as an antidote to sin, and a specific to regeneration. External baptism has been placed in the stead of real conversion. However, theirs is the sin, and theirs alone, who have been guilty of such perversion. It is possible to be baptized by man, and yet be unbaptized by God; to have the baptism with water, and yet be destitute of that inner baptism which alone qualifies for admission into the New Jerusalem, in which the *blood-washed* will walk, guided unerringly and ever by the beams of that glory which

originally dwelt between the Cherubim; no longer the monopoly of one nation and of a few people, but of a great multitude which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, who shall stand before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and with palms in their hands—the emblems of purity and of victory.

Finally, though water baptism is an outward ordinance, yet is it of great meaning or import. I like the answer to the question in our Catechism, "What does such water baptism signify?" "It signifies, that the old Adam, with all sinful lusts and affections, should be drowned and destroyed by daily sorrow and repentance; and that a new man should daily arise, that shall dwell in the presence of God in righteousness and purity forever." And again, though many have had their baptismal name written in the register of the church on earth, and not in those of the church in heaven, because of their disobedience to the vows of God which were upon them, yet so important do I esteem this *baptism with water*, that I really cannot understand how those who either despise or wilfully neglect it, *can be saved.* Certain it is, that they who shall stand on the banks of the river of life, whose pure waters no wintry frosts shall bind, nor sultry suns deprive of their freshness, are all *the friends* of Jesus Christ. But the friends of Christ are already known on earth, by their obedience. This is the Master's test: "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you."—John 15: 14. Baptism, however, is an ordination of Christ, and to despise it, is *hostility* to the Savior; yea, even to *neglect it*, must be accounted *hostility* here, where there *can* be no neutrality, and hence these all will be crushed with the enemies of Christ. With the *obedient*, with his friends, how may we hope that such shall ever sit beneath the shadow of the tree, called the tree of life, where every pulse of every heart is worship, and every breath as the morning incense? The connection between time and the great eternity which is perpetually thundering at our door, is most intimate. The former ultimately, so far as we are concerned, mingles with, passes over into, is swallowed up of the latter, and yet for us preserves its identity, its independence and its amazing relative importance. It is the twilight of the *eternal day*, or of the *everlasting night.* Friends of the Mediator now, friends forever! Enemies now, enemies forever! The works (obedience to Christ)

of Christians follow them, and they are at rest, and are blessed. The sins of the wicked (disobedience to Christ) which flowed from their unregenerate and unsanctified hearts in time, like streams of evil, will *flow after them into eternity*, and constitute that dead, and deep, and ever moaning sea of ill, which we call Hell.

ARTICLE V.

THE RELATION OF THE FAMILY TO THE CHURCH.

By Rev. M. Valentine, A. M., Middletown, Pa.

Few Christian duties are so sadly neglected as family training. This neglect is becoming the curse of the church. It is scattering her infant membership among the ranks of the world, and delivering over to the bondage of sin, multitudes that ought to be crowding around the altar of Christ. It is a blighting evil. It is especially prevalent in our day. In passing through our churches, the discovery is soon made, that family nurture is either entirely neglected, or attended to in such a manner as but to insure its own defeat. An injurious error has stolen into the minds of Christians, and the wrong practice grows out of wrong notions. The error amounts to a practical denial of both the church membership of the offspring of believers, and the divinely appointed relation of family nurture to the formation of Christian character. It first takes away the privileges of the covenant from the children of Christians, and then turns "the nurture and admonition of the Lord," appointed for their culture, into a mere formal training, or none at all. that leaves them just where the training of the world would—*in sin*. We are surrounded by sects that either reject infant membership from their creed, or, accepting it, adopt a theory of conversion which entirely nullifies the significance of the church relation of their children. The principle of those who would surrender their offspring wholly to the uncovenanted mercies of God, and, in withholding the baptismal seal from them, deny them any more church connection than a Pagan child sustains, is but little worse than the practice of others, more numerous, who give them the seal, and then, instead of training them

as church members, and under covenant grace, expecting the development of a Christian character, rear them, undistinguished from the spirit of the world, only for future conversion. This system makes Christians look for nothing from their children, until they become adults. It makes them leave them as without remedy until that time; only hoping and praying that then, their depravity and sinful habits, strengthened by years of neglected training, will be suddenly overmastered and reversed by some mighty spiritual conversion. Any one can see, that this practice puts the children of the church and the children of the world on precisely the same ground; both subject to the same spiritual agencies; both to be reclaimed in the same way. What is this but to deny the benefit of the covenant, and make it amount to nothing? The sentiment and practice of many in the Lutheran church have taken complexion from the presence of these surrounding errors. Their children are not brought forward for baptism; or if baptized, their church connection is regarded as only a nominal thing, with no divine significance or vital power. They are not expected to grow up Christians, and of course, by a clear relation of cause and effect, they do not. The essence of the whole mistake consists in denying or overlooking this simple truth: *That by virtue of God's everlasting covenant with his people, their children are born members of the church, and are to be treated as such.*

The object proposed in this article is, from a review of the covenant relation of the believer's offspring to the church, to deduce the divinely intended meaning and force of Christian family nurture.

The family and the church are the two permanent facts in the world, most closely related to the good of our race. Both are divine institutions. They owe their origin, not to human arrangement, but to divine enactment. They are organic constitutions framed by God. The family has come down to us from Eden. God set the race in families from the beginning. The Savior refers to the creation of man as male and female, as looking directly to the formation and perpetuity of the family constitution. It is a relation by itself, with its own laws and powers. It has its own moral mission to fulfil, and God has organized it with the moral forces competent to its accomplishment. What are the divine designs in the family? Evidently the moral and spiritual culture of the race, as well as its perpetuation. To restrict its object to the latter, would be wholly unworthy of the high place which God

has assigned it in his word, and the heavenly care with which its sanctity is guarded. Had man not fallen, doubtless a sinless nature would have been forever transmitted through the family bond. Originally, there was a unity in the force of the family life and influence, which would have reproduced the same spotlessly innocent character with which Adam and Eve came from the Creator's hand. As man is fallen, a depraved nature is perpetuated. So uniform and powerful is the operation of this law, that no exception to its result ever occurs. But the family has still its spiritual design. The second Adam has come for the restoration of the race. The agency for restoration evidently contemplates the employment of this original divine institution. Though its efficacy cannot prevent depravity, it has some relation to its correction. The family still stands for the object of moral culture. The remedial means have been thrown into the channel that had been perverted to sin, and the blessing may overmaster the curse.

The church, too, has its divine object. It is the pillar and ground of revealed truth, and has been organized for the salvation of the world. It is the depository of the agencies that have been given for the removal of the curse of sin and the conquest of men to the control of Jesus Christ. Its mission looks to the accomplishment of the entire purpose of God's mercy toward our fallen race. It sends its influence, therefore, through many channels. It is the ultimate divine organization, itself "alive unto God," from which a vital power is to go forth for the reconstruction of humanity, and the eternal salvation of souls. The church, therefore, which is the later constitution, is a new power brought into requisition, to conspire with the family for the accomplishment of moral and spiritual ends. The former was not intended to set aside the moral mission of the latter, but to throw into it greater efficiency, by its presence and coöperation. The current of grace flows from the church into the family. The domestic constitution does not lose its spiritual object by the ecclesiastical constitution, but is gifted with fresh power for its attainment.

The Scriptures settle the fact that the church of God is *one*, in all ages; the one body of the one living Head. It has been developed through different dispensations; but whatever changes have been made, have left untouched the essential integrity of the original institution It carries with it, therefore, forever, the essential principles divinely inwrought

into its first organization. They cannot be repealed until God repeals them.

I. We are concerned now with one of these first principles. This is *infant membership in the church of God.*

1. There can be no denial of this, in the church under the Old Testament dispensation. It is as clear as light. Entrance into the church by parents, was the entrance of their children into the same connection. In the first formal establishment of the church, God included the family. *His covenant with his people is a family covenant.* To Abraham, God said, "*I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an everlasting covenant; to be a God unto thee and to thy seed after thee.*"—Gen. 17: 7. The apostles again and again refer to this covenant as lying at the foundation of the Jewish church. See Gal. 3: 17, and Acts 3: 9. The seal of the covenant was added: "*Every male child among you shall be circumcised.*" "*He that is eight days old shall be circumcised.*" "*And the uncircumcised man-child, whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people; he hath broken my covenant.*" This "sign of circumcision," Paul tells us, was "*a seal of the righteousness of faith.*"—Rom. 4: 11. Two features of this transaction cannot be misunderstood: First, that God embraced children in the terms of his first covenant with his church: and secondly, that circumcision was the appointed recognition of their church relation. The covenant plainly took the family as *one*, and in receiving the parents, received the children. It applied to them all, the "seal of the righteousness of faith." No difficulty was raised on the ground that infants could have no faith. Faith then, as now, was the living power of the church. It was the essential life of piety. Without it, it was impossible to please God. It was a truth then, as it now is, and shall be, until all the church militant shall enter the church triumphant, that "the just shall live by faith." Yet, of this very principle of spiritual life, was circumcision the sign and seal to infants. But how was this? Plainly, that from the divinely constituted oneness of the family bond, the faith of parents was taken for the faith of their children. Faith may have been a necessary prerequisite to the administration of the rite, but the parental faith stood for that of the family. The offspring were at once viewed as believers, because their moral life was as yet embraced in the moral life

of their parents, and subject to their formative influence. And thus they were "sealed" to God from their birth. There seems to have been no thought that, perhaps, the children, having reached responsible life, would not choose the faith of their fathers. The family, worshiping at one altar, and formed in the nurture of one spiritual life, was regarded as a permanent part of the church of God.

The thing to be noticed here, and carried on the memory in this whole discussion, as essential to a right view of the subject, is, that the children were not constituted members of the church by the rite of circumcision, but were born in the church. They were members by the provisions of the covenant. This relation was only acknowledged by their circumcision. The rite is expressly declared to have been a "sign" and "seal." It was not initiatory. It was but the recognition of a relation formed by the prior force of the covenant. The declaration of God, that should any one not receive this seal, "That soul should be cut off from his people," is decisive on this point. There must have been church connection, independently of circumcision. Else, how could there have been any "cutting off?" How else could it have been said of the non-circumcised, "he hath broken my covenant." God appears to have viewed his covenant with the children of his church as peculiarly sacred, and to have enforced its acknowledgment under the sanction of a heavy curse. Circumcision was not the covenant itself, but the appointed sign and seal of it, for that dispensation of the church. It did not confer membership—only publicly acknowledged a relation formed by virtue of God's "everlasting covenant"—infant membership in his church.

2. This feature is distinctly carried forward in the New Testament church. Jesus Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfil the covenant. "He was a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, *to confirm the promise made to the fathers.*"—Rom. 5: 8. "If ye be Christ's then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise."—Gal. 3: 29. We naturally look for the continuance of this first divinely instituted relation of children to the church. Accordingly, the Redeemer is seen taking "little children" and holding them forth as the highest examples of fitness for church connection under the New dispensation; "of such is the kingdom of heaven."—Matt. 19: 14. And amid the wonderful scenes of the day of Pentecost, when the church was planting itself afresh on the eternal foundation, under the glow,

and fervor, and inspiration from the descending baptism of the Holy Ghost, the joyous principle was reannounced in all the fulness of its pristine glory: "*The promise is unto you and to your children.*"—Acts 2: 39. The perpetuation of this divine arrangement was unequivocally affirmed. There was no narrowing of the stream of the blessings of the covenant. The principle of infant membership was sent forward as a permanent feature of the church of Jesus Christ. But we must examine this more minutely.

There is no need of proof that, in the continuance of the promise under the evangelical dispensation, baptism has taken the place of circumcision. Circumcision, as but an outward appendage, as a seal of the covenant, could be made to give place to another form, and yet leave the promise in full force. "The forms of dispensation effect not the substance of the thing dispensed." The former seal is abolished, but a new one stands as a holy ordinance in the constitution of the Christian church. See, Peter puts the proposition clearly thus: "Because the promise is to you and your children,"—"repent *and be baptized every one of you.*"—Acts 2: 38, 39. In accordance with this, the apostles administered baptism as the seal of the covenant, to whole households. Look also at the language of Paul to the Colossians, in which he makes Christian circumcision, "the circumcision of Christ," equivalent to being "buried with him in baptism."—Chap. 2: 11, 12. There can be no doubt that baptism is the divine "sign and seal of the righteousness of faith," under the Christian dispensation. As such, it is the birthright of the children of believers.

This view of the subject has, in its main features, passed into the creed of nearly all orthodox Christendom. Its correctness has been attested by the concurring arguments of the ablest theologians.

The Augsburg Confession teaches, "that children ought to be baptized, who through baptism are offered to God and received into his favor."—Art. 9.

"It is certain that the promise of salvation belongs also to children. But it does not belong to those who are without the church of Christ, where the word and sacraments are not, because the kingdom of Christ exists only in union with the word and sacraments."—Apol. Conf., Art. 9.

The Smalcald Articles reiterate the same doctrine: "We teach that infants ought to be baptized. For they have a right to the promise of redemption effected through Christ.

And the church owes them baptism and the announcement of that promise."—Art 5.

These extracts clearly show the position our church has taken on this subject. Almost numberless passages might be added from our theological writers, asserting its Scriptural correctness. Let several suffice. *Gerhard* says: "When parents consecrate themselves to Christ, their children are also to be baptized and brought to him."—Loci, Tom. IX. Cap. 8, p. 234.

"Whoever is a partaker of the covenant of grace, must be entitled to baptism; and as children are partakers of the covenant, they ought to be baptized."—*Hunnius' Epit. Cred.* 646.

The plea that faith is an indispensable prerequisite to the administration of baptism, weighs not a grain more against its application to infants, than a similar objection would have done against the performance of circumcision on the "eighth day." We are distinctly taught that that was "a seal of faith," as truly as baptism is. It would have been mad absurdity in the Jew, to resist the ordinance of God, because he could not understand how the circumcised child could exercise faith. The reason that would now exclude it from baptism, would then have excluded it from circumcision. The whole question of the possibility of infant faith, is foreign to the prior question of the infant's right to the ordinance. The right flows from the terms of the covenant. And when the divine plan is declared, every objection should feel itself hushed to silence. But there *is* faith when the believer's child is baptized; if not in the child, yet in the parents. Its moral life is yet held in theirs; its faith is involved in theirs; it goes with the family bond. It is presumtively a believer, because its parents are really believers. There is no need to individualize all the members of the family—shatter, and drive apart into isolated units, the group about the domestic altar. God himself has made the family a constitutional whole, with its own peculiar relations and laws. In his covenant, he has taken the family together, and wrapped up the children in the faith of the parents. The whole household are under the covenant, and this is enough to demand the application of the "seal" of the common faith to all.

It is necessary to carry forward the principle so manifestly true under the former dispensation, that the offspring of Christians are *born* in the church. From this particular point, there is some dissent. Some hold that prior to baptism,

they are not within the church, and that this ordinance is their initiation. But what is this, but to abandon the main ground on which we plead for infant membership in the New Testament church; the permanence and force of the unrepealed covenant? What constituted Jewish children members of the church? It was not circumcision. Non-circumcision could only result in their being "*cut off*" from a connection made by an anterior power. And what now constitutes them members? Evidently not baptism—the substituted seal—but the same covenant that then formed the relation. The only warrant for their membership now, is that unrepealed divine covenant that placed them in the church *at birth*, and added then a visible seal of the relation. If we deny the continuance of this divine constitution, do we not cut ourselves off from all right to administer to them the ordinance of baptism?

Gerhard, though he calls baptism a rite of initiation, employs the following language: "In respect to original sin, all children are equal; yet there remains this difference, that some are born in the bosom and limits of the church, (*in ecclesiae gremio et pomœriis*) but others, without the church. To the former belongs the promise, 'I will be a God to thee, and to thy seed after thee."—Gen. 17: 7. The latter are *unclean*.—1 Cor. 7: 14. The former have a right to baptism in infancy: to the latter, while neither they nor their parents embrace Christ, belongs neither the promise of God, nor the covenant of grace, nor baptism. They are *strangers from the covenant of promise*."—Eph. 2: 12. Tom. 9. p. 251.

Calvin maintained the birthright of the children of believing parentage in decided terms. "Children have need of baptism, not as a necessary aid to salvation, but to seal to them the grace of adoption. For Paul says that the children of believers are 'holy.'—1 Cor. 7: 14. They are not made children of God by baptism, but the church admits them to baptism, because they are heirs of the promise." Quoted by Gerhard. In his "*Institutes*" he says that it is not to be thought that "in baptism, the children of believers are transferred from place without, to one within the church."—Libr. 4. Cap. 15. And again, "Children sprung from a Christian parentage, are at once, and by birth, heirs of the covenant." —Cap. 16. Beza uses even stronger language than this. But it is needless to multiply quotations. These show the view to be brought out. Passages of the same import might

be gathered from various standard authors. Several facts put the correctness of this view beyond doubt.

First, the Gospel dispensation is an *unfolding—not a restriction*—of God's covenant with his church. This is indispensable. No reader of the New Testament can fail to see that it is a revelation of clearer and more comprehensive mercy; a freer outflowing of divine goodness to his church. The whole order of the divine manifestation has ever been from less to greater displays of mercy. "Each succeeding dispensation has comprehended the whole mass of benefits which belonged to the preceding, and added others of its own." The Gospel is the brightest display of God's love; the full stream into which grace has thrown the most lavish blessings that Heaven has for our race. We cannot but feel that, if any former ministration was "glorious," this is "more glorious." Would it not be in direct conflict with this manifest characteristic of the Gospel, to suppose that it abridges the covenant privileges of the children of the faithful? Is it to be believed that, though under the former economy they were born *in* the church, they are now, under the Gospel—the expanded glory of the covenant—born *outside* of it? Is it to be believed that in that very manifestation of enlarged mercy which brought "the blessing of Abraham on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ," (Gal. 3: 14) one of the most precious of "the blessings of Abraham," the birthright of children, should be withdrawn from the whole church? The stream of blessings had always flowed through pious parents to their offspring, and not one word of legitimate proof can be given from the New Testament, that the Gospel has thrown an impassable obstruction across that divinely appointed channel.

Again, we have no intimation that the Jews ever felt that the teachings of the apostles on this subject, would restrict their covenant privileges. This is an important fact. Evidently they, at once, understood the declaration of Peter, "The promise is unto you and to your children," as an assurance that in yielding to the Gospel, the former rule would still hold in reference to their offspring. The proof that they did so understand it, is, that they never uttered one objection on this point. They clung with an unyielding tenacity to all the peculiarities of their ecclesiastical constitution, and would never, without a fierce conflict, have consented to an arrangement that thrurt out their little ones from their place in the church. Yet not a word of dissatisfaction, on this ground, can be found in the records of the New Testament. The

unbelieving Jews were watching with sleepless eyes, for matters of accusation against the Gospel. They haunted the steps of the apostles, and sought for pretexts to inflame the passions of the narrow-minded multitude against them. They cavilled at even the minutest departures from accustomed principles. But could anything have prompted louder clamor, or led to heavier charges, than an attempt to overturn a fundamental principle of the covenant with Abraham? Had such an attempt been made, is it to be conceived that Pharisaic hatred would not have made it the rallying point of opposition to the Gospel? But among all the objections that were so pertinaciously urged, no whisper of dissatisfaction is heard on this subject. Is not this fact conclusive proof that it was then an undisputed point, that the children of professing parents held, undr the new economy, the same place and relation that were theirs under the old?

Further, Paul has actually decided this question in 1 Cor. 7: 14. "For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: else were your children unclean; but now are they holy." What is the "holiness" here referred to? Certainly not an internal purity of heart, as though the children of Christians were born undepraved. It is an "*ecclesiastical holiness.*" "Holy" is evidently used by the apostles in the sense of "consecrated," and in opposition to the term "unclean," or "common." In Lev. 20: 26, we have an expression that explains the use of the word: "Ye shall be *holy* unto me; for I the Lord am holy, and *have severed you from other people, that ye should be mine.*" To be "holy," was to belong to the church. The apostle, therefore, unequivocally asserts the church membership of infants born of a believing parent. Look at the facts of this case. When only one of the parents was a believer, the question arose as to the relation of the children. Did the character of the unbelieving parent vitiate their covenant privilege, or the character of the believing one secure it? "Children descended from a half Jewish marriage were treated as true Jews." And Paul at once decides that the same rule is in force under the Gospel. "The good is stronger than the evil," and God, in overflowing grace, conveys, through even one believing parent, the mercies of his covenant. This passage is decisive as to the view held in the apostolic church. Had they believed that *no* children belonged to the church, there never could have been any question about the relation of those sprung from half Christian

parentage. "If the faith of *both* parents could not confer upon a child the privilege of membership, the faith of only *one* of them certainly could not."—Mason's Works, Vol. II. p. 381. The undisputed prerogative of the offspring of Christian parents, alone could have allowed any doubt in the case. "Thus," concludes Dr. Mason, "the *origin* of this difficulty, on the one hand, and the *solution* of it on the other, concur in establishing our doctrine, that by the appointment of God himself, the *infants of believing parents are born members of his church.*"—Vol. III. p. 382.

This doctrine throws a clear light on the meaning of baptism, as applied to infants. The ordinance, with them, is not initiatory. It does not form their church relation, but acknowledges it. It is the "seal" of the covenant which God has made with them. It is the church's recognition of their relation, and the beginning of the application of divinely appointed agencies for their spiritual welfare. They are looked upon, in the divine plan, as presumptively Christians, and are "sealed" as such, because their relation to agencies divinely appointed and competent to the end, contemplates the development of Christian character in them.

May not this discussion also help to decide a question that often comes up in ministerial experience—"Whether baptism ought to be administered to children, neither of whose parents is a professing Christian?" If the membership of children grows out of their relation to the covenant of God and their birth from Christian parentage—if the ordinance is not initiatory, but a "seal" of that covenant, what right can we have to apply it to those that are palpably without its range? The covenant is particular; it is the main foundation we have for infant baptism; can the ordinance apply beyond the limitations prescribed? Must we not proceed without warrant, whenever we go beyond them? Do we not, in such a case, abandon, in the very act of baptism, the very foundation that we ourselves claim for its administration on children? We rest the entire claim for infant membership in the church, on the force and perpetuity of the covenant; but we certainly cannot plead that covenant, in acting with the children of unbelievers.

From this review of the actual church membership of the children of the pious, we are prepared to advance to the second range of discussion proposed:

II. *The divinely intended meaning and force of Christian family nurture.*

1. We have reached the truth, that children enter the Christian family and the Christian church, at the same time. What is the meaning of this fact? Clearly that they are to grow up as Christians. Else, would God have placed them within his church? He looks on them as his own; surely, not simply because they *ought* to become Christians, but because his plan contemplates their actually becoming such. Is it not clearly demonstrable, that the divine arrangement looks on the Christian family as a perpetual acquisition to the church; as not to revert in its subsequent expansion to the domain of the "world?" There seems to be a "law of population" within the church, for its own enlargement and growth; a law that looks to the retention of all the children that God has given it. The church is to grow in two ways; by keeping all its own, and by winning from the world. That God, therefore, has placed children in his church, implies that he has provided means for their development in Christian character. This means is found mainly in family nurture. Not that the spiritual power of the church does not reach them. The church reaches them, as children, through the family constitution; the same constitution through which they are connected with the church. The spiritual life which the family receives from the church, is to mould and form their moral character. This is the agency that is to "train them up in the way they should go." Amid the formative influences of the family piety, under "*the nurture and admonition of the Lord*," (Eph. 6 : 4) made effectual by the quickening power of the Holy Ghost, they are to be transformed from sin, and set forward in life as Christian men. This is clearly the design of family nurture, in regard to the infant membership of the church. About the family altar are to be formed Christians for the sanctuary altar. To the parents, God says, "Take this child and train it for me; I have graciously made it a member of my church, and look for you to employ faithfully the means I have ordained, to develop in it a life and character correspondent with its position."

2. The agency appointed is competent to its work. This truth is to be sustained; and in maintaining it, the notion is not for a moment entertained, that those born in the church are not depraved, as others are. Nor is it supposed that any

simple culture of their fallen nature can make it bud and blossom with spiritual life, and bear the fruitage of piety. "The production of a holy character, under the most favorable circumstances, evinces the operation of the divine energy; for its existence is a triumph over antagonistic powers in man himself." It is the energy of the Holy Ghost that reconstructs the fallen powers of the soul, and turns their activities toward God. But it is to be remembered, that the Spirit can as easily renew a child through an appointed nurture, as he can renew an adult through any other appointed means of grace. The effectiveness of the means always depends on the attendant blessing of God. What right have we, in our views, to exclude transforming grace from the nurture which God has instituted for moulding the spiritual life of the infant members of his church? He has placed them right in the midst of this influence into which he has thrown the power of a quickening grace, as, *potentially*, Christians. Is it for us to deny the competency of the ordained means?

The first class of proofs, on this head, may be drawn from the Scriptures. We mention only a few.

In Mal. 2 : 15, we have the appointment of the family to this holy design. On this verse, Dr. Harris remarks:—"When vindicating the inviolable sanctity of the conjugal tie, the prophet asks, 'Did he not make one? though he had the residue of the Spirit? And wherefore one? That he might seek a godly seed.' The original formation of one man and one woman into 'one flesh,' or conjugal body, contemplated the rearing of a pious offspring. Other and inferior ends were to be secured by it, but this was its ultimate design."—*Patriarchy*, *p.* 449. Does not this divine appointment imply that the family constitution is adapted to fulfil the office assigned it? Has God thrown an impossible work on this agency?

The institution of a distinctively Christian household education, is apposite. "*Bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.*"—Eph. 6 : 14. This form of expression indicates the existence of a peculiar and divine nurture, that is to encompass the child and mould him to God, and set him forth with Christian character. Men mistake the character of this training, and substitute a miserable burlesque of nurture for it. It does not consist only of a little instruction now and then, and some government, all contradicted by parental example. It is not fulfilled by any amount of formal teaching and admonitory advice. It is rather the

encompassing spirit of the family life and piety that wields the power of Christian nurture. The incipient feelings of infancy take hue from the mother's spirit while yet on the mother's knee; it breathes the breath of piety about the family altar, before it knows what piety is. It is formed to *doing* before it is formed to *thinking*. And the "nurture of the Lord," implies the filling of the house with this heavenly spirit, as well as heavenly teaching, in which the infant soul may open and take form, which may draw out its developing powers. This is the required nurture, and it is but honoring the divine arrangement, to regard it as competent, with the promised blessing of quickening grace, to cause the child to grow up a believer. It is to be expected that Christian culture will differ, both in itself and in its results, from that which is not Christian. Now, it is the distinctive mark of all unchristian training, that it unfolds from childhood an unchristian manhood. It has no higher aim than this; and if it ever dreams of something better, it trains only for subsequent conversion. Is Christian nurture nothing higher than this? Is it not appointed to a better result? Has it not a more sacred and sanctifying power? Surely God's plan of education is not intended to make sinners, or to produce first a crop of sin, and after that a crop of repentance. Is it not palpably absurd, to suppose that God would appoint a distinctive nurture for the infant members of his church, the object and result of which, though faithfully used by parents, would be, to leave the child just where other training does? When the family life and nurture are made what God meant them to be, the proper result will be attained, and the children will grow, not in stature and sin together, but "in stature and favor with God."

We are furnished, further, with an *example* of the operation of family piety in the formation of character. To Timothy, Paul says, "I call to remembrance the unfeigned faith that is in thee, which dwelt first in thy grandmother, Lois, and thy mother, Eunice; and I am persuaded in thee also." 2 Tim. 1: 5. Who can doubt that it was the sanctified household nurture that transmitted the heritage of faith to Timothy? This record is a fine illustration of the proper results of pious training.

In turning to the intrinsic nature of the family constitution, we are compelled to see ample confirmation of its competency to mould character.

The *oneness* of the family, invests it with a power seldom appreciated. Indeed, the disorganizing tendencies of our age refuse to let us think of organic constitutions in any other light, than as an assemblage of units, whose power is rather weakened by discord, than increased by combination. A bald individualism wants us to separate the members of the domestic group, and view them, like so many marbles thrown together, with no bond of union but nearness of place and a common name. The fact that it is a *divine constitution*, and has a specific power as such, is altogether overlooked. There is in it a common life, and an organized relationship of energy, competent to produce a common character. The parents' character is reproduced in their offspring. Their views, feelings and principles go into them, not only when they design to direct and form them, but even more when they do not. They must form their children's character, either by attention or neglect. A garden may be made clean by intentionally dressing it; it is made weedy when left alone. In either case, it becomes what the gardener makes it. Parental power is exerted by presence, and character passes over as by a law of contagion. The child cannot help opening to the influences that develop it; as the flower cannot help opening to the sunshine. The common atmosphere of the house enters into the tone of its common sentiment. The central life, if its power is unbroken by exterior forces, will mould the youthful character over a common model. This family influence doubtless leaves room for accountability in the young. But yet it imposes on parents a fearful responsibility, in the accumulation of power it compels them to wield. The family life will be a permanent part of the child's life. It will be recognized in him, wherever he goes. "The odor of the house will be in his garments." The germ of character planted in him at home, can never be wholly crushed out of his nature.

All associated relations modify and give a common tinge to character connected with them. Every community has its own peculiarities. Almost every member is affected by the prevalent sentiment. They are rubbed together and wear off each other's peculiarities. An isolated man, morally self-formed, and forming no one else, is a mere fiction; never realized, never can be. Every church has its own coloring of life, flowing from its own organization and prevalent style of doctrine and piety. You can tell a Quaker, for instance, as well by the peculiar tone that the church gives his character, as by the peculiar cut it gives his coat. The State, too,

shows the same thing. National character can be bounded by its peculiarities, as clearly as national territories. No one doubts that the Irish character differs from the Scotch. Who expects to find the mercurial character of the French in the honest and laborious German, or in the matter-of-fact Englishman? The Yankee is the natural product of his New England home. The Hottentot is the product of his Gentilic or nomadic life. China makes a Chinaman of a nature that Arabia would form into an Arab. Turkey makes a Mohammedan of one whom Spain would constitute a Papist. Now if the looser and more remote connection that binds otherwise isolated individuals into communities, churches and states, superinduces distinctive character, are we not most unreasonable, to suppose that the closer and more living unity about the altar of home, where one blood pours through all veins, and one interest fills every mind, and one love throbs in every heart, and one parentage instructs and guides all, is not competent to develop a oneness of character, and form the moral life on a common model?

The unity of the family throws all the members under the formative influence of a common activity. The power of control resides in the united head, and parental direction decides the activity of the house. Infancy is necessarily passive and recipient. Prior to its own will, and afterwards in opposition to it, formative influences are giving direction to its unfolding powers. Far back, at the first dawnings of mind, its attention is arrested, its thought is guided, its feelings are drawn forth. Everything it sees done, every sound it hears, every face that smiles on it, and every one that frowns, is entering its soul, is acting as a developing agency, and giving tinge and color to the childish character. The white sheet of its mind is being written over with images that come to it through all its senses. Mental Philosophy assures us that this is the way the activity of the mind is first drawn forth. Will not the activity be modified by the developing force? Is there no difference in the child's feeling awakened by a father's passion-clouded face and startling oath, and that awakened by the angel-like sweetness of a mother's prayer? The parental life reproduces itself in the impressible spirit of the child, daguerreotypes its image upon the character it is forming. It is not the office of childhood to chooose, except to choose as it is taught. It learns the lesson before it, whether it be good or bad. Afterward, the parents choose the child's

school, select his books, determine his church, and place him under its teaching. God has made their word his law. What they command, he must do. Yet what he does, makes him what he becomes. The household must all move in the appointed circle; and, "like stones rolled in a brook, they wear each other into common shapes." Who ever looks for amiable, kind and gentle children, in a home in which parental effort is expended in bitter complaints and angry denunciations? If a father is profane, who thinks that his little ones will not learn to swear? If a mother is light and gay, will her example make her daughters sober and spiritual? Whatever activity parental authority sets in motion, must be shared in by all the house, and this harmonious working grinds out its common character. The children choose not the process that forms them. The mountain top chooses not whether it will be chilled by the winds, or whitened by the snows. The clay on the potter's whirling wheel chooses not whether it will go round; nor do the children, on the wheel of activity on which parental power is moulding their moral life. And to expect that their character will be formed after an opposite model from that which forms it, is not only as unreasonable as to look for an effect without a cause, but as absurd as to expect it contrary to its cause. Now, if the family unity be also a unity in Christ, if home be the hallowed abode of heartfelt piety, if it be filled with a heavenly atmosphere, and its activity be all instinct with "the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus," a law that "sets free from sin and death," who can deny the greatness of the power it may wield, to bless and train for God, the infant membership of his church?

Considerations might be drawn from the *depth* and *permanence* of early impression, to set the competency of Christian nurture in still clearer light. It works down among the very elements of human nature, and leaves its results at the foundation of character. It directs the current close by the fountain. The same effort could not turn the accumulated stream. It directs just when natural forces are taking direction. The freshness of children's feelings makes every impression strong. The newness of every emotion agitates the whole microcosm of the child's being. The apparently light and dancing thoughtlessness of early age, is apt to cause us to think that all its impressions are superficial and fleeting; that, like tiny waves upon a lake, they obliterate each other and disappear forever. Rather do they move on eternally, breaking with high crests on the shores of eternity. An observer of children,

is often astonished to see how the merest trifle will fix their attention, and set their minds on a train of curious thought. The adult, through whose mind old and new thoughts have long been passing with familiar tread, will learn of mighty events, and listen to the intelligence of commotions in which nations are dashed to pieces, with less stir of feeling than swells in the breast of childhood at the simple "story" of entertainment heard at the mother's knee. "Thought-tracks" on the tender heart of youth, are made deep; often stamped in unhappy marks to be seen in after days. All experience proves that they are permanent. Philosophy says, they are never lost, and may reappear in the registry of a dread "book of remembrance," whose leaves are the infolded experiences of the soul. They often recur, and childhood is lived over again, hundreds of times, during the pilgrimage of life.—Their influence, as a silent but mighty power, permeates the character; sometimes lifting it, with an angel-like glory, to the fellowship of the skies; sometimes dragging it down, defiled and blackened, to the pit of despair. Geology shows us the marks of ripples and rain drops in the rocks which were once the beach of an ancient sea, and which bears these enduring memorials of the play of summer waves, or the dropping of summer showers in a far distant, incalculable past, that have left these ineffaceable traces of their action to a remote future. So the influences of family nurture about the young soul, may be as light as the gentle breeze that sends its little wave upon the rocky strand, or as transient as the evening shower, whose drops are dotted on its sand; yet after unmeasured ages shall have gone by, the ripple marks and rain drops of that nurture, shall be found graven into the permanent character, as with the point of a diamond forever.

These facts show us the power of the family constitution over the character that is formed in it. In point of natural forces, it is the most potent agency among men. And when God sanctifies this agency, and throws into its nurture his own transforming grace, and pledges the needed blessing, who will dare assert that he claims too much, when he places the infant members of his church in its care, and looks to it to train them for him? Can anything but a criminal wish to avoid the duty, prompt parents to plead that the task is impracticable?

3. The practical bearings of this subject are far-reaching and important. They are "fast bound up" with the prosperity of the church and the salvation of souls.

The first duty is to bring forward the children of the covenant for the baptismal seal. This is sadly neglected. Has not God "a controversy with his people," on this subject? His plan sees in his own ordained "nurture," a means graciously rendered competent to unfold Christian character in them, and therefore requires that they be baptized. Error looks not for them to grow up as Christians, and therefore lets them go unbaptized. Is it not a terrible guilt for parents thus to be false to the demands of the covenant—false to the birthright of their children—false to the religious power which heaven designed the family structure to wield?

Are not Christians solemnly bound, also, to keep the sanctifying power of home, unbroken by influences from the world without? Admit that its spirit and training are such as would sanctify the children. Admit that there every evil influence is checked, and every germ of grace is fostered. This hallowing power must be diligently guarded, that it be not neutralized and overcome. Hard is it, in this age, to keep out a vicious literature; a literature in which there are "seven devils," and prevent it from polluting the young hearts about the Christian hearthstone. But it must be done, if the moral interests of the family are to be kept secure. Hard too, is it to keep children from street nurture. Yet this also, mnst be done, else their souls will surely be blighted. What must be the result of letting them run at large, and learn all the wickedness of the little criminals that infest the streets of every town and village? Must not their hearts receive an injury which no subsequent care can repair, from the intensified sins they see and hear? Their nature takes in the pollution like a sponge. A little angel would be stripped of his wings in such a process. And can parents then wonder why their home nurture is so inefficient? Are they not recreant to a most sacred trust? Has not God committed to them the care of these souls? What right have they to let them pass out, to be deformed by sin? The obligation is not more imperative, to have a sanctifying nurture at home, than it is to keep them under it.

The nurturing influences are to be employed in *faith.* To expect defeat will insure it. What is it but infidelity, to question the truth of the divine assurance, "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old *he will not de-*

part from it?" We know of nothing more absurd, than that the poor child must be hardened in sin, before it can be started toward heaven; nothing more cruel, than that it must pass through the fires of Moloch to reach the altar of Christ. Where are we taught that it must be rolled round and round in the mud and filth of apostacy, before it can undergo a gracious change? Sad indeed would it be, if Christ had made no provision to minister saving grace to the perilous age of childhood. Has it to travel, exposed to death at every turn, up to manhood, before a renewing power can gift it with Christian character? Yet this seems to be the practical belief of thousands of professing parents. Under its influence, all nerve is taken out of the fostering hand, and the lambs of Christ's flock are left to be scattered and torn by the world. To neglect these little ones, is to yield them up to the mastery of Satan, and he will blight and destroy what Christians fail to keep for God. Their duty is plain. It is, to use the means with an unfaltering faith, and to expect their children all to stand with them, as believers, around the altar of Christ.

They are always to *treat them as members of the church, and under Christian obligations.* They are never, for a moment, either by word or act, to let them under the impression that they are not bound to live as believers. Here is one of the most disastrous errors of Christian parents. Their conversation and conduct create, in their offspring, the idea that they are independent of religious restraint until they publicly assume the Christian profession, and may act as they would have no right to act afterward. But where, in the Bible, can authority be found for this? Are not parents bound by the covenant and by their own vows, for the Christian conduct of their children? Questions of duty and propriety, in this connection, meet them at every turn. There are customs of society, forms of amusement, and many things of kindred character, which they, as members of the church, deem unsuitable for themselves, but which they yet allow, and even encourage their children to adopt. But what right have they to permit in their children, what would be felt to be wrong for themselves? How dare pious parents, whose consciences would reproach them for joining in the senseless and sinful dance, send them to the dancing school, and allow them to indulge in amusements that are essentially and distinctively worldly? Not a syllable of revelation warrants this sliding scale of duty. And the results of its practice are most mel-

ancholy. The church membership of the young is made to appear as having no significance, and involving no obligation. It imposes no restraint, and is shorn of its guardian and sanctifying power. The church itself is cursed with the loss of those on whom its seal and its hope were both placed. How different would it be, if they were always made to feel the reality of their true position. Were they treated uniformly as Christians from their very childhood, would it not exert a mighty power to cause them to be what their relation requires? The way to make a man your friend, is to treat him as such. A different process would hardly win him. And if the young are to be engaged in close and loving union with the church, they must be made to feel the reality of their connection with it, and the force of the confidence with which it looks for the pious performance of their duties. This feeling can be awakened by the family training; a feeling that the whole household is bound by the laws of Christian life and consistency.

Is it not apparent, from all these things, that the family structure holds a most important relation to the prosperity of Zion? Shall the church never be able to keep its own offspring from guilty unfaithfulness to domestic training? How long shall it have to expend its main efforts to win back what is lost by parental neglect? to reconquer its own conquests? Were its acquisition of Christian families permanent, "in their generations," with what accumulated numbers and strength it could move forward to subdue the world! How would opposition break before its progress! The watchmen on every tower of Zion would herald the dawning of the millenial morning. Victory would quickly succeed victory, until the "house of the Lord should be established on the top of the mountains."

ARTICLE VI.

BACCALAUREATE ADDRESS.

No. VII.

Annual Commencement, September, 1841. Class: Messrs. Albaugh, Baker, McClellan, Cornell, Donmeyer, Gerhart, E. Miller, Scherer, Weaver, Witmer and Ziegler.

Young Gentlemen:—In compliance with a custom which exists in our College, it devolves upon me, before we separate finally, to express the best wishes of your instructors for your future usefulness and happiness, and to bid you depart with our warmest desires that your future career may be honorable. Before you pass away, and whilst you yet linger in these sacred enclosures, let me once more impart a word of well intended counsel, and endeavor to animate you in the pursuit of the noble and the good. The advantages of education are confessedly great. On this subject there is not much diversity of opinion, among those qualified to judge. In civilized nations, the training of the human mind has always been regarded as an object of paramount importance. It is nevertheless true, that there are some, perhaps we may say many, who have enjoyed the privileges of a liberal education, who do not greatly recommend it by the fruits which they exhibit. It is reasonable to expect of those who have come under influences which are highly appreciated, and who claim for themselves a prominence among men by their intellectual endowments, evidences of superiority of a decisive character. If these are not exhibited, either the cause of education itself must suffer, or opposition be raised against the particular processes adopted in the prosecution of it. Has not the opinion not only been started, but eutensively entertained, that the course of instruction so generally pursued in all Christian countries, and which has so long sustained itself by the most splendid evidences, as best suited for the development of the human mind, is greatly overrated, that it accomplishes far less than it proposes, and that it would be easy to substitute others still more effective? This has unquestionably been the case. The solution of the phenomenon is to be found in the fact that educated men very often fall below the reasonable expectations that are formed concerning

them. Can this be accounted for without a resort to the theory specified? Can it be explained so as to leave the fame of our schools untarnished? I suppose it can, and I will, in the brief space allowed me, attempt to solve the mystery; and in doing so, I will spread before you the course which you must pursue, if you desire to avoid the reproach of much promise and little performance—a loud profession, and no practical results. It is the proper time for you now to understand this subject, and the great crisis in your life in which you may start in a path which will conduct you to a different goal.

We leave out of view the case of those who have been denied by the Sovereign Ruler of the univerre, the requisite capacity for literary and scientific attainments.

Though the capacities of men may fit them for the greater and the less, most men may achieve much by the proper appliances. But we fail very frequently: first, because we think of ourselves more highly than we ought to think. The counsel of that eminent teacher of the Christian religion, Saul of Tarsus, though in its primary application intended to bear on our spiritual, is no less important in regard to our intellectual interests. "Let no man think of himself more highly than he ought to think; let him think soberly." To know our true position is all important to future success. We should neither estimate too highly, nor undervalue it. Although the propensities of human nature may be strongly to pride, and little apprehension be entertained that we may depreciate our standing, it is nevertheless true that this does occur, and is an error of serious magnitude and baneful effects. If, after having passed through the preliminary stages of education, and, in some measure, learned "the extent of art," we look at the slowness with which the human mind progresses in the acquisition of truth, and the tendency of our ideas to pass into oblivion, and then view the work to be accomplished, before we can claim to have come up to our birthright, we sit down in despair, and utter words disheartening to effort in so hopeless a cause, we do injustice to ourselves, to our advantages, and make not the becoming response to the calls of providence. From this position, we pass without effort into the ranks of those who do discredit to education by falling below its promise, and we strengthen the scepticism of those who are opposed to it. There is a confidence in ourselves, that is necessary to success, in whatever direction we may prefer to labor; and it is most true that it is a

very great impediment to literary respectability or eminence, to be intimidated by the difficulties of the undertaking.

If, on the other hand, as is more frequently the case, we suppose that the meaning of our transition from the hands of our teachers to self-control and study, is that we have executed the work given us to do, and have nothing more to accomplish; that we are scholars overflowing with the spoils of learned research, and not, as it has been expressed, "have finished our education and commenced our studies;" the consequence will be the same as in the other case; we will sit down in supineness; we will make no suitable efforts, and will present, at no very distant period, a spectacle most humiliating and unbecoming; the spectacle of human beings with literary endorsements, and no literature; with College honors, and no learning; and education tried under our auspices, will suffer gross injustice, and our teachers and *Alma Mater* will participate in the reproach. Men of this stamp had long since extinguished the light of science, if there had not been others more faithful, who saved it from extinction.

This, then, is our first reason; from overrating our attainments, we paralyze future efforts, and in this way accomplish less than is reasonably expected of us. What shall be the result of the expectations formed concerning us; are they too, destined to be frustrated? It is for you to determine. Capable of choice, of determination, it is for you to decide. May we not entertain the hope that you will regard yourselves as beginners in the walks of human learning, who have attained the requisite strength to move along therein, and that you will regard your life as properly consecrated to diligent progression in the way opened before you; fain would we entertain these expectations. May we not be disappointed! If we are not, well will it be for you and the cause that we advocate!

Another reason is, that we do not pursue our studies with sufficient ardor and method. It is not enough to study occasionally, by snatches, or loosely and without plan. It is not to be denied that success demands effort, much toilsome effort, effort properly directed, systematic effort. By sudden and short incursions into the domain of truth, we may gather some fruits; but it is by well planned and persevering movements that we load ourselves with the richest treasures. Learn of those whose success has been most eminent, and you will be convinced that it was due, not so much to superior abilities,

or pre-eminent facilities, as to persevering and indefatigable exertions. Let us not fail to meet the reasonable expectations formed concerning us, by withholding the skilful prosecution of the means of mental opulence. To you, I would say, as I have said to a class which preceded you, "It is industry, *improbus labor*, that overcomes difficulties." There is no royal road to science. No man can become distinguished without application, and much of it. It is idle to think of it. The indolent gentlemen, who have reputation for extensive and scientific attainments, are incorrectly reported; they may have a smattering, but they cannot be profound; they may make a display in a few things, but if rigidly tested, submitted to a crucial experiment, they would be found wanting. As much application as is consistent with your duties to your Creator, to society and yourselves, as can be made without injury to the proper physiological condition of your bodies, may safely be recommended. More than this is objectionable, both in a moral and economical point of view. A bleeding conscience cannot be stanched by literary attainments. The man who carries with him a consciousness that nothing, however high or holy, has been able to turn his attention from the prosecution of his studies, that the duties of religion, the claims of his fellow-men, founded on the strongest ties, have been neglected for the acquisition of knowledge, has created within his breast an enemy that will vitiate all his enjoyments. We can never think that the man who impairs his health, and prematurely closes his life by intemperate study, has duly measured the duties of his station. If then, the want of diligence is another cause, you will know how, by the application of it, to escape the danger.

The last reason that we will assign, is that educated men do not feel their responsibility, and therefore disappoint the expectations that are excited.

We have nothing to say upon the general subject of man's responsibility to a higher power. We must proceed upon that as admitted. If it be taken for granted that man is responsible for what he does, it is a very obvious deduction from the principle that his responsibility is commensurate with his advantages. If much be given us, much is reasonably required of us. Such is the dictate of reason, such the declaration of the statutes of heaven. If then, educated men are in advance of others, in regard to their capability of progressing in knowledge and exerting a beneficial influence upon others, it is expected, it is required by that Being to whom

we are all amenable, that they should undertake, and so far as success can be commanded by human effort, should accomplish more. If, however, we set out in life with no conviction of our dependence on God, with no sense of our responsibility, no persuasion that it is at our peril we fall below a high standard of excellence, we shall fail, inevitably fail, and though we may look around upon others, and feel complacency in the belief that we are at least equal to them, it is a deceitful gratification, based upon narrow conceptions of our obligations, and liable to the reproof that, in not doing more than others, we have been recreant to our duty, because we were under the highest and holiest obligations to do more.

Should we, then, regard ourselves as not our own, but as the servants of the Most High, placed and sustained in this world for vigorous and persevering action, then will we invest our efficiency with great power, and do credit, both to ourselves and the cause of education. Whilst an approving conscience and an approving Judge will sustain us in our toils, an approving world will hail us as an honor to our race, and highly will they prize the instruments by which, under God, we have been enabled so fully to meet the claims of our duty.

Go then, with our best wishes, to fulfil your destiny! Be humble, be diligent, be conscientious!

Remember that life is short, that it is rapidly passing away. What your hand findeth to do, do it with your might. Make it your aim to act so that no cause, that you have conscientiously espoused, shall suffer through you; that truth and righteousness may prevail more and more; then, having been good men and true, your path will be as the shining light, shining more and more till the perfect day, and your end will be that of the upright—peace. May it be so!

ARTICLE VII.

REMINISCENCES OF LUTHERAN CLERGYMEN.

XLII.

William Schmidt.

The subject of our present memoir was born December 11, 1803, in Duensbach, near Kircheim, in the kingdom of Wurtemburg. It was his privilege and happiness to be descended from a long chain of pious ancestors. His father, grandfather and great grandfather were all ministers of the Gospel. His father was Rev. George Frederick Schmidt,* a man of sound and vigorous intellect, who was interested in the culture of his children, and spared no efforts to furnish them with the proper facilities for mental improvement. He, with the mother, also sowed the seeds of religion in their hearts, and lived to witness the happy fruits of the care and labor bestowed upon them, furnishing another illustration of the importance and value of early parental instruction.

William pursued his preparatory studies, under the direction of his father, and early manifested quickness of perception and success in the acquisition of knowledge. He then entered the Saxon Gymnasia of Schleusingin and Meining-

* George Frederick Schmidt was the son of Rev. Francis Christian Lewis Schmidt and Maria Regina Seis, and was baptized when he was three days old. He commenced the study of the Latin when he was in his sixth year, and having read *Cornelius Nepos* and *Curtius*, when he was ten years old his father required him to converse with him altogether in the Latin. He continued to be the pupil of his father until he was fifteen years old, when he was placed at the Gymnasium, and thence removed to the University of Erlangen. He was subsequently a tutor in a noble family. In 1790 he was ordained, and the following year became, in consequence of the failure of his father's health, assistant minister, and afterwards his successor at Duensbach. In 1793 he was married to Catherine Margaret Kochendorf, having been engaged to her fourteen days. He speaks of her, in his Autobiography, as his faithful, industrious, prudent companion, and exemplary in every respect, and further adds: "The happiness of my married and domestic life was founded, not on her birth or wealth, but on her good sense and purity of heart, and if there ever was a marriage in the world which was happy and blessed of God, it was my own!" Such a woman was worthy to be the mother of the subject of our sketch. She died in 1834, greatly lamented, and making a "solitary home." Her husband lived till the winter of 1850, just eleven years after the death of his son William.

en, where he soon became distinguished for his classical attainments.

So enthusiastic was he in the work to which he had devoted himself, that he studied with an intensity that left no time unemployed. For a long period, he took only four hours' sleep, during the twenty-four, often studying with his feet in water, to keep him awake. His nervous system, naturally so weak, that when a child the shrill sound of a steel Harmonican would throw him into convulsions, was very much impaired by this severe application. In 1823 he was transferred to the University of Halle, where he pursued his theological studies with the same indefatigable industry and untiring zeal which characterized his former efforts. After the expiration of three years he left the Univerity, a fine scholar, possessing an extensive acquaintance with the various departments of theological science, and in accordance with the practice of the country, was received as a candidate of theology in the kingdom of Wurtemburg.

Not long after this, having previously declined an invitation to give his services as tutor in the family of the British Consul at Teneriffe, he started for the United States, in company with a younger brother, with the view of rejoining two other brothers who had previously gone thither. He reached Philadelphia in the summer of 1826. Here he remained nearly a year, acting in the capacity of editor of a German periodical, called the *American Correspondent*. He then removed to Holmes County, Ohio, where purchasing land, he became one of the original proprietors of the present flourishing town of Weinsberg, principally settled and inhabited by European Germans. Having been examined and received as a candidate of theology before he left the fatherland, he here at once organized several small congregations, influenced, not by pecuniary considerations, but by a desire to do good and a deep interest in the welfare of the people, who were destitute of the regular ministrations of the word and the sacraments. His efforts were not in vain. It is said "that the inhabitants of that region have reason always to remember with gratitude, the blessing that attended his labors for their spiritual good." The following year he was admitted as a member of the Synod of Ohio, and subsequently entered upon a wider field of usefulness, as pastor of the Lutheran church at Canton, Ohio.

It was at this period, that vigorous efforts were made to establish a Theological Seminary at Columbus, under the aus-

pices of the Ohio Synod, and attention was immediately directed to Mr. Schmidt, as a man possessing the qualifications necessary for the Professorial chair. His talents, varied attainments, and exemplary deportment, had won the confidence and secured the regard of his brethren in the ministry, with whom he was associated. He was accordingly, at the meeting of Synod held in Zanesville, 1830, unanimously elected to the office, and as soon as he could make his arrangements, entered upon the discharge of its duties. He was, at the same time, also chosen pastor of the German Lutheran congregation in Columbus. In this important field of usefulness he continued successfully to labor, with a brief interruption, until he was called to his rest. His health, however, became seriously impaired under the pressure of his manifold engagements, and in 1837 he, for a season, relinquished his duties. Having obtained leave of absence for eight months, he visited his native country, for the purpose of once more seeing his aged father and friends, and in the hope that the voyage would resuscitate his shattered constitution. The father thus speaks of the occasion: "In November, 1837, my son William came back from America to pay me a visit, and to comfort me; also to offer me a peaceful home in America. It gave me indescribable pleasure to embrace this exemplary and dutiful son, after a separation of twelve years, and to press him to my paternal heart. I would have accepted his oft-repeated invitations, if the tears of my daughter, who remained in Germany, had not withheld me." The son returned to the United States the following year, apparently very much improved in health, and the hearts of many were gladdened at the prospect, that was presented, of increased usefulness. He resumed his duties with great zest and renewed energy, but he was soon again prostrated, in consequence of his multiplied and severe labors. His death, it was supposed, was hastened by intense application and excessive exertion. On the day preceding his last illness, he had preached a sacramental sermon, and administered the Lord's Supper to upwards of two hundred communicants; although he was, at the time, in feeble health, and his system very much fatigued by the effort, yet there was a sick child to be baptized, some distance from the church, and nothing could induce him to neglect what he conceived to be a positive obligation. His friends, observing his faint and exhausted condition, expostulated with him in reference to going, but without effect. He did not consult his own convenience, he even disregarded the

state of his health. He felt that it was his duty to attend the call. This was his last official act. From the administration of this baptismal ordinance he went to his bed, whence he never rose. He was immediately attacked with nervous fever. After an illness of fourteen days he died, on the 3d of November, 1839, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. Death "found him with his loins girded and watching," and he was translated from the scene of his toils and conflicts, to that of his rest and victory. His life had been consecrated to the Redeemer, his end was peaceful and triumphant.

Deep feelings of sorrow pervaded the institution yet struggling in its infancy, on the occasion of Professor Schmidt's death, whilst a large circle of devoted friends mourned with unaffected grief the loss which had been sustained. His many virtues, and the important services which he had rendered, awakened the warm and grateful remembrance of all. At his funeral Rev. J. Wagenhals delivered an address in German, full of pathos and Christian feeling, and Rev. Dr. Hoge, of the Presbyterian church, pronounced an appropriate discourse in the English language. His father, on receiving the distressing news of his son's death, remarks: "This mournful intelligence overwhelmed me and mine in Europe, and mine in America. For with the departure of our William, the most beautiful star of our prosperity and hopes, in this fleeting, terrestrial life, faded away for them and for me!"

"Gone to the grave in all thy glorious prime,
Thy full activity of zeal and power,
A Christian cannot die before his time,
The Lord's appointed is the servant's hour!"

The remains of Professor Schmidt are interred in "*Green Lawn Cemetery*," near Columbus, where his pupils and children have unitedly erected to his memory, a neat marble monument, with the simple inscription, "Wilhelm Schmidt—1803—1839. *Unser Lehrer, unser Vater—Our Teacher, our Father.*" The monument is emblematically surmounted by a wreath of oak leaves and poppy. It bears the beautiful design of a minister of the church, clad in his clerical robes, with a cross leaning against his left arm—the right arm being elevated and pointing upwards. There is also on his left, a youth representing a pupil, and an altar with an open Bible lying upon it, at his right, upon which are engraven the words, from 1 Tim. 4 : 11, "*Solches gebiete und lehre.*"

Professor Schmidt, in the autumn of 1831, entered into the married relation with Rebecca, daughter of the late John Buckius, of Canton, Ohio. He was the father of four children, a son, who died in infancy, and three daughters, all of whom are married to Lutheran ministers; the eldest to Prof. D. Worley, of Capital University, the second to Rev. P. J. Stirewalt, of New Market, Va., and the third to Professor E. Schmid, of Capital University, Columbus, Ohio.

From all that we have been able to gather, relative to the character of Prof. Schmidt, we infer that he was a man of an active, discriminating, and thoroughly disciplined mind, of thoughtful, studious habits, and of profound and extensive attainments. He was learned, not only as a Theologian and a Philologist, being master of not less than seven different languages, but he was intimately acquainted with other branches of science. He was regarded as a fine mathematician, and showed himself at home on almost every subject introduced in conversation. The testimony of those who knew him well, is, that he "never ceased to be a *hard student*, and was continually making additions to his stores of knowledge." It is also said, that "he possessed peculiar qualifications for the office of an instructor, combining with unwearied activity all the requisite talents and acquirements." He had the power of communicating knowledge in an interesting and satisfactory manner, and of clothing his thoughts in language clear and intelligible to all. His lectures and public addresses were of a popular character, and were generally received with favor. Many of the pupils, whose studies he directed, are now in active life, occupying positions of honor and usefulness; among the number are Professor Spielman, late President of Capital Uuiversity, Professor Lehman, of the Theological Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, Pastors Gast, Pope and Spangler, Professor Heyl, Principal of Esther Institute, Judge Matthews, George Parson. Esq., and others, in whose hearts his memory is still embalmed and cherished with affectionate interest.

In the earlier part of his ministry, Professor Schmidt inclined to very liberal views in regard to the doctrines of the church, but for several years before his death, he became a very decided orthodox Lutheran, and firmly adhered to the system of doctrines taught in the Symbolical Books. He was a most enthusiastic admirer of the German language, and had strong predilections for the German character. He often became very indignant when expressions of disparagement

were employed by those who showed that they were entirely ignorant of the subject on which they professed to speak in so profound and oracular a manner. At the same time, he was unsparing in his denunciation of conduct often witnessed in his countrymen, which was calculated to tarnish the German name, and bring dishonor upon the cause of religion.

As a preacher, Professor Schmidt was very acceptable. His preparation for the pulpit was careful. His style was, however, plain and simple, addressed more to the understanding than to the imagination or the passions. His discourses were generally interwoven with a considerable amount of Scriptural truth. He is also remembered as a successful pastor. He was faithful and laborious in his ministrations. His visits to the chamber of sickness were most useful and highly prized. He fulfilled to the letter the apostolic injunction, "Rejoice with them that rejoice, and weep with them that weep." He diligently labored with a willing and self-sacrificing spirit, was conscientious in the discharge of every duty, and in every position in which he was placed, exhibited the strictest integrity and an unsullied purity of life. Many excellent traits adorned his character. He was a man of great industry. He was always employod. Even during hours of recreation, strangers calling to see him, would find him, not unfrequently, busily engaged in his garden. His disposition was social, his conversational powers good, and his manners affable and agreeable. He was a most devoted friend, and possessed the faculty of securing, in a high degree, the attachment of all who were brought into intimate relations with him. Brief was the period allotted to him in this life, but that brief period was important in its results. He was devoted to the interests of the church in which he labored, and gave himself to the work assigned him with great industry and zeal. *Non annis, sed factis, vivunt mortales.*

> "We live in deeds, not years; in thoughts, not breaths;
> In feelings, not in figures on a dial;
> We should count time by heart-throbs. He most lives
> Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best."

We have been very much interested in the character of Professor Schmidt, as we have examined the material presented to our notice in the preparation of this sketch. He would, perhaps, have been more highly appreciated by the

Church, if he had been better understood, and his excellencies more fully known. Being a foreigner, and identified exclusively with our German interests, his intercourse and relations were confined to a small portion of the church. As we have, from time to time, been removing the moss from the tombstones of our departed worthies, and looking into their character, we have often thought, how misapprehensions might be corrected, asperities softened, and kind feelings promoted, if we understood one another better, if the Church were brought into more frequent contact, and views compared. After all, there is not so wide a difference as appears on the surface. If there is diversity on minor points, there is unity in essentials. We are one, belonging to the same family, laboring for the accomplishment of the same object, and hoping at last, through the merits of the Redeemer, to reach the same blessed end !

XLIII.

Charles Henkel.

Rev. Charles Henkel was also descended from a long line of ministerial ancestors in the Lutheran church. The first of the name, who immigrated to this country, was Rev. Gerhard Henkel, who had served for a time, in his native land, as Chaplain in the University of Frankfort on the Rhine. He reached the United States in 1740, and settled in Germantown, Pa., where he assisted in the erection of a Lutheran church, which, however, he did not live to see completed, as he died soon after his arrival in this country. Every succeeding generation furnished its representative for the ranks of the ministry, whilst the father of the subject of the present sketch, and four of his brothers, were invested with the sacred office.

Charles Henkel was born on the 18th of May, 1798, in New Market, Shenandoah County, Va. His parents, Rev. Paul and Elizabeth Nagely Henkel, early dedicated him to God in baptism, and endeavored to train him under Christian influences. When he was yet a child, he was regarded by his companions as the miniature preacher, and often, when engaged in their youthful plays, they would have him officiate as the parson. Boy as he was, he even then seemed to have correct views in reference to the support of the ministry, for

we are told that, on a certain occasion, a crowd of boys having gathered around him, whilst he was holding forth from a stump for his pulpit, after he had finished his sermon, he said, "Are you going to let your preacher starve? Why don't you take up a collection?" He was received into the church, under the pastoral care of his father, by the rite of confirmation, April 8th, 1814, when he was about sixteen years old, and there is reason to believe that he devoted himself to the work of the ministry immediately after he gave his heart to God. He pursued his preparatory education at New Market, Va., and subsequently spent some time in Baltimore, more particularly in acquiring a more thorough knowledge of German and of Music. He studied Theology under the direction of his father, for at that time there was no Theological Seminary in connexion with our church. He was licensed to preach the Gospel by the Synod of Ohio, at its convention held in Somerset, in the year 1818, and immediately commenced his ministerial labors in Mason County, Va. But his first pastoral relation terminated at the end of two years. Having received and accepted a call to Columbus, Ohio, and associated churches, he removed thither in 1820. This was, at that time, a very difficult field of labor. It was a large district, composed of several congregations, and one of them distant twenty-five miles from his residence. Columbus, now a large and beautiful city, was then a small town, in the midst of woods and swamps, and surrounded by a country new and little improved, the roads indifferent, and very few, if any, bridges, so that he and his horse were often compelled to swim across the overflowing streams which lay between him and the place of his appointments. Log cabins, log churches, and log school houses have since been supplanted by elegant edifices, which, with other improvements, give a very different aspect to the country, which forty years ago was the scene of Mr. Henkel's labors. In this field he continued, amid many deprivations and toils, and often the victim of the diseases incident to a new country, until 1827, when he accepted a unanimous invitation to take charge of the Somerset pastorate, Perry Co., Ohio. Here his health seemed to improve, and he was much encouraged in the discharge of his duties. He had reason to believe that his labors were not in vain. "He exhibited," says a cotemporary, "all that energy of character and strength of intellect which, combined with a most amiable disposition, commanded the respect and secured the affections of the whole community in

which he lived. An ardent devotion to the cause of religion, an uncompromising opposition to error in every form, and a most tender solicitude for the spiritual welfare of the flock, were the prominent features of his life." His health, however, gradually failed him, and a pulmonary affection, which had been slowly developing in his system, prevented him, for a year before his death, from attending to his regular ministerial duties. But so strong was the attachment of his people to him, that they refused to call another pastor so long as he lived, and were unwilling to withdraw the regular funds for his support. During the latter part of his illness, his sufferings were most excruciating, but no murmur escaped his lips. He expressed an entire submission to the Divine will. To his friend, Rev. J. Manning, just before his death he said, "I have often endeavored to impart consolation at the bedside of the sick and the dying, and these same truths I now find so comforting to myself. The doctrines which I have believed and preached during my life, I shall now seal with my death." The only thing which he appeared to dread, was the pain connected with the separation of the soul from the body, but even this he was spared, for he fell asleep in death without a struggle or a groan. He had no fear of his last enemy. He had been long expecting him. But there was a firm and sustaining hope of heaven, founded solely on the merits of Christ. "When the Savior called for him, the servant was ready to meet his Lord." There was no ecstacy, no rapture, but being fortified by faith, "he had peace with God." He died on the 2d of February, 1841.

> "His soul to Him who gave it rose;
> God led it to its long repose,
> Its glorious rest!"

The services of the funeral, which had brought together a large concourse of sorrowing friends, were conducted by Rev. J. Wagenhals and Rev. Dr. C. F. Schaeffer, at the time Professor in the Theological Seminary at Columbus, Ohio, the former delivering a discourse in the German, and the latter in the English language. A large and beautiful monument has since been erected over his remains, by the congregations embraced in his charge, as an evidence of their tender regard and warm affection for his memory.

Mr. Henkel was twice united in marriage. His first wife was Mary C. Siegrist, of Mason County, Va. From this union there were two children, a son and daughter. The son

is Rev. D. M. Henkel, pastor of the Lutheran church in Stewartsville, N. J. His second wife was Mary Warner, of Columbus, Ohio, with whom he had one child, a son, who died in infancy.

Mr. Henkel possessed a clear and vigorous mind. He was a close student, and by diligence and application had become a respectable scholar. He seldom, if ever, entered the pulpit without the most careful and diligent preparation. His discourses were frequently written, but more generally a full sketch was used. He never failed to interest an audience, and his own people regarded him as quite an orator in the English as well as the German language. His sermons were able and instructive; they were delivered with a deliberate and distinct enunciation, and his manner in the pulpit was characterized by great calmness and solemnity. He possessed extraordinary influence in the Synod of which he was a member. He was often elected as presiding officer; when not its President, he was invariably appointed on the most important committees. He was regarded by all with feelings of deep affection and cordial confidence. When he presented his views on a subject, he was listened to with marked attention, and his opinions carried with them great weight in determining the measure adopted. He assisted in forming the English Synod of Ohio, organized in 1836.

He was a man of remarkable precision of character. This was seen in everything that he did. In the preparation of his sermons, skeletons, and even in his personal dress, there was a neatness and propriety not always found in the clerical profession. He also possessed great firmness of purpose. When he thought he was in the path of duty, he cared not for opposition or ridicule. He was never deterred from his purpose by the fear of man. He was regardless of praise or of censure, when he was convinced of the rectitude of his intentions. He was fearless and uncompromising in defence of what he believed to be the truth, and after having come to a deliberate conviction on any point, he was always ready to maintain his position. His doctrinal platform was the unaltered Augsburg Confession. In all his theological views he adhered with great tenacity to the standards and usages of the church. He was very regular and faithful in his observance of catechetical instruction, although in the community in which he dwelt, the practice was spoken of by many in terms of disparagement, and often with animadversion.

Several of Mr. Henkel's sermons were published in pamphlet form. One on the "Training of Children," and another on the "Unity of the Faith;" a third on the "Reformation by Luther," was printed by a resolution of his Synod. This was the occasion of a controversy between him and a Roman Catholic priest. He found no favor with Roman Catholics, in consequence of his unscrupulous hostility to their system of religion, and his exposure of many of its absurdities. When he died, some of them did not hesitate to assert that it was in answer to their prayers that he was removed from the world. In his discourse on the Reformation, are found his views in reference to the Papal church, and his love for that precious doctrine, which our own Luther pronounced "the article of a standing or falling church:" "It is most obvious Christ and him crucified were not the object of this system, and the people, destitute of him, were left to grope in darkness, and to feed upon the chaff and garbage of priestly follies and childish inventions. And so led from Christ, what were the consequences? And what are the consequences still, where these abuses are observed and enforced? Spiritual bondage unquestionably! For where there is a want of the knowledge of Christ, or a true understanding of the manner of becoming acceptable before God, men will necessarily submit to such precepts and injunctions as appear to them most likely to secure their eternal happiness, whether, indeed, such precepts and injunctions be found in the word of God, or whether they be invented by men; or whether they be rational, or absurd and ridiculous, or whether they be pleasant or painful; consequently the calm submission to every burden the papal system has been pleased to lay upon the necks of its subjects, from time to time, notwithstanding their intolerable weight and galling pressure. But, however deeply rooted these abuses had become, and while their advocates and supporters would have laughed at him who would have raised his hand against them, and attempted to emancipate those who had long groaned under their bondage, the Lord, whose counsels are counsels of wisdom, and whose ways are past finding out, in his own time fulfilled the desires of his people, and broke their bonds and fetters asunder. From this state, we are authorized to say, Christ has made us free. He accomplished the work in his own way, and by means which he selected in his own wisdom. Not the things that are great and mighty in the eyes of the world, but those which appear foolish to them, he chose for

this end. And it may well be said, he chose 'earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power might be of him and not of man.' Hence, in the midst of darkness, whilst men were sitting a second time 'in the region and shadow of death, the day-spring from on high visited them.' When the papal hierarchy least expected to be humbled in its pride, and to have its power diminished, the hand of him appointed for the work was taking hold of its pillars, and he whom they thought to crush like a worm, became a mighty giant, and proved unconquerable. * * * Luther was an instrument in the hands of Christ to make us free. But he accomplished the work in no other way than by bringing us back to Christ. He, and all who aided him, bore in mind that 'where the spirit of Christ is, there is liberty.' To bring us back to this source, he knew no other doctrine could be effectual but the *doctrine of justification by faith.* This he knew would at once strike at the root of the whole papal scheme, and set the troubled conscience at rest. 'This,' said he, 'is the only rock.' 'This rock,' continued he, 'did Satan shake in Paradise, where he persuaded our first parents that by their own wisdom and power they might become like unto God, who had given them life and a promise of its continuance.' 'The kingdom of Satan,' he added, 'is to be resisted by this heavenly and all powerful doctrine. Whether we be rude or eloquent, or whether we be learned or unlearned, this rock must be defended; this doctrine must be published abroad in animated strains." * * * "By maintaining this doctrine as the only basis upon which our spiritual liberty can rest, and bringing again to light the Holy Scriptures, the only source from which this doctrine can be derived, he shook the very foundation of papal superstition and error, diminished the power of Antichrist, and delivered thousands who had been groaning under its bondage."

Mr. Henkel was very much opposed to removing the "old landmarks" in religion. He resisted everything like a spirit of innovation in the doctrines and practices of the church. His views on this subject may be learned from the following passage, contained in one of his published discourses: "This spirit, though in no wise a part of genuine religion itself, has nevertheless, ever been cotemporary with religion. It has been found struggling for vent in nearly all religious denominations and classes of Christians, in almost every age. It has assumed various forms, and appeared under various modifications and aspects. To its influence man appears some-

what naturally inclined. He is a creature of passion, of a creative mind, fond of what is or appears marvellous, and ever disposed to be more influenced by what is sensual, than what is spiritual. Whatever, therefore, most effectually operates upon his animal passions, or produces the most lively imaginations, or appears most extraordinary, or corresponds most strikingly to his sensual views, he takes for realities in matters of religion. Hence his extreme liability to the influences of fanaticism. This spirit is generally known, from the direction it gives to the mind and the actions of those it influences. Where it prevails, wholesome instructions from the word of God are usually rejected. The word of God itself, indeed, is called a dead letter. The institutions of Christ, the Sacraments, are either altogether rejected, or are declared emblems without substance, and are so invalidated, that their power and efficiency cannot be felt. The influence of the Divine Spirit is sought, either without means, or such as are extraordinary. Animal feelings are relied upon as evidences of an acceptance with God, and as a testimony of vital religion. Those who differ from them in their views, are frequently regarded as deficient in piety, or wholly unconverted, and a malignant, intolerant and persecuting spirit is often manifested. Public worship, devotion, and all religious exercises, are usually forced to those extremities which a heated imagination and an excited state of feeling, free from due restraint, would naturally suggest. Feelings, imaginations and sensual views fluctuating from day to day, the individual who is under the influence of this spirit, is to-day full of all spiritual consolation, and to-morrow upon the very verge of despair. Frenzied and disturbed, he yields to convulsive throes, and sends forth shrieks of horror and anguish. And after all these commotions, the satisfactory evidence that was sought, is not found, and the troubling spirit remains in bondage and the fear of death."

He did not look with favor upon an external union of all religious denominations. He supposed that the present arrangement in the existing condition of the church, was the very best for true Christianity. He thought that if "all Christians were externally united, unanimous in the use of all the forms and ceremonies instituted of men, and known and distinguished by the same denomination, our spiritual liberty would be in greater danger than in the present divided state of Christianity. That kind of opposition which is usually found among denominations, by which one party stimu-

lates another to search after truth, and to guard against religious sloth and indifference, would cease. In the church, as well as the State, men are found, who seek their own interest more than that of the cause they are appointed to subserve. Such are never better furnished with an opportunity to carry their designs into effect, than when those whom they intend to deceive have fallen asleep around them. It is then that a corrupt and self-interested priesthood rivets if possible, both a civil and religious yoke upon an unwary and heedless world. When was it that the light of the Gospel was most eclipsed, and men most destitute of spiritual liberty? Was it not then, when the greatest boast was made of external union in the Christian church, when men, with almost one accord worshipped the beast, and submitted to have his name written on their foreheads, when the man of sin, arrogating to himself the vice regency of Christ, red with the fires of hell, premeditating with fire and sword, the destruction of all who dared to oppose him? The union of all true believers, like their king, is invisible. 'Their life being hid with Christ in God,' it does not matter whether their human ceremonies and modes of government harmonize or not. All their union which is discoverable, is their uniform obedience to the Lord's commands."

The subject of our sketch, in person, was well formed, tall, nearly six feet in height, rather slender, but erect, and of stately carriage, with black eyes and black hair. His fine appearance and expressive countenance would have attracted the attention of a stranger in a crowd, and led him to inquire who he was? He was a man of pleasant manners and affable address, rather sedate than communicative, yet cheerful and social in his disposition. He was always circumspect in his conduct, and dignified in his intercourse with others. He never appeared to forget his ministerial character. He was regarded, in the community in which he dwelt, as a man of worth and character. "The Church," says the Western Post, "lost one of its highest ornaments, when Mr. Henkel was called to his rest. Long will his memory be cherished in the bosoms of those to whom he was endeared; long will his congregations remember their faithful pastor, and the whole community regret the loss which they sustained, when one whose doctrines and whole life so highly recommended the cause of religion, was removed from their midst."

ARTICLE VIII.

WHAT IS THE RESULT OF SCIENCE WITH REGARD TO THE PRIMITIVE WORLD?

Also a literary index of the most important works on this subject.

Tota illa aetas periit diluvio, sicut infantiam mergere solet oblivio.—AUGUST.

Translated from A. Tholuck's Miscellaneous Works.

By Professor T. J. Lehmann, Pittsburg, Pa.

"EXPLAIN the traditions and narrations of the Bible, as you would any other old tradition and fiction, look only at their moral tendency, as you would in fables and tales of an Æsop, a Phædrus, a Lockman, a Lafontaine, a Lichtwehr, a Gellert, a Lessing, and consider not the garb in which it is clothed." "The history of the Creation, that of the Patriarchs, of the Deluge—is founded upon the traditions and myths of some ancient nation of the world, whose own ideas and uuderstanding were yet feeble, and in whom reason had just commenced to free itself from the ignorance and wildness of barbarism. These *sayings* were farther arranged and formed, in accordance with the weak understanding of the Israelites, and so shaped and clothed, as to suit their condition. They were adapted to the condition of the Jewish nation of that period, within reach of their comprehension, sufficient and suitable for that people and its time, but, for our enlightened age, these tales and calculations are no longer sufficient."—Ballenstedt, Pastor at Brunswick, in his work entitled, Die Urwelt. "Natural Sciences," says another Theologian, (Bretschneider, in his "Sendschreiben") have caused more disturbance, and acted more destructively upon the doctrines of ancient Theology, than speculative Philosophy. Geology no longer agrees with Moses, as regards the Creation and the revolutions our globe has undergone. Unmindfnl of Theology, it teaches tnat the earth has gone through several great epochs of formation, of undefinable, but great length of time; and that the first formations upon it have again perished." "It was the sublime science of Astronomy. . . . that destroyed the ideas of antiquity with regard to heaven, to earth, to hell, to resurrection, to judgment, and to the end of the world, which to the time of the Reforma-

tion, had remained unchanged. Natural historians and travellers described the varieties of the human races, in form, color, and mental powers; the varieties produced by their intermixture, pointing out the remaining organic differences between them, and showing that they were not the result of climate or food, but that they were founded upon the *variety of origin*. Blumenbach collected human skulls from all parts of the world, and formed these views into a system. How embarrassing now the situation of the Theologian! If there is to be no longer *one* Adam for all mankind, but one Adam for the Caucasian, another for the Negro, a third for the American, a fourth for the Malay, and a fifth for the Mongolian, &c. Where is the dogma of the Bible, with its teachings of one Adam, of the fall, of sin transmitted by Adam upon mankind, and the whole doctrine of the inheritance of sin, as a consequence of the fall of Adam, and the inability of avoiding sin, descended to us through him. If all this is done away with, how is the necessity of Christ's substituting sacrifice, as the second Adam, to take away the sin of the first, to be proved? Where is the ground for condemnation of the heathen, who did not descend from Adam?"

This is the utterance of ministers of the Christian church in the nineteenth century. If we hear such words fall from the lips of the *guardians of the Christian sanctuary*, after the voice of a Julianus, a Porphyrus, a Voltaire, had been silenced, who would not exclaim: "Oh Lord! deliver thy church of her friends; from her enemies, there is no danger." And the tendency, expressed in words, by two leaders of this movement, will continue to spread. Who can deny, although among a small number of our Theologians, science has been brought back into an intimate connection with the church, that with a large majority, a separation of Theology from the church, is irresistibly going on. Philosophy and natural sciences are taking the place of Divinity; Exegesis is replaced by Philology or Antiquarianism. The time is not far distant, nay, has in a measure arrived, when the young Theologian will look to a Professor of Mathematics, Anthropology or Natural Sciences, for explanations of Divinity and morality; and as Theology submits willingly to be taught and instructed by profane science, so will the church, as a national institution, subject herself to the service of State power. Deafened by the incessant cry of "*Great is our Diana of Ephesus!*" which the men of science (this title they have lately assumed) exclaim in praise of their Goddess, in all the journals, pam-

phlets and cyclopedias, scarcely a village schoolmaster or gymnasiant, let alone a candidate for Theology or a pastor, can be found, who quotes Jesus or Moses, without offering an apology. "As Jesus or Moses of old says," is the highest compliment thrown after these God-men, if they are allowed to occupy a place in the rear guard, behind the formidable front of the geniuses of the nineteenth century, for having, now and then, made some sensible remark.

The scientific sun of the nineteenth century has thrown his perpendicular rays *especially* upon the domain of the Antediluvian world and its history, causing all shadows to disappear, and those of the primitive world, that have thrown the influence of the Bible so extensively over mankind, to retire modestly into their proper sphere, the *world of fables*. And being confident of having perfected the work, the new discoveries could not soon enough be laid before the public. Ballenstedt's and Link's works on the primitive world, were avowedly written for the people;* in fact, Ballenstedt deserves credit for having written so plainly, that even the uncultivated footman or cook, can gather from it the necessary lumination upon the productions of the primitive world.

Theology that would exclude from its dogma and creeds, the wide domain of human arts and sciences, with all its sound and unsound fruits, would certainly be wrong. No! a living interchange must be maintained; the Theologian must consult all that the wisdom of the times has brought to the surface, but as says the Apostle, "*be ye not the servants of men.*" Have not the theologians maintained a more or less lively intercourse with the various systems of Philosophy, of their time, and made use of the Apostolic words: "*All things are yours,*" in accordance with the greater or less degree of faith and understanding they poseessed?

In our opinion, the word of God should neither build a wall between itself and the light of sciences, nor should it absorb its rays without refracting; but reproducing an image of more than seven fold beauty, it should indicate its own fulness by reflecting with greater brightness. We say then, at the outset, that we consider as normal, only those subjects

* Cuvier's work is also written in a readable style for the greater number of the public; it instructs persons, not initiated in the science, in the hieroglyphics of the ancient world, created by God, as understandingly, as Champollion's précis in those of Egyptian invention; besides, French Professors generally—in contradistinction to the German—take pains to write their books for other persons, as well as for Professors.

of primitive Biblical history, as really pertain to religion, and that we willingly allow a ruling influence to physical and astronomical truths, upon those views and representations in the Scriptures, that belong to their province. How necessary it is, however, not to be too liberal in making this allowance, will be shown in the following essay. We also wish to communicate to our Theological reader, on matters concerning the primitive world, a little of "Papa Goethe's" caution, who expresses himself with regard to the then new Vulcanic theories, somewhat like the following:*

> Scarcely noble Werner is gather'd to his fathers,
> When Neptune's domain is destroyed;
> The world now worships at Vulcan's feet.
> I hesitate; for I can
> From its fruits only judge the tree,
> And oft have refused my Credo.
> No matter, new Gods or new Idols,
> I hate them all alike.

We undertake to review the most important questions with regard to the Antediluvian history; to present the results of the latest researches, and to examine whether, and how far, the main points found in history, as given by Moses, are overthrown by science. We have to preface this essay by two remarks: 1. That we obtain false views of the relation existing between Christian dogmas and science, if we adopt the dogmas as laid down in some books, protestant or catholic; and the same may be said of Natural sciences, if we take for truth, what we may find in many books, upon which we may, perchance, lay our hands. If we are satisfied with any work on dogma we find, we may be compelled, e. g., to enter upon a calculation, how much room will be needed on the day of judgment, for those to be judged; and rejoice with the Mathematician, in Ammon and Hänslein's Theological Journal, (Vol. III. p. 197) at the following successful refutation of the skeptics: "Allowing each century three thousand millions of people, and each person two feet to stand upon, we shall have for sixty centuries, the world being six thousand years old, one hundred and eighty thousand millions; consequently require three hundred and sixty thousand millions square feet. Since a single mile contains four hundred millions square feet, and the earth's surface about

* Pocket edition, Vol. IV. p. 384.

nine millions square miles, one hundred and eighty thousand millions of people require only nine hundred square miles, or 1-10320th part of the area of the globe. The diameter of this area would be thirty-five, its radius seventeen and a half miles. Therefore, standing in the centre, on a mound of the height of Mont Blanc, one might overlook this vast assemblage." On the other hand, if we adopt the first chance book on Natural sciences for established truth, we will have to believe, e. g., with Buffon, the earth to be a piece of the sun, knocked off accidentally by a comet, requiring thirty-four thousand years to cool, before it could be touched, which would considerably puzzle the expounder of Genesis, who understands water *to* be the cause of the present form of our planet. Science stands not in as slight a connection with the man who discovers it, as with the tobacco smoke he may blow from his lips; it is his breath rather, and carries upon it the impress of the character of his liking and disliking. At a time like the present, when the mass of votaries of Natural sciences, as well as all other children of our age, and the latter perhaps more than the former, are so destitute of the pious hearts of the heavenward-turned minds of their forefathers, the result will show itself in their labors; it will be rather antipathetic to the interests of religion, than sympathetic. Consequently, many apparently great contradictions to truths in the Scriptures, adduced by individual philosophers, will, at the present time, appear in a less degree the contradiction of science itself. We should never forget, and especially not at the present hour, to draw a line of distinction between the contradiction of the scientific man, and that of the science. This introduces our second remark, viz:— Should a theologian, now ane then, leave a question of the Naturalist unanswered, and remain silent, he will not feel disconcerted, for he will reflect that this or that philosopher not yet represents the science of Natural Philosophy, and he will further find consolation in the thought, that if a theologian were to catechize a Natural philosopher, the latter might, in his turn, on many points be reduced to silence.

The subjects we wish to contemplate, with regard to the primitive world, are the following:

1. The formation of the earth.
2. The extinct races of the primitive world.
3. The age of the world.
4. The first man, and in connection with it the place of his first appearance.
5. Primitive language.

I. *The Formation of the Earth.*

If we pursue our researches of the origin of the world, we will finally arrive at a point involving the question, whence matter received its existence, and if philosophic reasoning crosses and blesses itself when arrived at this, the stopping place of all created reasoning, we expect to find the Naturalist much more willing to preserve silence. "Cosmogeny," says A. v. Humboldt,* "presupposes the existence of all matter now distributed over the Universe, and occupies itself only with the many changes through which this matter has passed, until it has arrived at its present form and combination. *All beyond this circle is a presumption of philosophizing reason.*" We place ourselves modestly one degree lower; we take matter as we find it, and ask, how has it become what it is? At that point then, Natnral Philosophy has thought itself able to make a beginning. Pastor Ballenstedt, of Brunswick, (Urwelt, Vol. II. p. 2) is of the opinion that, "although we can never arrive at the whole truth, yet we have approached it (the manner how the world was created) considerably nearer than at the time of Zoroaster and Moses, since we possess a more accurate knowledge of nature, and of the internal formation of our earth; and herein we can see and judge with more certainty than men of the ancient world." Count Zinzendorf's opinion of all clever thoughts of children of man, that they will appear, some day, as so much scandal before the *Most High*, might be of some weight, at least in this instance of human smartness, since a Lichtenberg† reasons that nine-tenths of the fifty hypotheses he enumerates, belong rather to the history of the *human mind*, than to the *history of the earth*, and that the noble naturalist, animated by an impulse of imitative art, upon finding *sea animals* on dry land, *without a trace of an ocean*, gave us *conclusions without a trace of a premise.* Let us also listen to the opinion of another well known searcher in this branch of science:‡ "It has been remarked elsewhere, that the origin of the whole Universe, consequently also that portion of it which forms our earth, lies entirely beyond the reach of human knowledge.

* Essay on the disengagement of Caloric, considered as a Geognostic phenomenon in v. Molls Jahrbüchern der Berg-und Hüttenkunde, Vol. III. p. 6.

† Geologische Phantasieen, Göttingen Taschenbuch, für 1795, p. 79.

‡ Munke's revised Dictionary on Physics, by Gehler, 1828. IV. 2d division, p. 1278.

The means employed in our researches are nowise adequate to scan all parts of the Universe. Although the human eye, armed with gigantic telescopes, penetrates immeasurable distances, yet the space, imperfectly explored by this means, remains only an insignificant portion of the whole, and all that has been said about it, as the result of many carefully conducted observations, is, in by far the greater number of cases, mere supposition, and bold, although probable hypothesis. It would appear ridiculous, if we were to attempt an explanation of the origin of the almost unknown whole, from the knowledge we possess of the earth, and a few planets and fixed stars; *the modest Naturalist excludes it, therefore, from the sphere of Physics, and places it where it still properly belongs, into the province of religious belief.*" How is this? The theologians, Bretschneider and Ballenstedt, direct us to the schools of Natural Sciences, and these send us back to the school of faith? But so it is. And to prove that the modesty of the Naturalist, whose language we have just quoted, is not without good reason, we have only to bestow a passing glance upon a few of the most important hypotheses, of which Lichtenberg, in his time, already knew as many as fifty.

After the revival of sciences, Descartes was the first who attempted, by peculiar combinations, to explain natural phenomena, and their ultimate origin. In the beginning, there was a chaotic, hard, primitive mass, which by God's almighty power was broken, and set in motion by confrication of its parts. In consequence of this motion, the three elements sprang forth, from which the constituent parts of the Universe were formed, viz: a fine ethereal matter, small globules and particles of coarser nature and angular form. From the first arose the sun and the fixed stars; the second gave existence to ether, or to the matter in which worlds revolve; the third furnished material for the planets and comets. At first the earth was a star, having a revolving motion around its own axis only. There was, however, in its composition, an admixture of much coarse matter, which finally surrounded it with an opaque crust, through which, even now, the central fire penetrates in some places. In this condition, the earth was seized by the whirling motion of the sun, and carried along with it. The coarsest particles of the third element were precipitated first, and formed land and water. But since the finer particles of the third element, which were lodged upon the water, could not be entirely freed from the coarser,

a crust grew out of them, which finally broke down, and formed the dry surface of the earth.* Halley, Herschel and Schubert discover a similar primitive matter in the nebulae of the heavens.

The geological hypotheses of two English Theologians, whose fate it seemed to be, to think in many respects differently from all other people, occupy the first rank after those of Cartesius. According to Thomas Burnet,† the earth was in the beginning a chaotic mass, from which the heavier particles were precipitated, and formed themselves into a nucleus, *around* which water, and *over* which air was collected. The latter discharged its oily and earthy particles, and reassumed its transparency. By this means a crust was formed around the earth, a fit habitation for mankind; only without mountains and valleys. This crust, dried by the heat of the sun, burst, after a lapse of sixteen hundred years; was thrown into the water, carrying along a quantity of air, by which the ocean was raised still higher, and destroyed all living beings during the deluge. The water retired gradually into subterranean caverns, left part of the ruins of the crust exposed, which now presented mountains and valleys, as the new abode of Noah, and those saved with him. Whiston says:‡ the earth was originally a comet, that developed itself gradually in the course of six years (the six days of the creation); the transformation of the crust of the earth, was caused by the approach of another comet, which, from its tail, partly discharged the waters of the deluge, and partly attracted the water from the cracked and partially elevated crust of the earth. According to Leibnitz,‖ the earth takes its origin from fused matter, the cooling of which marks the separation of light from darkness, and the epoch of the beginning of creation. The deposits, by the heat vitrified formed a basis of the crust, and the lumps and bubbles in it, gave rise to mountains and caverns, as they now exist. The vapors contained in the atmosphere, condensed during

* Principia philosophiae Amstsl. lib. II. This hypothesis of Cartesius was also brought in harmony with the Bible, e. g. in Cartesius mosaizans, by Amerpoel.

† Telluris theoria sacra. Lond. 1681.

‡ A new theory of the earth, Cambr. 1708.

‖ Protogae sive de prima facie telluris et antiquissimae historiae vestigiis in ipsis naturae momentis. Acta erudd. Lips. 1693 separately edit. by Schneid, Göttingen, 1749.

the process of cooling, descended upon the earth, in form of water, dissolved the salts, and communicated its saltness to the ocean. Cooling to a still lower degree, clefts were made in the earth, into which the water retired still farther; at a later period some of the highest portion caved in, and forced the water back over the whole surface. This the Deluge. Buffon says:* A comet coming diagonally in contact with the sun, knocked off 1–650th part of its matter. From the fragments of this mass, all planets were formed, and received from the shock of the concussion their rotary motion around their own axes, and impelled by gravitation, commenced their revolutions around the central sun, and in consequence of their motion, became rounded and flattened at the poles. Since Buffon, as well as Newton, believed the sun to be red hot, this fragment must have been red hot also. It continued in this state during three thousand years, and required thirty-four thousand years to cool sufficiently to be touched. The cooling process gave rise to undulations and bubble-like elevations, the original valleys and mountains. What formed subsequently the ocean, was still suspended in the air, because the earth remained during twenty-five thousand years so much heated, as to convert water into vapor. It was only after this period, that water gradually descended upon the earth, and covered it to a height of twelve thousand feet, leaving no other part exposed than the summits of the highest mountains. The water gradually penetrated the interior cavities of the earth, and left its surface inhabitable. Owing to the high degree of temperature, the productive power was at first very great, and tropical animals were enabled to live in a high northern latitude. The polar regions cooling first, became inhabitable before any other portion of our globe; and as this cooling still continues, the earth will be unfit for habitation in ninety-three thousand years. According to the pious geologist, De Luc,† this earth was in the beginning a chaotic mass, which contained the elements of all mineral and organic substances now to be found upon it, partly in form of a mixture, partly in chemical solution. These elements could not affect each other, since the liquid portion remained torpid during the absence of light and heat. The creation of light, with which the fire of the earth combined,

* Histoire naturalle générale et particulière. Tom. I.

† Lettres physiques et morales &c. 1779. 5 B. Lettres sur l'histoire physique de la terre, addressées á M. Blumenbach &c. 1779.

dissolved this torpid mass, and allowed its component parts to act upon each other. During the second period, the solid particles were precipitated, according to the laws of affinity, and formed the granite crust of the earth, while the expansive liquids united themselves with the atmosphere, leaving, however, under the granite, a stratum of slime, and a nucleus of dust-like particles. Over the granite, gneiss, wacke and slate were deposited from the water, which latter disappeared during the third period, amid the slime and dust, under the granite. The sinking of a portion of the firm substance, caused inequalities and caverns, the coverings of which again breaking in masses of great extent, caused water to collect, leaving other portions dry, by means of which the sea became separated from the land. Upon this, vegetation sprung up, whilst at the bottom of the former was formed what now constitutes our dry land, from the fragments of the broken primitive strata. During the fourth period commenced the decomposition of sun-matter combined with that of light; the light emitted was communicated to the earth, and through it, undiminished heat maintained. The population of the ocean and the deposition of limestone, in which we find the first traces of imbedded sea animals, are comprised in the fifth period of the creation. By repeated cavings, the position of the strata were changed obliquely, many new strata of limestone were formed, with petrefactions in great number; rock salt and sandstone layers were deposited, and vulcanic eruptions made their appearance. To this period, probably, belong also the formation of gangs and metals. A sudden revolution, occasioned by the repeated breaking through of great masses, elevated the former bottom of the sea, and buried the dry land under water; the latter gradually receding into the subterranean cavities, left the land inhabitable. The filling of the earth with living races, was the last act of the creation. The deluge was at a later period occasioned by water, descending from the atmosphere, and also by gushing from subterranean caverns, carrying along in its course, and depositing the remains of animals of the primitive world, in such regions, where at present they could not live.

Let the above hypotheses, which belong to the last century, suffice; although we might add, as before remarked, a long list of celebrated names, such as le Grange, la Place, Franklin, &c. By consulting Munke, we will now have an opportunity of examining those hypotheses which also sprung up at the latter part of the last century, but which, at present,

have the greatest currency. It is well known that geologists divide themselves in two classes, viz: those who ascribe the process of the formation of the earth to the agency of water, the *Neptunists*, and those who believe fire to have been the chief agent, the *Vulcanists*. The former class take their origin from the celebrated Werner. According to Werner,* the globe was originally composed of an aqueous, semi-fluid matter, from which were deposited, in successive periods, the different kinds of stone, in the following order: 1. The primary rocks, which consist in a series of stone, and are deposited as follows: granite, gneiss, slate and argillaceous schist. 2. The liquid lost in the former deposits at least one-half of its solid matter. 3. A revolution forced the water to a height equal, at least, to one-half that of the primary rocks, whence originated, by means of dissolution and washings, the transition rocks. 4. After this revolution followed a period of rest, for vegetation and animalization. 5. Another revolution among the liquid portion, destroyed part of the primary and transition rocks, together with all organized beings, and upon its ruins arose the secondary rock. 6. During the two revolutions, all the sand was formed from the tossed ruins of quartz rock. 7. Since the formation of the secondary rock, only local revolutions have taken place, produced chiefly by water currents, from which alluvial strata derive their existence. 8. Crystalization, which was prominent during the formation of granite, gradually decreased, which explains the laminated character of later formations. 9. Basalt was the last production occasioned by inundations, which covered the already formed rocks.

Hutton, who represents the Vulcanic theory, opposes the Neptunic, especially on the following grounds: There are pieces of fossil wood, which are petrified into flint, to a certain depth only, the remainder being unchanged. They can, therefore, not have been penetrated by a watery solution of flint-earth, since they would have been thoroughly saturated; consequently they were surrounded by flint fused by fire. Sulphur is found combined with metallic ores, in enormous quantities, especially with iron. If this combination had been brought about by a watery solution of both substances, sulphates would have been formed, and instead of pyrites, the product would have been sulphate of iron; we can there-

* Kurze Klassification und Beschreibung der verschiedenen Gebirgsarten. Dresden 1787. Neue Theorie der Gänge. Freib. 1791.

fore think of but one combination of these substances in a fused state. Solid metals, so frequently found; pure manganese, as discovered in small bodies by la Peyrouse; crystalized natron, without water of crystalization, as found by Dr. Black, cannot have been watery fluids; nor can the deposition, one upon another, of spar, quartz, pyrites and other minerals, be explained in this manner.

All earthy substances, and especially those which form the constituent parts of granite, are so little soluble in water, that an almost unimaginable quantity of water would be required for their dissolution and subsequent crystalization. But to the adoption of a fluid produced by heat, much less objection is to be made, since the experiments of Dr. Beddoc prove that in a fusion of an admixture of earthy and metallic substances, it depends entirely on outward circumstances, viz: the time of cooling, whether it will resemble the very regular form of Basalt, or whether it will assume the very irregular character of granite; and even the porcelain of Reaumur, receives its crystalline structure from the slow cooling process of the fused glass. Finally, Hutton proves indisputably, that Basalt can have been only a dry fluid, from its peculiar character, as well as from the substances with which it is surrounded, since it is in every respect connected with lava. If this point be conceded, it follows clearly, from the extensive masses of this rock, found especially on the coast of Great Britain, and everywhere on the Continent, as well as upon numerous islands, that a great many changes have taken place upon the surface of the earth, by vulcanic action, during an indefinite, but long period of time; and it is not supposable that the power which, in our time, continues to work so many violent destructions, should not have acted with much greater violence, especially at the beginning of the formation of our globe.

To Hutton's may be added the celebrated system of Scipio Breislak, which is laid down in his geology, and translated into German by Strombeck. According to his ideas, the liquid state of our globe was caused by caloric, and was changed into a solid, when *free* caloric became latent, on entering those bodies in which we now discover it. Thus the earth gradually cooled, and this process extending into the interior of our globe, formed strata, which being rent and cleft into chasms, caused immense masses to fall. The primitive ocean was originally hot, in violent commotion, and considerably higher than at present. It fell in consequence of the gradual

cooling of the earth, and the receding of water into subterranean, by bubbles formed, caverns. Primary rocks obtained their crystalline form from the action of fire; the transition rocks and coal strata certainly from water, the effective power of the latter being increased through the presence of caloric and chemical substances. This vulcanic formation of the primary rocks explains likewise, why no remains of organic matter are found in them, the germs of which could originate only at a later period, during the gradual process of cooling. Here let us stop and pass by other names. And what, we would ask, is then the present result of geology? In order to learn what views in the different branches of science maintain themselves on a level with the spirit of our time, we can consult no more reliable source than the work which professes to give the latest opinions of our time, and considerably aids in forming them, we mean the Conversations Lexicon, by Brockhaus. Here we find (seventh edition), on the formation of the earth, the vulcanic hypothesis (Breislak's system forms a long separate article) marked as the one now prevalent, as in fact it is adhered to by most geologists, the English perhaps excepted. But this decision in favor of vulcanism in general, signifies but little; for the opinions with regard to the *extent*, the *manner* and *time* of the coöperation of fire, are so varied, that it would be difficult to find individuals who agree in every particular one with another. The profession of vulcanism by many, signifies no more than an acknowledgment of the opinion that the Basalt and Trachyte rocks are vulcanic apparitions.

That organ, the representative of the spirit of our time, the Conversations Lexicon, wisely concludes *to look to the future for the solution of those enigmas.* "If we compare," it says, art. Geognosy, Ed. of 1830, "on one hand, the scientific necessity which seems to present itself in this (vulcanic) theory, to that which is diametrically opposed to the teaching of science, in Werner's (Neptunic), probability inclines more towards the vulcanic, than to the Neptunic hypothesis, *without taking that, however, as proved, because many of the enigmas cannot be solved which we find in the study of the details of the ancient foundation of the earth.*" In art. "Urwelt" we find: "Although the knowledge of organic remains is of great importance to the geological history of the earth, ... *we obtain only erroneous views, if we believe with some otherwise respectable authors, that the theory on the formation of the earth may be founded entirely upon*

a basis which comprises so small a portion of the whole structure, and offers but very limited evidence upon many very important points in the history of the revolutions of the earth." One of our modern works on the same subject, (Nat. Hist. of Man, F. G. H. R. Wagner, Kempton 1832, Vol. II. p. 21) concludes with the following similar remarks: "If we calmly consider what truth modern Geognosy has added to the history of the formation of the earth, we feel constrained to confess that it is but little, and that all researches have, at present, resulted in hypotheses, the intenability of which to prove, a new discovery of our time, often was sufficient. Important as the facts may be, and as much as the persevering industry of Naturalists has accomplished within the latter years; much as all this may fill us with astonishment, and teach and edify us; what does it all amount to, when compared to what remains hidden from our eyes? Humboldt attained, on the Chimborazo, to a height of eighteen thousand feet, and the deepest excavations or mines which are known, scarcely descend one thousand feet below the level of the sea; for the pits in the Tyrol and Friberg (Vol. I., p. 102) have their entrance so high above the surface of the ocean, that if we calculate their depths from the latter, there remain little more than one thousand feet of absolute depth; we may therefore say, that we are not acquainted with the crust of the earth, to the thickness of one mile, scarcely that of seven-eighths of a mile, if we allow twenty-two thousand eight hundred and forty feet, Parisian measure, to a geographical mile. The diameter of the earth having $1718\frac{7}{8}$ geographical miles, and deducting the fraction for the known part, we have seventeen hundred and eighteen geographical miles, of which we know absolutely nothing, left for our investigation. A thin covering of dust upon a globe of ordinary size, would be in proportion, a much thicker crust than that of the earth, accessible to us. We should commit a great error, if we were to believe that we are sufficiently acquainted with all the strata, to a depth of nineteen thousand feet, or that we had dug down to that depth, at all places from the surface, or even at any one. It is well known that six million eight hundred thousand square miles of the earth's surface is covered by water, and that the land exposes an area of about two million four hundred thousand square miles; we are entirely unacquainted with the bottom of the ocean and the larger seas, and can form suppositions only, with regard to its character; we know but imperfectly a portion of

some mountains of Europe, of the north of Asia and of America; and very little of those in Africa and the East Indies, and even of the most explored part of the earth, of Europe, containing only about one hundred and fifty-four thousand square miles, one-half is almost entirely unknown to us, as regards the interior conformations; and in Germany, France and England, although each small province boasts of its zealous explorer of mountains, many large districts have been but superficially examined. With these scanty means, then, we have the confidence to attempt to throw a clear light upon the history of the formation of this planet, when in reality, but a faint glimmer has commenced to dispel utter darkness! Two decenniums have not elapsed, since granite was considered the undermost stratum of primary rocks, and it was considered a settled fact, that all other formations rested upon it; now, we know that it is found sometimes above, and sometimes under the old slate; that it even sometimes covers the old limestone, the red sandstone, and even the strata of lias. It is but a short time, when no one dared to entertain a doubt about the Neptunic theory, that granite was formed from the deposits of an aqueous solution, according to the school of Werner, until modern Chemistry pointed out the great improbability of such a formation, and showed, by means of fire, the possibility of producing similar results. Modern Geognosy made use of this; adopted all stratified rocks as Neptunic, and all unstratified, among which lava, which is certainly of Vulcanic production, as of Plutonic origin, viz: formed by the agency of fire, in which granite was also included, it never being stratified. But in this they also encounter so many difficulties, that many experienced Naturalists, who cannot reconcile their views with the above, prefer to adhere to the former, when it would perhaps be better had they abandoned all. In fact, it is difficult to understand how granite could be formed by fire, and gneiss and mica by water, if we consider that those formations are formed alternately, and change from the one to the other, almost imperceptibly. Brongniart finds himself so puzzled by it, that he sometimes calls granite the oldest Neptunic and sometimes Plutonic formation."

With such admissions of the insufficiency of the researches hitherto made, the question, how far they disagree with the history of the Creation, as taught by Moses, will scarcely be asked. But what shall we say when the *latest* (eighth) edition of the Conversations Lexicon, makes the following ac-

knowledgment (art. Urwelt p. 564)? "*The results which we may accept as firmly established in Geology, and consider as so much gain*, their most contrary direction of explanations by Naturalists notwithstanding, already *show the most perfect unison with the first book of Moses.*" (Compare Vol. II. p. 152, Conversations Lexicon der neuesten zeit.) Every one of the now accepted systems points to a struggle for supremacy between fire and water. Have not most of the present systems adopted the motto sung by the Psalmist after the Genesis:

Who laid the foundation of the earth, that it should not be removed for ever. Thou coveredst it with the deep as with a garment; the waters stood above the mountain.

At Thy rebuke they fled; at the voice of Thy thunder they fled away.

The mountains ascend, the valleys descend unto the place Thou hast founded for them.—*Psalm* 104.

To this compare Ps. 90: 2, in the original text:

Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever Thou hadst formed the earth and the world whirling, &c.*

All systems differ as to how the chaotic mass was made to produce, and how life was instilled, and we affirm positively, that all the modes they suggest are inadequate. Thus, may we really suppose that the act of calling the present sublunary world into existence, differs from any other physical experiment in nothing but quantity of material. Thus, then, every experimentalist may become a Creator, on a small scale, and the law of precipitation, which is illustrated by an experiment with a beer glass full of vinegar and chalk, by adding a quantity of sulphuric acid, which uniting with the chalk, causes precipitation, and forms gypsum; this, then, is the secret by which the world, with its valleys adorned in beauty, and crowned mountains, is called forth. And not only the formation of our own planet, we are enabled to imitate by experiments, but even the birth of those rare visitors who, terror-spreading, sweep through our planetary system,

* Silberschlag already remarks in his Geognosy, § 74' how Moses, in accordance with Natural Sciences (and, we may add, with the record in Genesis) *first* names mountains, as having made their appearance. We might, however, with de Wette and others, make תחולל v. 2d the *earth* the subject, and translate: "Before the earth brought forth," viz: plants, animals. Thus the agreement with, 1. Moses 1. would be still greater.

the Comets, can by experiments, be done over before our own eyes, by the skill of an experimentalist.*

> Who would describe and study aught alive,
> Seeks first the living spirit thence to drive;
> Then are the lifeless fragments in his hand,
> Then only fails, alas! the spirit land.
> This process, Chemists name in learned thesis,
> Mocking themselves, Naturae encheiresis.

Natural Philosophers, such as Steffens and Schubert, have indeed hinted at agencies and methods beyond the narrow horizon of experimental physics. Steffens says in a former work,† "It was the limited doctrine of precipitation, transferred from a narrow view of experimental chemistry into the history of the formation of the earth, which prevented Naturalists from uniting upon a common basis, for observations on the transformation of all elements. Innumerable varieties of the most heterogeneous substances, are to be dissolved in a fluid, the character of which no Natural Philosopher has described or conveyed a clear idea of in this monstrous supposition; or given an explanation of the manner in which the dissolution or the precipitation is to be effected." Schubert says:‡ "The Naturalist finds in every earthquake, in every great Vulcanic eruption, the limits of his narrow, one-sided theories broken; but he should not give up in despair, when it is of importance to attribute to surrounding nature an internal power and motion, which lie by no means without the analogy of his daily observations." The Christian Theologian can, in fact, as long as Geology occupies no other than its present position, with regard to all hypotheses, make use of the proud language of Christina, Queen of Sweden, when abdicating her crown: *Non mi besogna e non mi basta*—I need it not, and it is not enough for me. The Bible, in the history of the creation, mentions but one agency, the Spirit of God, big with life, hovering over the waters. This is all. Truly a poetic metaphor! But Natural Philosophers of the true kind, have acknowledged that, when on this sub-

* Gruithusen: Ueber die Natur der Kometen, mit Reflectionen auf ihre Bewohnbarkeit und Schicksale, München 1811.

† Geognostische-geologische Aufsätze, als Vorbereitung zu einer inneren Naturgeschichte der Erde. 1810, p. 198.

‡ Die Urwelt und die Fixsterne, p. 9.

ject, they become poetical, in spite of themselves.* If the poet is a ποιήτης, then he is a creator, and construes the words of God, not according to scanty experiments, but in harmony with the Spirit, and through the Spirit, which in him descends from God, and testifies of God.

And what is the first product of that creative agency which rests upon the waters? Moses begins with *light*. We shall here not give a decision between the two main divisions of interpreters, the elder of which, considers that day's work as a description of a production of something absolutely *new*, or a *creation*, in the strict sense of its meaning; and the modern, which discovers in it only a representation of the gradual development of our earth, from its chaotic state.† Taking the interpretation of the former, it means here the creation of primitive light, which was communicated at a later period only, to the luminating bodies.‡ According to inter-

* A. v. Humboldt, Ansichten der Natur 1. Bd. Vorrede S. VI.

† We find the names of the defenders of both theories, in Hahn's Dogmatic, p. 278. A very learned treatise on the history of the Creation, in accordance with the views of former Theologians, is to be found in the Examen historiae creationis, by J. H. Hottinger. Heidelberg, 1659.

‡ It is very astonishing that Theologians, nay, even Professors of Theology, in German lecturing chairs, when explaining Genesis, amuse themselves, year after year, at the expense of the ignorance in matters of Physic, of a so-called "Referee," who not even knew that light "comes from the sun." These enlightened Professors of Theology really know that light flows from the body of the sun. They who so much recommend progress, are, themselves, not far enough advanced, to know that scarcely a Schoolmaster educated in our Seminaries, could be found, who believes with Newton, that the sun is a ball of fire, and who know not that the sun, like the earth, is an opaque body, receiving its light from a surrounding light-atmosphere at a distance of five hundred miles; and that our earth depends not for light and heat on the body of the sun alone. If this is terra incognita to them, they can certainly not have heard how Herschel and Schubert find in the firmament of the fixed stars, the primitive source of light, whence it is distributed to all other bodies. But if those men would limit themselves to their Hebrew, and to the lines before their eyes, they might see that אור verse 8, and מאור, verse 14, although both are translated by Luther as *light*, have a different meaning. That the latter is intended for luminary, hence a body upon which light is found, is proved by 2 Moses 25 : 6; and do we not find 1 Moses 14 expressly, "luminaries in the firmament of heaven, to divide the day from the night, and govern them," If we are inclined to amuse ourselves at this "Referee," his ignorance would only appear in that he considered the light and the sun as two different bodies—in which case modern Astronomers would be equally condemned—not, in that he was ignorant of the fact, that day and night depend upon the sun. To have arrived at this point of astronomical knowledge, of which those Professors of Exegesis of the Old Testament boast, a Hottentot or a Pesheray

preters of the second class, light means the ray of light which gently begins to penetrate darkness through the thick watery atmosphere, mixed in a chaotic manner with the lower waters, whilst the luminating body of the sun remained yet for a long time hidden from the eye. It is frequently the case with discrepancies among expounders of the Scriptures, as it was with the Copernican and Ptolemaic systems; the one makes the sun move around the earth; the other the earth around the sun; both calculate eclipses of the sun and moon, and arrive at the same result. And it is upon the result that all depends. What this light may be, whether it be the first primitive light, which came in contact with the atmosphere of the earth, without being yet connected with the solar bearer, or the ray of our sun, which acted upon the chaos between the heavens and earth, it remains important in the highest degree, that light is presented as the beginning of the κίνησις, on the first day, that marvellous, mysterious substance, of which we do not yet know, whether to place it in the world of spirits, or in that of bodies, which glides through creation like a mediating genius, between the world of spirit and of matter, full of vital power, and yet so still and gentle. Heat certainly participates largely in the vivifying efficacy of light, and it may be considered as proven, that light can claim in the production of bright heat, only *paternal*, and not *maternal* activity. But even then, the light of the sun, as is well known, is one of its important factors. How creative is the influenco of light, how infinitely various its chemical and dynamic effects! The roots of the plant tend toward the darkness of the earth, as their proper place of nativity, as also the embryo of animal life, comes forth from the darkness of the womb. The conception and first beginning of living formation, seeks darkness, as it was the primitive chaotic state of the earth, in which fructification was effected through the Spirit of God. But for development, growth, refreshment and beauty, all living beings require light. Colorless and pale remains the plant from which light is withdrawn, and winding its way through crooked channels, it will meet light, where a ray finds its way through a hidden cleft; none but the pale, repulsive genus of fungi and its kindred, retire from

might equally be proud. But if ever it should enter the brains of any human being, that in the morning when the sun rises above the horizon, his light and blessings are by accident only punctual in accompanying it, we say, it will be in the head of some bookworm, rather than in that of a Hottentot or Caffir.

the light; pale and sickly remain animals and human beings —although they are less dependent on the influence of light, than vegetating organization, owing to the element of life gushing forth from within—when light is refused them; and the embryo, sprung from the darkness of a mother's womb, in every other respect passive, stretches and moves, animated by an irresistible love for light, towards the rays of the sun. Schubert's picture of what our planet would be without an atmosphere filled with light, is worth our notice. "Imagine," he says, "the atmosphere which surrounds with its life-producing power, all heavenly bodies that circle in our planetary system, to be removed, and there remain dark, dreary spheres, uninhabitable for living beings; spheres which continue their course, impelled by mechanical powers, (like a blinded horse, turning in endless circles around and around, imparting motion to some machinery) around a larger sphere, giving neither light nor heat; without an eye to perceive that motion; without the slightest trace of the silent march of time in the fruitless change of spring, summer and winter, left upon the naked skeleton of the earth. The waters of our globe, its compressing bands being removed, would partly evaporate, and yet more congeal into enormous masses of ice, so that no running stream, no breaking waves of the ebbing and flowing waters of the ocean, murmur a sound or give a sign of life, during this quiet, endless night. From the hidden depth of our earth, where there is room for such a motion, bodies of the nature of sulphur and the metals, might, by their union, vomit forth a gleam of light, destructive to every element of life; no vulcanic eruption could even throw its light to the surface, upon the never ceasing, cruel, winter night, because that which generates and supports terrestrial fires, *air*, is wanting."

Who will not perceive with what profound truth the Mosaic account begins the order of created universe with *light*?*

* How much are the poor *studiosi theologiae* to be pitied, who, since the time of Eichhorn, can see nothing in the creation of light, on the first day, but that our Lord wanted light at the creation, in order to see, and that for this purpose, he wisely created light. Is it to be believed that the heart and soul of a Christian, of a Theologian, could be made so insensible, as not to be able to find anything else in these words! What is meant in the Hindoo history of the creation, where in the first book of the Mânavadharmasástra, we read: "This was (around) wrapped in darkness, indiscernible, undivided by signs, undistinguishable, and not one thing to be known from another, as if buried in sleep thoroughly. Then appeared Svajambhá (God) the exalted, the uncreated, He

II. *The Extinct Races of the Primitive World.*

Everything we see upon and above the earth, is wonderful; supported by life, full of life. Nowhere, as far as the eye surveys, a space destitute of life! We cannot refrain from presenting here the beautiful picture by A. v. Humboldt, in his treatise: Ideas on Physiognomy of Plants. "If man, with active mind explore nature, or in his fancy measure the vast space of organic creation, among the many impressions he receives, there is none so powerful, so deep, as that produced by the fulness of life extended everywhere. Everywhere, even at the icy pole, the air resounds the song of birds, or the humming of swarming insects. Not only the lower regions, in which the heavy vapors are suspended, but also the upper, the ethereal pure, are filled with life. For, ascending the Cordilleras of Peru, or climbing, south of lake Leman, the summit of Mt. Blanc, animals have been found, even in this dreary abode. Upon the Chimborazo, six times as high as the Brocken, we saw butterflies and other winged insects. Admitting that, carried thither by perpendicular currents of air, they are lost, and strangers in regions where the thirst for knowledge impels the careful step of man, their presence nevertheless proves, that the more pliable animal creation continues to exist, where the vegetable has long reached its limits. Higher than the peak of Teneriffe piled upon Mt. Ætna; higher than all the summits of the Andes, we saw above us the Condor, the giant among vultures, sailing through the air. Rapacity, and the chase after the fine-fleeced Vigunna, which, like the Chamois, herd together on the snow-covered grass plains, attract this mighty bird to these regions. And if the unassisted eye finds the whole atmosphere animated, it will, when assisted, discover more and greater wonders. Wheel-animals, Bracheons, and a multitude of microscopic animals, are raised upwards from the

who created it, the primitive source of all existence, endowed with omnipotence; he appeared, dispersing darkness. He who exceeds all imagination, spirit-like, uncreated, is eternal; he who comprises the existence of all beings, whom thought cannot reach; as such he appeared in his own personal glory." Was darkness here dispelled for no other reason than that "He who exceeds imagination, spirit-like," might be enabled to take a good look at his own works? "Oh fools and slow of heart," said the Redeemer to his disciples, when they not yet had his spirit. And here we might quote again:

> Who would describe and study aught alive,
> Seeks first the living spirit thence to drive; etc.

drying waters, by winds. Without motion, and apparently dead, they float perhaps for years upon the air, until, reconducted to the earth by the dew, the casing that incloses their transparent, whirling bodies, is unclasped, and probably through the element of life, contained in water, new power to move is instilled. Besides the already formed creatures, the air contains countless germs for future development; eggs of insects and plants, sent upon their long fall-voyage by means of hair or feather-like corols. Even the fructifying dust, scattered by male plants when the sexes are separated, is carried to their isolated females, by winds and winged insects, over sea and over land. In whatever direction the eye of the Naturalist may penetrate, life, or the germ for life, is diffused."

Yes, as far as the eye can reach, life is everywhere. High above our atmosphere it is still, holy, quiet and unchanging; below, changeable, decaying, and yet in its decay, lovely; within our earth only dwelleth death; and not only are our beloved ones buried in it, deep below them, and high above them, in the strata of mountains, rest generations of another age. To antiquity this field was hidden, and there is but one allusion to this subject in Tertullian,* one of the fathers of the Church. Since the seventeenth century it has been gradually explored, and now, the oldest of ancient lore lies open before us. As if the unmeasurable extent of the theatre of the world were a field too narrow for the exercise of human inquiry and thirst for knowledge, an abyss has been opened, and a Cuvier describes a Fauna of a perished world, and a Brongniart, Artis and v. Sternberg, a Flora. After exploring the facts to which we refer, we shall lay them before the reader, as found in the most important works on the subject.

As regards fossils of plants, not only all separate parts, such as roots, bark, trunks and leaves, have been found buried under the surface of the earth, but whole trees, nay, immense forests. Some of these forests are not petrified, but in the condition of plants, with bark, roots and limbs unchanged. Others are decayed and penetrated by clay, sulphuric acid, and sea water, changed into a brown earth. The strata of coal—buried remains of ancient forests, and former water

*In the book: de pallio op 2, where he speaks of the infinite variety in tne Universe, he says: Mutavit et totus orbis aliquando, aquis omnibus obsitus: adhuc maris conchae et buccinae peregrinantur in montibus, cupientes Plutoni probare etiam ardua fluitasse.

and land plants*—extend through Germany, France, England (in the south of Europe they are less developed), and Humboldt found them near Huanuco, in South America, at a height of thirteen thousand eight hundred feet, near the present line of eternal snows. In all countries we find trunks of trees and other portions, petrified into flint, jaspis, agate, &c. Many of the kinds of wood are distinctly to be rccognized; and especially the Palm, a plant of tropical production, is found in northern latitudes, as in Saxony, Bohemia, &c. Besides these real petrefactions and uninjured plants, we find numerous impressions in stone, generally of plants, too tender to have withstood the effects of the great catastrophe. The best preserved, are the impresssions of the Fern; but those found in France, England and the northern part of Germany, resemble those of the south. Between five and six hundred different species have been discovered, many of them similar to those of the present world, many more developed and of a more gigantic form, than those of our own time; by far the most numerous is the simple genus of Monocotyledons, whilst the more developed Dicotyledons, so frequently found at present, are more scarce; of dikotyledonic species, the cone-bearing trees, such as firs, pines, different kinds of taxus and junipers, are found in great numbers; but the simple palm of gigantic size, immense bamboos,† &c., are by far the most common. The entrails of the earth, in all countries, are full of petrefactions, incrustations and impressions of animal bodies, and now and then we meet with whole skeletons. In the Alps of Savoy, at a height of seven thousand eight hundred and forty-four feet, petrefactions of sea animals are found, and at Whitehaven, Cumberland, impressions of Fern have been dug up, from a depth of two thousand feet below the level of the sea. Especially numerous is the kingdom of the lower animals, the mollusca, snails, crabs and turtles; next the reptiles; twenty species of lizards, some of the immense size of a whale, seventy feet long; crocodiles have been found; whether snakes, is yet doubted.

* As such they were recognized as early as the sixteenth century.

† Schubert, Nat. Hist. p. 283, makes the following thoughtful remark: "Science, judging from minutiae, perhaps places the Monocotyledons too far below the Dicotyledons, although, in real interior perfection they are as far superior to a great many of these, as the sensible, watchful Elephant is above the stupidly ferocious Tiger or Wolf; or as the, internally more perfect, Mollusca, without limbs, to the externally apparently, more perfect insect, with limbs.

Transition animals, beings in which the form and power of taking roots of plants, are combined with animal mobility; flower-like encrinites upon long knotty stems; that family of snails, "which, contrary to the ordinary course of nature, have their feet, yet new to the upward-striving animal form, on their heads, possessing body-like forms, in which the first sign of vertebra, the important distinction from the fishes, upward to the mammalia, shows itself in its first beginning; animals, then, which through the whole extent of the less perfect animal world, those without vertebra, already bear in themselves the seeds of animals of a more perfect nature, the vertebrata." Although some perfect skeletons of fishes have been found, and even some with their prey still in them, we possess mostly only impressions of them; and Cuvier states to have found at the bottom of Montmartre, some of the fleet denizens of air, birds. In all parts of the world that have yet been explored, an immense number of thick-skinned animals, of Elephants, Rhinoceroses and Mammoths, have been discovered; but our own domestic animals, the horse, ox and ass, are not wanting. Attention should here be called to the fact, that *ordinarily*, the bones of animals which belong together, lie not together, but are strangely mixed up or totally separated. The number of the already discovered and described animals of the primitive world, increases daily. Cuvier has described more than one hundred and sixty large fossil animals, of which ninety kinds are no longer in existence, and the remainder retain only a resemblance to those of our time. In all, we count four hundred and forty-five kinds of mammalia, birds, amphibious animals, and fishes; four thousand two hundred invertebrata, mollusca, crabs, insects, &c.; of plants, Brongniart gives, as stated, five hundred—five hundred and fifty. But skeletons have not only come from the lap of the earth; in northern Russia, the region where especially animals of the primitive world have been found in great uumbers, parts of the Mammoth, (i. e. earth-animal) thickly covered with ice, with remains of flesh still on them, and even a whole Mammoth, partly devoured by animals, the neck still showing a long mane, and the skin stiff black hair, and a reddish looking wool, have been discovered.* "What a strange mixture of animals," says the latest author on the primitive world, "presented in former times in

*See the treatise on this subject, by Röggerath to Cuvier, Vol. II. p. 3.

the neighborhood of Paris! A sweet water lake, upon the dry bottom of which now stands the imperial city, with its palaces; the stones even, which include the remains of those animals, with additions of streams and rivers, then filled the bed of the Seine. Upon its banks, in forests of palms and pines, gramnivorous Palaiotheries and herds of twenty other Pachydermes in search of food; rodentia and carnivora, even the Musk animal, now to be found only in New Holland and South America, but like other species, then natives, were mixed among those grotesque figures. Land, swamp, and water-birds animated the air, and in the lake and rivers lived crocodiles, turtles, fishes and muscles. But a storm swept over this peaceable community of animals; the infringing waves of the ocean buried all the living, and from its depth a new population sprang forth."

The ancient archives now lie opened before us; but to understand them, diplomacy is required. Which now is the diplomacy that will lend us the key? Various diplomatists have approached these ancient and honorable books of record, and explained this or that, most wonderfully strange. Among all Naturalists, however, not one—be it said to the shame of the Protestant church—has done as badly as that minister of the Protestant church, that preacher of Brunswick, Ballenstedt. Let us hear first what this man has read in those records of nature. We render it as near as possible in his own words, for his manner of reasoning, and his expressions are characteristic; compare Vol. II, Die Urwelt, first section: the origin of the formation of our earth; and Vol. I, eleventh section: "The deluge is not the common tomb of the primitive world."

"The origin of all things must be God, (however unpleasant it may be) for an effect producing cause must be acknowledged, which has given the first impulse to creation, and set the forces of nature in motion. Our globe was probably, as we may conclude from circumstances, in a soft, fluid condition. In this pulpy mass, the primordial fluidum, as Naturalists call it, everything was mixed, which is now separated, and in it were contained all elements. How was this pulpy mass changed into a solid body? How were formed the mountains, the fertile soil and the organic productions? All this could not have been done in a few days or hours, much less all at once, or even created out of nothing; it required, perhaps, hundreds of thousands of years, and even at present is this operation of nature not accomplished. (To these

men the word of God is as nothing, for it cannot be .
Such manifest philosophers were already known at the time, when Plato composed his dialogue, Sophistes.) We might adopt four, five or more periods, through which our globe has passed, before it became what it now is, and each period must have occupied a succession of many thousand years. The latest Naturalists, such as Buch, Engelliaed, Heine, Raumer, Hausmann, Parrot, will not admit these periods. They insist that other kinds of mountains as e. g. clay slate, trappe, &c., are partly as old as granite, as the Alps and other high mountains show; that precipitation from water did continue, after transition rocks were already in existence, and that consequently, the formation of granite, gneiss, syenite, &c., has taken place alternately with the formation of other mountains and rocks. They say, we cannot fix a definite period for the formation of mountains. I shall not deny this entirely, since it is based upon undisputable experience (really an unpleasant circumstance), but both opinions may be made to harmonize, *de potiori* (*a potiori*, as others would say) *fit denominatio*. There must have been main epochs, during which mountains were formed, conceding that nature, disregardful of time and circumstances, changed alternately the formation of her products. The third organic creation did not make its appearance until the waters of the ocean had generally receded; and fully developed animals and plants were products of the fourth period. As regards their colossal forms, it seems as if nature had first made a trial on a large scale, with these unlikely shaped forms of animals; it may be perhaps also, that the productive power of nature in the primitive world, was greater and stronger than now, whilst the earth was in its youth and full strength. Suddenly the sun's course became oblique, (meaning the oblique direction of the ecliptic) either by coming in contact with a comet, or through the sinking of large masses of land, near the South Pole. By this was, of course, created a great revolution upon the earth, of which an inundation was a natural consequence. The earth, covered with water, formed now but one vast ocean, by means of which a new surface was formed. Not until now, during the fifth period, men and animals like the present, were created. Parrot says, in Physics of the Earth: "that the large mounds of bones found on the franco-spanish coast, are probably the remains of some large species of monkeys." *Is it not possible that this was the man of the primitive world, who approached more the monkey than man?*

(p. 18) Through the diminished perpendicularity of the earth, with regard to the sun, and through a decrease of its internal heat, the temperature became so uncommonly cold, as to either kill the animals and plants of the much warmer primitive world, or to cripple them, if they were not entirely destroyed by water. The new products are more tender, more beautiful. The earth had received, during this long period, and by assistance of so many revolutions, that degree of perfection which was required for the production of the present animals and plants, and man, as he now is, entered the ranks of created beings. During the primitive world, he could not yet attain this degree of perfection and cultivation, *because circumstances did not admit of it* (this might be called a philosophical because). According to all antecedents, we may conclude that that catastrophe will not be the last. There is, to be sure, not much consolation in knowing that our present beautiful world, and all that is living upon it, will perish and be buried some day, deep under water. But this cannot be helped. *We cannot rely upon an uninterrupted continuance of the surface of our earth; for the theatre of the world changes continually* (another philosophic for). Although the flood, at the time of Noah, commonly called the Deluge, is defended by the greatest Naturalists of their time, such as Scheuchzer, Gissner, Haller, Valerius, Fabricius, Deluc, Silberschlag, and others, it may, nevertheless, for the following reasons, be held that this flood was neither universal, nor caused a destruction of the primitive world. A universal flood would have upset everything on the earth, but instead, we find regular strata upon its surface, for the formation of which, centuries must have been required; and also frequently a heavy stratum deposited upon a lighter one. Would not the contrary have taken place during one violent inundation? The secondary limestone rocks, which are said to be products of the Deluge, contain a world of sea-animals and shellfish, settled down in banks, like oysters in the ocean. Were not centuries required to form such mounds of shells? But the most peculiar feature is, that we find under the former bottom of the sea, the bed of a river, containing products of sweet water. Is not this clear proof, that the earth has constituted, at different times, alternately the bottom of the ocean, and the dry land? It is not very long since the flood of Noah; how can any one imagine the world at that time, to have possessed entirely different animals and plants,

than now? It is reasonable then to suppose, that the flood at Noah's time, was only partial."

It is easily understood how such things, represented here with so much confidence and boldness as the latest results of scientific researches, and apparently entirely based upon facts, should produce so great a sensation among the mass of his contemporaries. It was discussed in all periodicals; inquiries extended even to Gymnasiums,* and soon Pastor Ballenstedt was quoted in dogmas, by Professors of Theology, as authority in history of the human race. (Wegscheider's institutiones § 98) It is always the case, that, in the province of sciences, of which we know least, we remain most dependent upon authority. Buttman, the Philologist, in his Mythologic treatise (Vol. I. Mythologus) adopts without any farther inquiry, Vater and de Wette as theological authority; and equally, the historian Leo, in his history of the Israelites, takes Vater, de Wette and Gesenius. Consequently, it was very reasonable, that Theologians should the more implicitly rely upon the statements of a fellow-Theologian, the less they were acquainted with natural sciences. The author of this remembers many instances, when well meaning clergymen, at that time, with much embarrassment inquired, What can we answer? Facts have been adduced! The impression made by this book must have been the greater, if, as was the case with many, it was known by reputation only, and not from inspection of the title-page; that it was published by Basse, Quedlinburg, and that neither style, nor argumentation, nor the references of the author were known. This impression was, however, considerably diminished, when the great want of cultivation of the author became manifest, which showed itself so glaringly in faults in orthography, badly constructed periods, and in blunders in history, geography and philology; but still more, in the surprising mistakes in that science, of which he made profession, that of geology; citing as references for his "Urwelt," instead of respectable names, the "Journal for the elegant world," the "Independent," "Kotzebue's literary conversations," "Westphalian Monitor," "Youth's Journal," "Bertuch's Pictorial," &c., &c. When the author with a sigh exclaims, Vol. II. p. 55: *quantum est quod nescimus!* it is probably, to judge from his otherwise pompous language, *pluralis majesticus.*

* We might name instances, where Ballenstedt's Urwelt was placed by teachers at Gymnasiums, in the hands of scholars, and to them recommended as an excellent book.

It would have been the duty of some Theologian, to oppose that fabrication of ignorance and arrogance, by some special and solid work; but besides a short, too aphoristic criticism, by some respectable geologist (Evangelical Church Journal, 1827, Nos. 13 and 14), only two small polemic essays appeared, cleverly written in spirit and substance, well deserving notice.* That in which he coincides with modern Professors, we shall consider afterwards, and likewise in a separate article, his extravagant assertions in regard to the age of the catastrophies and the earth itself. But let us begin with that in which he stands alone, and what especially produced so much eclat, his assertions about Preadamites: "If, as is

* On Ballenstedt's Urwelt: A word of candid examination, and an attempt at saving the honor of the most ancient history, by a Prussio-Saxon country pastor. Nordhausen, 1825. This book is written with understanding, judgment, and much modesty. The other treatise deserves this eulogy a little less: Reply to the question: Is a universal inundation of the earth a *mathematical impossibility?* Bretschneider's Sendschreiben to a statesman. Halle 1830. In the main points of this reply, the author is right. Both of these should be read by Theologians who take an interest in the subject. Bretschneider has, among a variety of questions, how and whither Theology could escape, to be saved from modern sciences, also the following: If in the opinion of the ancient world, which only knew the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, the Deluge was considered universal, having covered all mountains of the earth; and the reception of a few pairs of all animals, in the ark, was considered possible; then, a universal flood, submerging all mountains, is now, a *mathematical impossibility*, since we know the whole globe, and the laws of the elevation of the ocean. And how can a Theologian prove that animals found only in America, or in Africa, or in Australia, or in the Polar regions, should have found their way to Noah, in Asia Minor, to be by him admitted into the ark, and in spite of the difference of climate, to be fed; or, how afterwards, they have returned to their native countries." Our author enters not upon the latter question, but he might have propounded to the Superintendent General, who has so many questions to ask, a few by way of return; as e. g. How does the Superintendent General know, at a time when, according to the opinion of most Natural Philosophers, a uniform climate prevailed upon earth, as can be proved by Palms, Elephants, Rhinoceroses, &c., found in nearly every portion of the globe; animals with their necessary food, to have been distributed climatically? How can he explain, that a general presentiment of an earthquake—of which man has no perception—causes cattle, asses, dogs, and cats, to seek the open fields for safety; and how can he prove that a similar presentiment of the great catastrophe, was not operating upon them? By what right demands that Theologian, that, during a catastrophe of such awful grandeur, things should have happened as they did yesterday or day before. And as far as the *mathematical impossibility* of such a submersion by water is concerned, we suppose he will not disdain to be instructed by such men as Cuvier, Buckland and Humboldt, if he has learned nothing from the anonymous voice in that little work.

but right, we make man appear during one of the last periods, because everything in nature approaches gradually to perfection, and nothing is hurried; yet many remarkable traces and appearances of the early existence and cultivation of mankind, give tolerably clear evidence that man must be older than is generally believed." "The entrails of the earth, if we uncover them, prove that they must have suffered great and universal revolutions, during the existence of man, of which history knows nothing, and can know nothing, and which we cannot ascribe to what is called the Deluge. The various surfaces found upon the earth, which have been uncovered here and there, give evidence of cultivation, and prove that the earth has been inhabited by man, more than once. Near Langensalza, in the Duchy of Modena, and near Hanover, three different surfaces have been discovered, lying from twenty to forty feet, the one above the other, and each of which contains traces of cultivation. "Whence, it is asked somewhere, (in the Youth's Journal, 1811, No. 35) the strata, leaves of trees, bark, roots, petrified ears of corn, kernels of plums, skulls, &c., found near Langensalza, if these strata had not formerly been a surface, and afterwards covered by other layers?" Whence, I add, skulls and productions of agriculture upon these former surfaces, if there have been no men? Whence an iron ring in the bituminous wood of the primitive world, of which Wendelstedt speaks? If there were no men in the primitive world, who were able to make such products of art, whence came a wooden box with iron bands, attached to a beam, in a rock of the Caucasian mountains, which being burst open, was accidentally discovered and minutely examined by a traveller, if there had been no men to make this box with its iron bands, before those rocks were formed? Whence came the anchors found upon the highest mountains of the earth; rings on rocks, for fastening ships, where no water is to be found at great distances; stone bridges in the Alps, to which neither road nor path leads; the artfully constructed roads in Switzerland, conducting to precipices? How did they happen to discover at Faluhn, in Norway, in one of the mines, a haven with ships?"* Then follows an enumeration of discovered human bones, and an argument from the Zodiac at Tentyra, which

*Our author says, that he learned the factum of the iron box from a voyage to the Caucasus, the name of the author of which, he has forgotten; but about the discovery in the Swedish mines, he seems to have forgotten both author and book, since he gives references to neither.

is to indicate an age of fifteen thousand years; and from the temple at Ellora, in India, which was built, *according to the annals of the Brahmins*, eight thousand years ago.

With regard to the assertion of human skeletons and single human bones of the antediluvian world, having been found, all men of science agree that they have no certainty whatever, that such exist. The celebrated author of a work on petrefaction, v. Schlotheim, stated, and apparently proved satisfactorily, to have found in the valley of the Elster, among the bones of land animals, also bones of human beings; and Link, Schubert and Steffens, adopted this discovery. But in the appendix to that work, in 1822, v. Schlotheim withdraws his former assertion, for the reason that among bones evidently belonging to the primitive world, as that of the Rhinoceros, many bones of animals belonging to our present creation, were mixed; and as this has never been known to be the case in other localities, it follows that the gypsum caverns at Köstritz, have been repeatedly filled by later floods, and thus the remains of ancient and comparatively modern time, have been brought together with remains of animals of our own day, and with human bones, the dimensions of which vary not in the least degree from those of the present time. And with regard to those works of art of the primitive world, it is really to be regretted that the researches of the Brunswickian Pastor have not extended a little farther, in order to have furnished us a few more accurate items of the degree of cultivation of those children of the primitive age, like Gruithusen of the children of the moon. We are told in Trebra's Cabinet of Minerals, Clausthal 1795, p. 64, that a peasant at Seppenrode, in the Harz mountains, dug up from his garden, anno Dei 1782, a flint, having not the slightest sign of being damaged. But—oh! wonder—when broken, nineteen pieces of silver coin, with the coinage stamp of the Archbishop of Münster upon them, fell to the ground.

Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna;
Jam nova progenies coelo demittitur alto.

Respect for the Bishopric of Münster, whose existence dates far beyond that of Jesus Christ! If pastor Ballenstedt would just commence his researches in the neighborhood of Rome, in the Travertin quarries, one might promise, supposing him to be also fond of the sweet comfort of country pastors, the herba Nicotiana, the prospect of a joyful discovery from the primitive world. It might not be altogether impro-

bable, to find a tobacco pipe of an inhabitant of the primitive world! It should not be mentioned, however, in his "Urwelt" that those quarries are formed so readily, and in so short a time, that perchance one of the Roman workmen, yet living, might claim of the Pastor the pipe, as his property.* But what can we say, if we find in a clergyman the same preposterous conjectures of some perverse Natural Philosophers, that man has his origin and is descended gradually from the monkey. This unfortunate idea we meet, alas! not very seldom. We once heard a society of pedagogues make the following deduction: according to the *generatio aequivoca:*† organic nature is formed from inorganic, and without doubt, this extends also to the human family, hence from the slime upon rocks, which raise their heads above the ocean, first moss sprang up; from moss gradually the mollusca; from these still onward, the monkeys; from these but one step to the negro and *finaliter*—to a European Savant—very naturally! It would perhaps be well to mention here, as a barrier against an irruption of that kind of philosophers, that even Anatomy points, with all the similarity between the construction of the human body, (even in the formation of the brain), and that of the monkey, to very important dissimilarities; the head is placed vertically upon the spinal column, and the hands are not formed for walking, but for seizing;‡ the feet for

* How men of science proceed, at a discovery of objects of human art and skeletons in caverns, which otherwise bear marks of the greatest antiquity, we learn from Buckland, who, in the cavern of Paviland, among remains of Elephants, &c., found a female skeleton, with some cooking utensils; but far from concluding, from this circumstance, to have discovered a *cook of the primitive world*, he made it probable that this female was a native of Britain, accompanying the armies fighting against the Romans.

† Compare to this clod-risen and all its earthy weight-retaining theory, that, through ether sounding, winged word of the excellent Schubert, in his History of the Soul, Vol. I. p. 23: "There is no transition. Night which overshadows the surface of the earth, would never cease to be night, if not the sun, from above, carried day into the northern winter and into darkness of night." A deepsighted, clever Naturalist, *Berzelius*, has shown by the overwhelming weight of experience, that "that *something*, which we call *life*, lies entirely beyond the limits of inorganic elements." In fact, he who wishes to create light from lessened darkness; or, from an operation of inorganic elements, produce a world of life, is like that countryman who (by Hans Sachs) attempted to breed calves from cow-cheese.

‡ It has become customary to include man, in natural histories, among the large class of mammalia, so that we may have the pleasure of find-

walking alone, and not for seizing. But it is difficult to reason with men, in whom reason is an unimportant ingredient.

Let us leave the Theologians, and direct our attention toward Natural Philosophers. One of the first, who occupied themselves with the primitive world, was the pious Physician and Professor of Mathematics, Scheuchzer,* at Zurich, during the first part of the last century. This, in his sphere, very remarkable man, whom Brongniart pays the compliment to have given, in his *herbarium diluvianum*, descriptions and representations of antediluvian plants, which leave nothing to desire, had made it his favorite occupation, to apply his knowledge of nature to an explanation and justification of the Holy Scriptures. (Besides the work already mentioned, there are: *homo diluvii testis*, and *piscium querelae et vindiciae*.) The most prominent monument of his labors, the *physica sacra*, appeared first 1727 and '28, large fol., Latin and German, revised and edited by Martin Miller, Augsburg 1731, known among us as an unfinished synopsis by Donat, publ. by Büsching 1777, I Tom in three Vols. quarto, which contains the chief part of Donat's collections, but comprises the five books of Moses only; it is a book deserving commendation, in which much useful information may be found. Scheuchzer, like all Physicians of that period, relied upon the subterranean remains of a destroyed world, as his strongest proof of the Deluge. The Mineralogist, Gottlieb v. Justi was among us Germans probably the first, who deduced from organic remains, as well as from the condition of mountains, a system approaching that of Ballenstedt, totally opposed to the information of the primitive world, given by Moses. (History of the World, deduced from its external and internal conditions, 1771.) According to his views, the condition of the earth indicates an age of more than one hundred thou-

ing, in alphabetically arranged nomenclatures of animals, the genus *man* before meal-worm and mouse; but we might honor our own genus so much, as not to include it among the *quadrimanis*, with the monkeys, but among the *bimanis*, as Blumenbach has done, from the peculiarity of his hands. In a late collection of the *dicta of great men*, alphabetically arranged, we find in friendly companionship: Hosea, Hufeland—Jesus.

* In yet earlier times, the bones of mammoths have received peculiar honors. The citizens of Lucerne have in their escutcheon, two supposed owners of some mammoth bones, discovered 1577; whilst their Anatomist, Felix Plate, proved that they belonged to a giant nineteen feet high, of the primitive world, the Landamman Engel discovered in these bones the remains of a fallen Angel, who inhabited this earth before Adam.

sand years, several changes of the land and the bottom of the sea, several populations of the earth with new inhabitants, &c. The eccentricities of which he was guilty, created more astonishment than lasting effect. The first less arbitrary treatise on this subject, in our own time, is that of Blumenbach, (with him de Luc, Reinhart, Förster, Rosenmüller):— Specimen *archaeologiae telluris terrarumque imprimis Hannoveranarum*, Vol. XV. comment. Götting. p. 133. He already distinguishes: 1, now existing organic remains, which have perished at the places where they were living; 2, fossils, the types of which still exist, but which have been carried by a flood from the original place of their abode, to some other; he disputes the discovery of human bones, as stated by Haller; 3, fossils of the animal kingdom which belong to a much older period, and which possess so many peculiar, distinctive marks, as to make it very doubtful whether they belong to genera of animals of the present time; they probably lived in the regions where the remains were found; 4, fossils which indicate that the greater part of the earth's surface was covered by water. As historians divide time into mythical, heroic and historical, so may we, it appears, class the two first named divisions, into the historical, the third into the heroic, and the fourth into the mythical. For to this fourth class belong those fossils which serve to prove that our globe has passed through a revolution that changed the bottom of the ocean into dry land, and the land with its forests, into the bottom of the ocean. These protogeic remains differ so widely from the present objects of nature, that they appear to belong to a world entirely different from ours; but they are so distinct from each other, according to the strata to which they belong, that we may be led to believe that several revolutions have taken place, for the chronologic classification however, an Oedipus has not yet appeared. Since it is not to be denied, that some of these remains resemble products of the present time, the question arises, whether we may believe that a few specimens of that primitive age have escaped the great catastrophe, the progeny of which now continue among us; or whether, which appears more probable, after all plants and animals had perished, nature has reproduced some specimens, similar to those that had perished. With this exposition, compare Blumenbach on this subject, Vol. I., Contributions to Natural History. Among modern Naturalists, the most celebrated who have given their opinions on the same subject, are v. Schlotheim, Link, Cuvier,

Buckland and Wagner. The explanation of the latter is more negative—also that of Carl v. Raumer—he says: Natural sciences have not matured sufficiently, to give a decision. The opinions of the others we shall review here. Their moderate hypotheses shame those of the clergymen.

Link, in his "Urwelt," premises, that the remains in the interior of the earth, cannot possibly be alone explained by the Deluge; "for," he says, "it is obvious that man, for whom that punishment was intended, and whose presence could have better testified, than anything else, is found among those remains very rarely, if ever." The Deluge appears to him, however, as a historical fact. Speaking of this, he remarks, Vol. I., p. 310: "The tradition of a Deluge that extended over the middle part of Asia, which we find related in many different ways among the various myths and traditions of nations; the appearance of a lake of salt water, however little salt it may be, viz: that of the Caspian sea, is very remarkable, and seems to indicate an irruption of the ocean. The elongation of the Mediterranean into the Black and the sea of Azof, pointing toward the Caspian, show the direction of the flood, and the great plain between the rivers Don and Volga contradicts not the supposition, that the Black sea once was connected with the Caspian. Powerful torrents of rain combine with occurrences of this kind, which are seldom free from Vulcanic and electric commotions; the sources of the deep pour forth their waters, when the flood in the adjacent ocean is greatly increased. The ancients considered the Straits of Gibraltar, a breach of the great ocean, which formed the Mediterranean, and the form of the rocks near the strait, the mountains surrounding and limiting the Mediterranean, agree and give great weight to that opinion. The Caspian sea lies deeper than the Black; consequently the water remained in it after it had run down from the higher plain, between the Don and the Volga. The pressure of the rushing water alone, was sufficient to raise a mass of itself, great enough to fill the deep of the Caspian sea, if pressed forward over the plain. In this direction only, could the ocean open a passage into the interior; in nearly every other mountains obstructed its progress, although it may have formed, for a short time, a few bays, as Egypt, or the plain at the mouth of the Danube, or near the point of the Adriatic. Thus the condition of the countries, harmonizes perfectly with the description by Moses, especially if we translate it from the poetic language of antiquity, or rather the youthful

world, into poetry (prose) of later days. The whole occurrence belongs to history, and not to the primitive world; if the countries which were inundated by the Mediterranean, were peopled, we will find human bones upon the bottom of that sea, but the ocean remained too short a time on its way to the Caspian and the newly made bays, to form there petrefactions of human bodies." The remains of organic bodies he ascribes to gradual revolutions from water, in the intervals of which, organic beings even changed their forms; and he points to America and Australia, which he considers to be later continents, where the productions "bear the distinctive impression of a youthful nature, in its excesses as well as in its undefined appearance." With regard to the distribution of remains among the various strata, Vol. I. p. 65, he says: "The assertion that petrefactions which are seen no longer among the living, are most frequently found in the lower and older strata, is in some respects true. The Orthoceratites are most frequently discovered in the transition Limestone of Sweden; the Ammonites, Terebratulites and Gryphites in the old secondary Limestone; but the petrified Coni and Cipraeae, of which we find many species in our oceans, are very rare, and only among petrefactions of the upper or new strata. However all rise to the latest strata; at Sternberg, in Mecklenburg, we find Ammonites, Cipraeae and Coni united in one rock; old and new formations mixed; *vice versa*, new formations descend to the oldest strata; the Corals in the transition Limestone, differ but little from ours, and fungus resembling forms, we discover in the marble of Blankenburg, and in other layers of similar age. The formation of the Belemnites differs more from the later formations, than the Orthoceratites, yet those are found in Gypsum, a much younger form of rock, and these in transition Limestone. Certain forms have only been lost in later times; others have been better preserved; and in this respect there are different degrees, since some of them have remained to our own time, others have ceased to exist earlier. Again, some forms are of later origin; they have been called into existence at a later period, or have developed themselves out of former forms, to which we must ascribe less permanency, than to those who have been preserved unchanged through a number of formations."

Let us now listen to Cuvier. From him we have received, especially, a more accurate statement of the relation of species of animals, to the strata in which they are found. "Pri-

mary Granite rocks are without remains of organic beings. With the transition rocks only, appear the misshapen forms of animals, the Zoophites, Mollusca, &c., perhaps with them contemporaneously, bones and skeletons of fishes. The important strata of coal, the trunks of palm trees and ferns, of which the impressions have been preserved, contain no kind of quadrupeds, even not of the lower species of oviparous animals, although we must presuppose the existence of dry land, and of an atmosphere. A little higher, in the cupriferous slate, we detect the first traces of them, and they are quadrupeds, reptiles of the lizard family. Still a little higher, we find the Alpine Limestone, and above this the calcined shells, rich in Entrochites and Encrinites. Ascending still higher, through the sandstone, which only contains impressions of plants, we arrive at the various strata of Limestone, known by the name of Jura Limestone. Here the class of reptiles attains its greatest gigantic development. Among these, innumerable oviparous quadrupeds of all sizes and forms, have been found, and also, from discoveries in England, some small mammalia. We may suppose, however, that mountains containing them, owe their existence to some local generation, which must have taken place at a later period than the original formation of the mountain strata. In chalk and the different kinds of clay, which cover the upper part of them, as also in brown coal, I have discovered only crocodiles, and I have reasons to believe that the brown coal which, in Switzerland, contained the bones of Beavers and Mastodons, pertain to a later period. The first mammalia I discovered, were in strata above the coarse Limestone; and at farthest in those contemporaneous with them, the class of land mammalia begins to show itself.* Nowhere, however, do we meet bones of human beings. All bones of our own species, that have been discovered in the above named strata, are mere accidental appearances, and their number is very small, which would certainly not have been the case, if man had been living in those countries where these animals existed. But where was, at that time, the human family? Have those countries which were at that period inhabited by men and animals, disappeared, sunk, like those that are now occupied by them, have become dry, and upon which a great inundation has exterminated the ancient animal kingdom?

* v. Raumer introduces into his Geography, p. 350, beautiful fables on the formation of rock and organic remains, after Humboldt and others.

The study of fossil remains teaches us nothing of the kind, and in this treatise we are not permitted to look to other sources." Thus expresses himself that learned man, Vol. I. p. 325. He farther proves, Vol. II. p. 249, that a sudden, and not a gradual cause, has buried those animals, as follows: "The bones and ivory, which are found in such a perfect state of preservation on the plains of Siberia, have been preserved by the cold, which had congealed them; this generally arrests the effects of the atmosphere. If the cold had commenced gradually, those bones would have had time to become decomposed, and especially the softer substances with which they are still sometimes surrounded, as was the case with those that were found in warm and temperate climates. Especially would it have been impossible to find a mammoth, covered with skin and hair, preserved in the ice." Compare also Humboldt in his Physiognomy of plants, p. 187. "Trunks of palms, and skeletons of Elephants lie buried in the bowels of the earth, in northern Germany, and their *position* makes it probable that they were not drifted from the tropics northward, but that during the great revolution of our planet, the climate, and that by it conditioned configuration of nature, have undergone manifold changes." p. 263 Cuvier continues: "*I believe, therefore, with de Luc and Dolomieu, that if anything in Geology is firmly established, it is, that the surface of our earth has suffered a great and sudden revolution, the epoch of which cannot be distant much over five or six thousand years;* that during this revolution, that portion of the land, upon which formerly man and the best known animals lived, has sunk into abysses, and entirely disappeared; and that this revolution has placed the former bottom of the ocean above the water, and formed the now inhabited firm land; that since the revolution, the small number of individuals who escaped the catastrophe, have multiplied and increased upon the new dry surface of the earth. But the countries now inhabited, which have made their appearance above the water, during the last revolution, were at a former period the dwelling place of animals, if not of men. Consequently, this land had at least once before been submerged by water, during another revolution, and *if the various successions of animals whose remains we find, justify us in forming a conclusion*, the earth has suffered from two or three irruptions of the ocean. With this result, as generally with Cuvier, v. Schlotheim declares to agree, in his work on Petrefactions, Introd. p. XI.

We have to thank Buckland especially, for his very accurate examination of the latest strata, the alluvial, in which he has shown with great certainty, the traces of a last general inundation; and after him also Leonhard, Rozet,* and

* On this important point, the celebrated English Naturalist, has at present (I836) changed and proclaimed his opinion in the Bridgewater treatise: Geology and Mineralogy considered with reference to Natural Theology. His two chief reasons are: I, that the Diluvium cannot be explained from a flood, so quiet, and of so short a duration; 2, there should be found in it, fossils of human bones; 3, animals of extinct races could not be found with the remains of diluvial animals. Against the first of these reasons, an intelligent and scientific critic of Buckland's works (Lit. advertiser, 1838, Nos. 47–48) remarks: The possibility of a deposit of Diluvium, during a flood, that lasted only years, and not centuries, although of different duration in different locations, appears to him undisputable. He introduces, as an example, a combination, which nearly agrees with the Mosaic history. If the abode of men had been the southern lowlands of Asia, and Noah's near the Euphrates and Tigris, a flood flowing from the south, perhaps forming in its course the Persian Gulf, and occasioned by an upheaval of land in the South East, (Pallas thinks Australia) would exactly coincide with the biblical statement. The water must have risen slowly, if the land rose slowly, especially, if besides, it had gradually to break through other large tracks of land, (as in the given case through Malaya, the present Archipelagus, and the present Persian Gulf). The current came from the South, and upon the Highlands of Armenia the Ark was deposited. It could not have landed there, but from the South, if Mt. Ararat, the Caucasus, and Hindoo Koosh, had not been overflowed. That Mt. Ararat was *not* under water, is even indicated by the Bible, since it rests the Ark upon it, (it is not necessary to have been, nay, it could not have been, upon the summit) before the tops of the mountains were seen, (Gen. 8: 4. 5.) The waters remained, from the beginning of the flood, (Gen. 7: 11.) to the end, (Gen. 8: 4.) exactly 150 days or five months; from the 17th of the 2d mouth, to the 17th of the 7th month. From that time, it required 220 days (Gen. 8: 17.) to dry the plateau of Armenia. How many more than 370 days must have passed, before the Lowlands were free from water! During this time heavy deposits would have been made. Not only the cessation of rain, for it lasted only 40 days, (Gen. 7: 12.) nor the wind, (8: 1.) could have been the only causes of the water subsiding. If the water had broken its way through lower lands, it was arrested by the high walls of the Himalay, Hindoo Koosh, Ellorz and Ararat. We find them broken through to the South East of the Caspian sea, a torn Highland (Korassa) now in ruins, a desert with traces of the bottom of an Ocean (Hoffman description of the Earth I. 896, 916); farther on we meet the large basin of the formerly larger, Caspian sea, the level of which is below that of the Black Sea, as ascertained by late measurements by Russians. Its surrounding country consists, to a great extent, of new Alluvial deposits (Eichwald, voyage on the Casp. Sea, Stuttgart 1844, I. p. 53, 61, 87. A. v. Humboldt's Fragments to Geology &c. of Asia, Berlin 1832, p. 49). In that direction, water might lose itself. We find a very minute, and accurate criticism of Buckland's works by A. Wagner, (gelehrte Münchner Anzeigen) from which we shall make some more extracts. With respect

others. He shows that underneath the clay, sand, and gravel strata, which are washed off from mountains, by rivers and streams of the present time, and deposited in valleys and on plains, and form the so-called Alluvium, are found extensive deposits of masses, that have their own characteristic formation, entirely different from the more solid rock strata underneath them; this is the Alluvium. "This formation, composed of clay, sand, gravel and pieces of rock, which is found alike in all parts of the earth, bears everywhere distinct signs of a general and sudden flood, having penetrated from the north." He farther adds, (Reliqu. diluv. 226): 1, that all elevations are formed after this manner, and frequently present the same alternately projecting and receding angles, we observe along the course of ordinary rivers; 2, that ordinarily a number of small valleys is connected, until they finally terminate in a main trunk, that leads to the sea; 3, that the gravel, and pieces of rock, consist of fragments of adjacent, and at times also of distant mountains. In one respect he differs from Cuvier, viz: in the opinion that the last flood did not cover the highest mountains. He opposes this in the following manner: (Reliqu. diluv. p. 221) "1. The blocks of Granite, which were carried from the summit of Mt. Blanc to the Jura mountains, could not have been placed there from the highest European mountain to which they belong, if that mountain had not been submerged by water. 2. The Alps, Carpathean and all mountainous countries of Europe, which I have visit-

to Buckland's argument that animals of extinct races are found with diluvial remains, in the superficial strata of Diluvium, and again, diluvial animals in deep lying formations, he says: This is a fact; we find e. g. in sweet water lime in Anspach the bones of the Bear, the Mastodon the Rhinoceros, the Horse, as they belong to diluvial formations, and with them also, Palaiotherium; Palaiotherium and Choiropotamus are frequently found in bone-brecias; in the pea-iron of the Suabian Alps bones of Oxen, Bears, Rhinoceros, Mastodons, lie together, i. e. animals of the eldest Tertiary formation, with those of diluvial strata. (Jäger on fossil mammalia of Wirtemberg, Stuttg. 1835). What conclusion can we arrive at, from this fact, of finding mammalia of the Tertiary formation, side by side with those of the diluvian? That both belong to the same epoch, of which one class forms the beginning, and the other the end, viz. which comprises a period of time, beginning with animal creation, and ending with the Deluge. Local inundations, which may have deposited a great portion of the Tertiary rocks, and the general catastrophe, which may have also, here and there, participated in this formation, all found the same kinds of animals. Tertiary and Diluvial mountains, constitute, according to the opinion of Ref. but one geognostic formation; the former chemically combined, the latter mechanically composed.

ed, indicate by the form of their summits, to have suffered from the power of water, as much as the hills of the lower countries of the globe; and I found in their valleys, wherever space did admit, the same diluvian gravel that I discovered on the plains below, and which is very distinct from the post diluvian rollings of mountain streams. 3. Although in Europe, in the high gravel layers of the Alps, no animal remains have been found, in America, in the immense strata near Santa Fe de Bogota, seventy-eight hundred feet above the level of the sea, the Mastodon has been discovered, and Humboldt found a specimen of the same genus in the neighborhood of Quito, at a height of seventy-two hundred feet, near the Volcano Imbaburra. Finally, Capt. Webb bought bones of Chinese-Tartar horses and stags, which had been washed down from the heights of the Himalay mountains, and were, by the inhabitants, thought to be bones of demons, that had fallen from the clouds. The height from which they had come, was estimated at sixteen thousand feet." Buckland concludes: "*It is evident then, that at a time, when the earth was already inhabited, a flood must necessarily have swept over the highest mountains of our planet.*" To show in what estimation the current views are held, we will here also consult the arbiter of the opinions of our time, the Conversations Lexicon. After mentioning the views of Link, it adds:— "*This hypothesis of Geologists is subject to a by far not exhausted examination of the interior of our earth.*" And after the already mentioned remark, that we know too little of our earth to draw safe conclusions, it says farther: "Several very important questions, concerning the history of the formation of the earth, have not matured sufficiently, to be decided, viz: whether the fluidum that acted during the formation of the various strata, was the common ocean alone, or whether inner oceans, separated from the former, and composed of different chemical ingredients, had any part in it. The observation, by which the relation of organic remains to the various strata is decided, admits of some doubt of its applicability under all circumstances; but especially since it has been lately asserted that in America, remains of mammalia have been discovered in old red sandstone, which rests upon primary rock."

Before we now compare these views to what the Scriptures tell us of the Deluge, we wish to consider the *one* point: How can it be explained, that the northern regions, yea, the northern *especially*, are filled with those animals which now only

inhabit the torrid zone? During the sixteenth century, and still earlier, to the astonishment of the world, ivory was frequently dug up in England; it was declared to be some remains of Elephants that accompanied the Roman armies in Britain. But the Roman armies did not visit Siberia and America. It was then pronounced that they had floated from the waters of the South to the North. Whilst some Geologists admit an irruption of the ocean from the North, and others from the Southwest, Pallas and Förster, based upon the formation of the earth, when the masses everywhere press towards the North pole, and terminate towards the South pole in shaggy points, adopt a flood from the South, that floated Elephants from India to Siberia. But 1, this explanation can be satisfactory only, if we overlook that animals have been found, which differ entirely from the present; 2, although those Elephants of the primitive world approach in structure those of Asia, still they are distinct from the Asiatic and the African; 3, the bones found everywhere, show no signs of rolling, their projections being uninjured, retaining their tender parts, which would have been broken off by the slightest force; 4, the whole condition and manner in which these remains are discovered, indicate plainly, that the animals lived where their remains are found. The most remarkable fact connected with this, is the discovery by Buckland, in Kirkdale cave, York, the main features of which we here communicate. He found a cavern in the limestone, about twenty feet below the ground, closed by rolled stones, &c. In it there were teeth and bones of twenty-three species of animals, of the Hyena, Tiger, Weasel, Elephant, Horse, Hare, Rabbit, of Mice, Pigeons, Ravens, Larks, &c., but few of the larger bones remained unbroken; the others, and also those of the Hyena, were splintered. The greater number of teeth belonged to the Hyena, and from a calculation, there must have been two or three hundred of these animals. Buckland concluded from this, that the cavern was inhabited during a long time by these animals, and that the others, the remains of which he found, had served them for food. There were two circumstances which corroborated strongly the correctness of this opinion. All bones were splintered in a manner as is generally done by the bite of Hyenas, and on some, marks of teeth were still visible as inflicted by that animal. A Hyena in a menagerie, splintered the bones, in order to reach the marrow, in exactly the same manner. It is not to be wondered at, that the bones of the Hyenas were

likewise splintered, since it is well known that they are in the habit of eating one another. Besides there were small, firm balls of excrements, containing lime, such as are found of animals that live on bones, and some undigested fragments of the enamel of teeth. The keeper of the menagerie at Exeterchange, recognized them at once, by their form and appearance, as the excrements of the spotted Hyena. The cavern could not have held one-twentieth of the number of animals at the same time. But how did it happen, that these splintered bones showed not the least sign of having been rolled? It is just as improbable to suppose that these animals had sought a refuge in the cave from the approaching deluge, for their number contradicts this; and Elephants or Rhinoceroses could not have found room. There remains nothing to believe but that the animals lived here in the neighborhood, and that Hyenas brought their bones together.

We may consider it then as proved, that those animals and plants, now belonging to a warmer climate exclusively, were formerly distributed through all zones, even in the colder. And in order to explain this phenomenon, we have to choose between the following opinions: 1. One would have to believe that perhaps those animals and plants were so constituted as to live also in colder regions; that they may have been species different from ours, just as there is at present a kind of ox in America, as far north as the seventieth degree, and another in the hot climate of India; there may perhaps also have been a kind of Elephant and Rhinoceros, able to live in a cold region. This would appear more probable yet, from the heavy mane of the mammoth. Palms are found in Japan, and in southern Europe to the 39° N. L. Add to this that the extent of water was formerly greater than now, and that its temperature is more uniform than that of the land, which receives and loses heat much more readily. These are the remarks of Link, Vol. I. p. 69, and similar to Cuvier's, Vol. II. p. 238. The latter intimates in another place, Vol. I. p. 309, that a tropical climate must have extended all over the earth, and this opinion has become almost general. Against the opinion of southern animals having lived in a northern climate, the objection might be urged, that in a region bare of vegetation, no Elephants, and other gramnivora, could have existed, for want of food.

A great number of Naturalists adopt 2, the opinion of a variation in the position of the earth's axis; that the poles and the equator were formerly at other points than now;

against which may be objected, on the ground of the oblate form of the earth, which it must have received when in a soft, fluid state, and in the present position. Oken, in his Manual on Natural Philosophy, Vol. I. § 612, gives other reasons from the distribution of ores, over the whole earth. Much more common is 3, the adoption of a variation in the course of the sun, or rather of the earth, in its revolutions around the sun; that whilst now the ecliptic intersects the equator at an angle of 23° 29′, formerly it coincided with it. Placing the earth in this position to the sun, there would have been a continual spring upon the earth, but for this reason, in the northern regions the temperature could never have attained a degree of heat as now, during at least three months of the year. Supposing the temperature in the northern part of Germany to remain at 8°, Reaumur, and if it should even be raised a few degrees, by the unchanging high position of the sun, this would still not be sufficient for tropical plants and animals. We are reduced then, 4, to the view which Humboldt, Schubert and others advocate, that the earth, independently of the sun, had a much higher degree of temperature, which had its origin in the extraordinary development of heat which accompanied the precipitation of mountains.* This explanation is, however, not sufficient, partly for other reasons, partly because the specimens we possess seem to have required a sudden change of temperature. How could we otherwise explain the mammoth retaining his flesh and hair, surrounded by a covering of lumps of ice? Here also we are without a key. Since we are directed to a very extraordinary event, the hypothesis of comets is still upheld by some Natural Philosophers. It is not necessary to imagine an accidental aberration of a comet from its orbit, but to adopt a predeterminated approach to the earth, comprised in a plan of Providence, which would explain an inundation in a most natural manner. The comet of 1680 proves that the elliptic orbits assigned to comets, may bring them very near to our earth, since it approached to a distance of only ninety-six thousand geographical miles. If now a comet, of the size of our earth, should approach to within thirteen thousand two hundred and ninety miles, it would raise the ocean, according to Lalande's calculation, two thousand fathoms, adopting the same laws by which the moon acts upon the ocean; at the

* Humboldt; The development of Caloric, considered as a Geognostic phenomenon.

same time it might produce an alteration in the position of our earth. The most simple way to find a reason for the former high temperature, would be, to look to the earth itself, in the interior of which, even now, a subterranean fire continues to burn with unabated fury; but as regards the reasons for a sudden cooling, we should have to acknowledge our ignorance.

Let us now examine what relation all these facts bear to the Bible history of the primitive world. In the first place, we again find, *that we are far from a fixed result.* For the relative age of the strata, and their relation to the remains of organic races inclosed in them; for the number of possibly repeated inundations; for causes of alternate layers of water and land products;* for the extent of inundations; for the height of the ocean at that time; for the change of the temperature; for all these, men of science give us different hypotheses. What during one lustrum was received for truth, appears antiquated in the next following. Ths arguments adduced by Buckland, for the distribution of the alluvial, are not only rejected by the French Geologists, (Boue, Prevost, Elie de Beaumont) but as already remarked, the great English Geologist has himself altered his opinion. If, therefore, a respectable Mineralogist (Carl v. Raumer, in his Universal Geography, p. 352) closes his remarks on this subject, saying: "Would it not be better to relinquish the study of the mountain strata, that history of the development of organic nature, until we are prepared by a most thorough, searching and extensive knowledge of the present mountain systems, to resuscitate the myths of the past?" How can we blame a Theologian who confesses himself unable to answer all questions that may be propounded? We shall learn hereafter from the lips of Humboldt, that there are also "Geological Myths;" and we should be more cautious in receiving them for truth, than in attributing, from the beginning, too much mythus to Bible history.

Let us stop at present to examine the results arrived at by Cuvier, and inquire whether they stand in opposition to the primitive history of the Bible. Cuvier says: "If the various successions of animals justify us in forming a conclusion, the earth has suffered from two or three irruptions of the ocean." Modestly and doubting he places this factum before us; qualifying his conclusion, based upon the successions of

*Munke in Gehler's Dictionary, Vol. IV. Sec. II. p. 1292.

animals by *if;* and how could he have done otherwise? Any newspaper may communicate a new discovery, which strikes at the roots of former results, such as the late news from America, of animal remains being discovered in Granite. But what could prevent those who defend the credibility of the history of the Deluge, as related by Moses, from conceding, that before the last great inundation, the traces of which are discovered in the Alluvium, the world has suffered several revolutions and partial inundations, and that large tracts of land, according to Cuvier, have constituted alternately, dry land and the bottom of the ocean? It confirms that for which the Theologian contends, the last general inundation. That this was a Deluge,* as represented in the Bible, *seems* to be contradicted most effectually by Link, who remarks that he, for whom this punishment was to have been intended, *man*, is absent from the former scene of action. Was man really not in existence during centuries, when animals roamed over the wide surface of the earth? We have seen that Cuvier, and also Buckland, people the new continent with the few families that were saved of the original stock, and transplanted. With regard to the perished human beings, Cuvier remarks, that they probably extended only over a limited space, and their remains should be looked for in Asia. Buckland and Wagner, Vol. II. p. 101, agree with this. Instead, then, of impairing the credibility of the representation of the Bible, the fact of not finding human remains, is an important circumstance, and contributes materially to strengthen it; for according to the history of the Scriptures, we may not expect that the human family extended as far as Europe and America, the only two grand divisions of the world that have, to the present, been explored with some degree of accuracy.

There is another question of great importance. How is it to be accounted for, that animals and plants before the Deluge, appear in most instances, under wholly different forms, from the present. Has the voice of the Creator spoken more than once to the earth or ocean, to create life and animate its bosom, or have extinguished races been called forth from their ashes, similar but more perfect? If we were to concede this, we would arrive, it seems, to conclusions directly contradicting the Scriptures. This is not Cuvier's opinion, Vol. I. p. 117: "If I contend that the strata of solid rock contain the

* The word Sünd-fluth (Deluge) is derived from sin-fluoth, i. e. a continued flood, v. Pishon Studies and Criticisms.

bones of a greater number of genera, and the alluvial the remains of more species which no longer exist, I do not express the necessity of a new creation, in order to produce the living races; I merely say that the latter live in different places from their former dwellings, hence must have arrived from other localities." He supposes, as the sequel shows, Europe, and the countries generally, where extinguished races have been found, to be inundated; and whilst these countries were becoming dry, other regions were inundated, and their inhabitants took refuge upon the dry continents. The improbability of this hypothesis is apparent. If Cuvier was unwilling to admit several creations, this was his only alternative; but he rejects in toto, the possibility of a change into a later, from a former form. He says: "However great in other respects, the influence of climate and habit may be upon animals, they cannot change their anatomy; and in it, especially lies the difference between animals of the primitive and the present world." To substantiate these views, he gives the results of his comparisons of the Egyptian mummies of animals, the Ibis, dogs, cats, monkeys, with those of the present generation, not finding the slightest difference. He draws the conclusion, that if no change has taken place during two or three thousand years, it is not probable that any should be effected in five or six thousand years, the time he fixes for the Deluge. It cannot reasonably be doubted, that *it is possible* to produce varieties or differences, in accordance with the known process of nature, such as we discover between animals of the primitive and present world. But we have already seen, that incidentally with the Deluge, another powerful influence must have coöperated, which changed the temperature. If this be the case, one of the greatest differences between the animals of the pristine and present ages, viz: the colossal size of the former, is explained. "The greatest number of animals of that age—Nöggerath, Anm. Vol. II. p. 248—are either like, or similar to those which now live in all, or most tropical countries." Humboldt in his work on the development of Caloric, already mentioned, says: "Favored by this increase of heat, the plastic powers of nature soon developed their energy. Plants naturally of a southern character sprang up." Again, in his Physiognomy of plants: "Size and development of organs depend upon favorable influences of climate. The small but elegant forms of our lizards, expand in the south to huge, scale-clad bodies of terrible crocodiles, &c. . . If the temperature of our globe

has undergone, perhaps periodically occurring changes; if the relation between land and water, and even the height of the atmospheic ocean and its pressure, have not always been the same, the physiognomy of nature, and the form and size of organized beings, must have been equally subject to many changes." Among all the animals of the primitive world, we discover not one that has not some relation to races known to us. The Pterodaktylos or Ornithocephalus and the Megatherium, deviate most from all our present creation. The latter approaches in size the Rhinoceros, but combines the character of the Armadillo and the Sloth; this is the most striking appearance; the character of the Sloth predominates however. The Pterodaktylos belongs to the family of bats, with this difference, that his head terminates in a snout, like that of the crocodile. How very much animal forms are influenced by climate and other circumstances, but especially by the proximity of man, we find illustrated in Link's work, Vol. I. Sec. 5, from which much information may be gathered: The home of domesticated animals, and cultivated plants; also Blumenbach in Contributions to Natural History, Vol. I. p. 24; also a very interesting essay, entitled "Geological Whim," in the Morgenblatt, No. 204, 1833. Let us notice e. g. that the sheep near the Senegal, are long legged and without wool; in northern Africa, Arabia and Persia, they have a long tail, overgrown with fat; in Wallachia their horns are of spiral form, and those of Iceland have frequently more than one pair of horns, but no wool, &c.; whilst the Buffalo has fourteen ribs, the common ox has only thirteen. The wolf, the progenitor of the dog, has seven lumbar vertebrae, the dog only six. Degeneracy and variety, are most remarkable in dogs and hogs. It is generally understood, that the domesticated hog and the wild boar belong to the same family, and yet the construction of their skulls differs widely. Rengger's description of the domestic cat of Paraguay, compared to ours, is very interesting; he says: "How much the climate affects the greater or less development of animals, may be observed in our cat, which was, at the time of the conquest of Paraguay, there introduced. Three hundred years have scarcely elapsed, and we find a striking difference between the cat of Paraguay and that of Europe. The domestic cat in the interior of Paraguay, where, since its first introduction, no intercourse, or scarcely any, is likely to have taken place, with cats of later importation, is distin-

guished from the European, by its short, shining, thin, and closely-packed hair, which on the tail is shorter than on the body. It is at least *one-fourth* smaller than the other, has a small contracted body, and more delicate limbs." The changeability of plants, and fruits, is peculiarly striking, and depends upon the climate and the cultivation by man. There were, in the Count's garden at Pappenheim, five thousand different kinds of Tulips, and the Turks enumerate thirteen hundred and twenty-three varieties; yet the Tulip was introduced into Europe as late as the sixteenth century. How can any one dispute the possibility, *that the forming principle of nature may have changed its course*, if we perceive, even now, the change-producing effects upon organization, being compelled to admit of great revolutions in nature, in connexion with the Deluge; revolutions which perhaps continued long afterwards. (In addition to this, compare what will be said No. IV. on races of men.) We quote here, in affirmation, Blumenbach's language, from "Contributions to Natural History," Vol. I. p. 19, . . . "that the forming principle, in accordance with matter, perhaps differently modified by such a thorough revolution, may, in the production of new species, have been forced into a new direction, deviating more or less from its former course."

After all, it remains fixed, that we have to adopt an inundation, extending at least over Europe, Asia and America, (the mountains of Africa have not yet been explored) by which even the highest mountains, the Mt. Blanc, the Himalay and the Cordilleras, were covered with remains of antediluvian animals. And that they are partly the bones of animals that were, during the flood, buried in places where they had lived; the greater part, however, as incidentally remarked in another place, belonging to former generations, whose remains were disturbed by the flood, and carried off. In favor of the latter assumption, we may mention, that all bones of one animal are rarely found together, and that complete skeletons are very scarce; commonly bones of various kinds of animals, of ancient and new formation, are mingled together. Finding the earth, after that period, nevertheless inhabited by man and all kinds of land animals, there remains for us, either to believe that God, after that terrible catastrophe, reinstated by an act of renewed creation, the perished races of men and animals, or, that a number of men, and specimens of the now living animals were saved from the flood, to people the new continent. And how much must this latter view

gain in credibility, if, to the reasons given us by Natural sciences, we add the historical traditions which, we may say, among all nations of the earth, have preserved the remembrance of a universal flood. We know precisely the Indian tradition concerning the great flood, since Bopp's work: The Deluge, and three of the most important episodes of the Maha-bharata, Berlin 1829. It is very striking how many points coincide exactly with the relation by Moses; and not less so the existing differences, the fruit of the adventurous character of that people. Equally well known are the Chaldaic tradition of Xisutros, and the Greek by Deukalion; also faint traces in the Chinese, by Mengdsu, as communicated by Klapproth, in the Asia polyglotta. We know that the Greeks were even acquainted with the story of the dove (Plutarch). But most remarkable is the conformity existing between the Asiatic traditions, and those of America. The history on this subject, related by the Mexican Clavigero, in his Storia del Messico, Vol. II. p. 6; IV. p. 16, and adopted by Stollberg, in his History of the Church, has been doubted, for mentioning, in the traditions among the inhabitants of Cuba, not only the dove, but also the raven; but its critical reliability has been restored, since Humboldt has given similar accounts of the traditions of South American nations. The belief that "during the time of the great waters, when their forefathers had to save themselves in canoes, from perishing by the flood, the rocks of Encamarata were washed by the waves of the ocean," is found, as Humboldt states, not only among the isolated Tamanakes, but is an essential part of a system of historical traditions, of which traces are to be met among nearly all tribes on the upper Orinoco. One man and one woman, say the Tamanakes, saved themselves upon a high mountain, and afterwards, having thrown the fruit of the Mauritia palm backwards over their heads, new men and women sprang up from the seeds of that fruit,* (entirely the tradition of Deukalion and Pyrrha). Adding to these historical traditions, spread all over the globe, the reasons founded upon Natural History, even if they should prove to be weak, it is sufficient to remove all doubts as to the fact of a general flood, and the saving of a few beginners of the human family, setting aside all information given us by the Bible.

* Humboldt's voyage in the Equinoctial regions of the New Continent. Vol. III. p. 416.

To those who dispute on grounds based upon Natural History, a general inundation, which wrought the destruction of what was then the world, and disturbed the tombs of the primitive world, there is but one stronghold remaining, or rather has since been called into existence. This has been done by Leopold v. Buch, by his hypothesis of upheavals,* which has extended so far as to cause the assertion by many modern Geologists, that the greater number of mountain chains was raised above the level of the earth, long after the creation of the world, which would satisfactorily explain the presence of animal remains upon inaccessible heights. This hypothesis has already gained considerable ground, although opposed by voices of great weight.† We wish to offer but one historical doubt. It is conceded by nearly all, that man, although not found in our regions among the remains of the ancient world, has existed, in Asia at least, contemporaneously with those animals; to suppose the earth for centuries without its Chief and King, *man*, is really an insufferable thought! If such events happened, as those which elevated the southwest border of the desert Gobi, from its level to the height of Dewalagiri, 26340 feet, at a time when man was a spectator, why is it, that history, and excepting the tradition of the Atlantes, that traditions remain silent of *that and similar upheavals*, when all tell us of a *universal flood*, nay, of *repeated inundations?*

Keferstein, a highly respected Mineralogist, partly in his work, Natural History of the Earth, 1834, and partly in a very instructive and interesting article in the Lit. Advertiser, 1839, lately sets forth: that the hypothesis of a changed course of the forming element of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, having caused the destruction of many species of organized beings, by an extraordinary catastrophe, is very probable. In his treatise: Contributions to the discussed question, how do the results of scientific Geology compare with the history of the creation of the world, in the Bible? Also in a former larger work, we find the following results of

* We notice that Silberschlag in his Geogony has frequently mentioned Volcanic elevations, of which he found many traces in the Mark Brandenburg.

† First Goethe; afterwards Schubert, on the uniformity of the plan of construction of the earth, 1835, &c.; Raumer's larger Nat. Hist. I. p. 468; Universal Geography, 2d Ed. p. 482; Conversat. Lexicon, 8th Ed. and above all, the sound chem. treat. by Fuchs, on the Theory of the earth. Münchner gelehr. Anz. 1838, No. 26, &c.

his researches: 1. Man already inhabited the earth, when northern Europe produced Elephants, Rhinoceroses, Hyenas, Bears and other animals now extinct, the species of which are even foreign to the present creation. 2. That man was the contemporary of antediluvian animals, and peopled this earth before the Deluge and the Tertiary formations. 3. Since France produced palms, and Elephants lived in the most northern latitudes, those regions must have had a hot climate. The climate is influenced by many circumstances, but especially the position of the earth's axis; this must, therefore, have been altered. That the change of the former into the present Fauna and Flora, and the former climate to that of our day, has been sudden, many reasons may be adduced. 4. There must have been a period when the Volcanic agencies of the earth were very active, during which Basalt and Granite were lifted from their positions; the waters were at such a height, as to carry ice fields of immense blocks, from Scandinavia as far as Holland, and from Mt. Blanc to the distant valleys of the Jura mountains. After this, in the history of the world, momentary revolution, our present time with its relations of climate on which organism depends, commences; organized beings had now to distribute themselves differently, and the destruction of many genera and species can astonish no longer.

Meanwhile, more accurate zoological researches have led the Christian men, among Naturalists, to the opinion that we should draw a specific line of distinction between the gigantic formations of the primitive world, and those of the present time; that they belong to a period of time when the king of all animals, man, had not yet appeared among his subjects. We mention Schubert as the representative of this view, in his treatise: The plan of construction of this earth; and later, in a recent edition of his large work on Natural History, I. p. 409, with whom Andreas Wagner, Professor of Zoology at Munich, agrees, in his interesting announcement of Buckland's Geology in the "Münchner gelehrten Anzeigen 1837, Nos. 48—53. To avoid prolixity, we extract from Schubert only that portion, in which he expressed his views on this subject very briefly. (The plan of construction of this earth)

He says, p. 18: "But how? perhaps the Granite of the Alps, and the layers of Belemnites, nay, the fishes and turtles of the Oolites, the Gypsum, and perhaps even the Tertiary mountains, all formed at the same time? Who can speak

of their cotemporary existence with the latter strata before him, in the successive formation of which, time has been engaged for thousands of years, and still continues, as it operates since centuries, upon the dome of the Cathedral of Milan? What successions of Aeones of the earth may have perished, before *from*, and *after* the destroyed forms of Tribolites and Orthoceratites, as well as from a former lost creation, a new creation of forms developed itself, which by degrees became more like the living species of animals, and lastly the latest, which are nearly or fully connected with the present? Those organic formations in the innermost depth of the earth, the Tribolites and Orthoceratites; with them, the Ammonites and the Belemnites, and thousands of other kinds of organic forms, bedded in strata of rock, are certainly of a creation of beings which has ceased to propagate itself. They are so at least in the same sense, as thousands of flowers, which cover the fruit trees in the spring of the year, and of which the greater number falls to the ground in a few weeks, without producing fruit, appear like a fruitless, perished world of things. They are so in the same sense in which the millions of living beings, in a fermenting drop of water, observable only through a powerful microscope, become a dying, raceless generation of animals, as soon as a living, healthy plant drinks up, by means of its roots, the thickly peopled drop, and mixes it with its sap. The grain of seed corn develops in the moistened soil the shooting germ, and at the same time, the albumen is decomposed and disappears, without any longer living or growing with the other remaining parts. The bridge, over which it was possible to retreat, is now broken down; a bold attack on an established opinion, in this field, is to be made. First we look around to discover a well armed ally. Ignaz Dollinger, the clearsighted, thoughtful Anatomist and Physiologist, whose eye is as well prepared for observations of this kind, as any man's, has in a peculiar kind of observations, first, to my knowledge, made the assertion in his little book on Fossils in silicious sandstone,* that the Entozoons of the earth, those organic forms, now petrefactions, surrounded by the depth of mountains, may have been beings of a different order and construction than those in exterior appearance similar organisms, living in the light of day, which, through an act of reproduction, increase and preserve themselves. Even the present condition of things

† Palm, Erlangen 1802.

has to show many organic formations, the origin and imperfect life of which, relate only to other more perfect beings, and which tracelessly disappear, as soon as these more perfect, for which alone they were created, can exist without them. When the living mammalia are born, what becomes of the placenta? When, from the body of the caterpillar, the butterfly is gradually developed, where remain so many organs, necessary and important to the life of the larva, but no longer of any use to the winged insect? If that disposition is lost, which, in a larger animal body, is favorable to the production of Entozoons, and in a drop of water, to the increase of Infusoria, what becomes of the animal links between? We think, a confirmation of the view, that a great portion of those beings which we know as petrefactions only, have been transitory appearances of the morning of creation, may be found, by an unprejudiced mind, in the condition in which we ordinarily discover organic formations, in the interior of mountains. A large number we find only in a certain region of mountain development, aud nowhere else. Some of them wholly, others half formed, they often lie together in rows, like beings that are neither subject to the ordinary way of production, nor affected by animal putrifaction and decomposition. These beings were in reality neither old nor young; they transferred the form of their existence not any more upon a succeeding generation, than those petals of flowers ripen into fruit, which at the opening of the bud, fall to the ground. They are remaining witnesses of a moment in creation, when in the innermost depths of the still fluid, forming body of the earth, life was in motion, which became extinct again with the solidification of the strata."*

As to Schubert's expression, Nat. Hist. Vol. I. p. 487, where he calls the productions of the primitive world "the intermediate productions of a creating power, which, by each pulsation of its motion, spread an abundance of manifold life upon Wagner remarks in the above named criticism: "To justify this view is not without difficulty. Modern Geognosy, as is well known, characterizes formations, more from the enclosed petrefactions than from its mineral compounds. Particular strata of a formation are frequently named after its characteristic kind of petrefactions. What else is meant by this, than that the condition of a rock stands in genetic relation to the nature of its organic forms, so that the one is

* For farther explanation, Vol. I. Hist. of Nat. § 26, p. 409.

dependent upon the mutability of the other. We must therefore, not look upon the lodgement of organic creatures in rocks, as if they had been present originally in the primitive ocean, and had been later, during the precipitation of masses of earth, accidentally enclosed; such a view would leave unexplained, why certain classes of animals are attached to certain strata, always present where these are found, always absent where these do not appear.* If organic forms generally, had later been surrounded by precipitating strata, we cannot understand why they do not pervade a great number of successive strata, since they are not placed, like the layers of a bulbous root, surrounding the earth, and in this manner enabled to destroy one succession of organic developments after another; but, on the contrary, each geognostic formation is separated from another by intervals, in accordance with the individual character of mountains, in which spaces animals might have saved themselves, until perhaps overtaken by another precipitate. It is rather as follows: When the chaotic mass, set in motion by the creative power of life, began to separate, and a variety of formations commenced to appear, the foundation of the many geognostic formations shaped itself in gradual succession, from which a part of the enclosed germs of organic elements of life could not develop itself, whilst circumstances favored a development in others; so that at the same time, with the development *unorganic*, varied forms of *organic* formations originated, varying as often as the foundation itself, from which they had sprung, determining its nature and also influenced by it; just as the egg of the coral contributes partly to the formation of the earthy coral, and partly to the animal polypus. That these organic productions have not been preserved to our time, not even to the formation of the next strata, proves that they were identified with the peculiar condition of the waters from which they had sprung; this was also the cause of their geographical distribution by zones, as we now find them, conditioned however, by other influences, among living organizations. This order of things continued, however, only to the third day of creation, when the dry land separated from the waters, and perfected mountains made their appearance. Now, the earth vested itself in vegetation, which produced seed, and accordingly continued in substance to our own time."

* When e. g. ammonites nodosus, aviculites socialis, are found, we may rely upon the proximity of calcined shells; in a like manner indicate ammonites castatus, pyritous limestone, and ammonites planutatus, Jura limestone.

ARTICLE IX.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Voice of Christian Life in Song: or, Hymns and Hymn-writers of many Lands and Ages. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 530, Broadway.—1859.

This is truly a delightful book, the perusal of which has afforded us the highest enjoyment. Its theme is one in which we have ever taken the deepest interest. In his first chapter the author, speaking of church history, says: "We trace Christian life through its various manifestations of love, and find the golden chain unbroken through the ages, however dim at times the gold may shine. It manifests itself in its expansive form of love to man, in countless works of mercy, in missions, and hospitals, and ransomings of captives, and individual acts of love and self-sacrifice which cannot be numbered. We trace it in its direct manifestation of love to God, in martyrdoms and in hymns; the yielding up of the life to death for truth, and the breathing out of the soul to God in song.

The object of these pages is to follow the last track, by listening to the voice of that stream of spiritual song which has never been altogether silent on earth; by attempting to reproduce some notes of the song, and some likeness of the singers."

In performing the task thus assumed, the author treats of the following subjects: Chap. I. Hymns of the Bible. II. The "Tersanctus," the "Gloria in Excelsis," and the "Te Deum." III. The anonymous Greek Hymns. IV. Clement of Alexandria, Ephraem Syrus, and Gregory of Nazianzum. V. St. Ambrose and the Ambrosian Hymns. VI. Gregory the Great, Venantius Fortunatus, and the Venerable Bede. VII. St. Bernard. VIII. Mediaeval Hymns. IX. Mediaeval Religion. X. The Hymns of Germany. XI. Swedish Hymns. XII. English Hymns. XIII. Hymns of the Church of Rome since the Reformation. XIV. Conclusion. We can assure our readers that this is no dry exhibition, no mere scientific discussion, of the general subject of hymnology. The author's spirit is in lively sympathy, his heart beats in warm unison with those spirits and hearts out of which that stream of sacred song welled forth, which has edified and gladdened the church: he appears to be himself deeply imbued with that ardent love to God, that fervent devotion, that living faith, that spirit of trustful submission to the divine will, dispensations and guidance, which have, in all ages of the church, found fittest expression in the sweet or lofty strains of sacred song: in those

divine hymns, of which he truly says: "the battle-songs of the church are written on the battle-field; her poets are singers because they are believers." From the depths of genuine knowledge and of a true christian experience he gives us here, out of the abundance of his heart, vivid historical pictures, instructive dissertations and most edifying reflections on the hymns of the church produced in many lands and ages. There is in his train of thought and in his language a most winning charm; a fascination that carries you along, at times, as in a dream of the other and better land. He is evidently himself a poet; for every page affords evidence of genuine inspiration. He appears to be a clergyman of the Church of England, but he treats his theme in the most catholic spirit. In his chapter on the Hymns of Germany Luther is, of course, the prominent figure. At the close of the chapter he gives translations of six hymns, of which one is by Luther, one by the Electress Henrietta Louisa of Brandenburg, three by Paul Gerhard, and one by Count Zinzendorf. As this portion of the volume is more particularly interesting to our readers, we shall here quote some passages from it, both as specimens of the author's style, and of the character and tone of his treatise, and as evidences of his generally correct and just appreciation of Luther, and of those who, after him, tuned in our fathers' land the sacred lyre. "No mere improvement in correctness of doctrine could have stirred the heart of Europe as the Reformation did. The assertion of the 'right of private judgment' might have shattered Christendom with a war of independence, but could not have brought peace to one heart. Had not the serpent asserted it long ago in Eden? The clearest statements of the doctrine of justification by faith, could not in themselves have swept away all the barriers superstition had been building up for centuries between man and God. Many of the theologians of the middle ages seem to have understood that doctrine. The Reformation was not the mere statement of a positive dogma, still less was it the mere assertion of a negative right; it was the revealing of a Person, it was the unvailing of a heart. It was the fresh revelation through the Bible to the heart of one man, and through him to the hearts of thousands, that 'God is love,' and 'hath so loved the world,' that a heart of infinite love embraces us on every side, and rules in heaven. It was the fresh declaration to sinful men that the terrible reality of sin, which forms the barrier between the sinner and the Holy One, has been swept away by the sacrifice God himself has provided; not the offering of man, but 'the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world,' the Son of God who reveals the Father.

Before this gospel all the systems of human priesthood, and saintly intercession, indulgences, meritorious self-torture, fell in pieces, not like a fortress painfully battered down, but like dreams when daylight comes, like a misunderstanding between friends who have been slandered to one

another, in a moment's interview. Purchased indulgences to defend us from the anger of a Father; men, strangers to us, to intercede with him who beseeches us to be reconciled; painful penances to wring forgiveness of sins from him who died that we might be justly forgiven; all these fade into nothingness before that wondrous message of love.

One perusal of Luther's 'Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians,' with all its exaggerations and passionate vehemence, may give us a more true and living idea of what the Reformation was, than libraries of histories of its causes and disquisitions about its effects." Here follow several pages of translations of extended and very striking passages from the commentary on the Galatians. The author then proceeds:

"These extracts are given thus at length as unfolding the Reformation. Such books have the essence of a life pressed into them, and it was from such a fountain that the rich streams of German hymns flowed. It was morning again in Germany, and, to welcome such a morning, it was no wonder that there poured forth such a chorus of song.

The hymn literature of Germany is too rich to be given an idea of in the fragment of a book, and many admirable translations have already appeared, to which the reader may easily refer. There is, besides, a peculiar freshness and purity, an unconscious power and sublimity in these hymns, which make their translation peculiarly difficult. Simplicity in a translation is apt to look conscious, and so to become that worst of affectations, the affectation of simplicity. A very few illustrations, therefore, must suffice for this volume, with a brief sketch of the general character of the hymns and their writers.

In comparing these with those of the middle ages, the first thing that strikes us is the far greater variety in the subjects of the hymns and the position of the writers. Sacred song has issued again from the narrow walls of the cloister to the workshop, the harvest-field, and the home. There are hymns for various family joys and family sorrows, hymns for toil and for battle, for the sick-bed and the wayside.

Especially numerous are those which express trust in God in trial or conflict, which speak of Him, like the old Hebrew psalms, as a Rock, a Fortress, and a Deliverer. Spiritual songs have once more become battle-songs. The intricate intertwinings of rhyme and the lingering cadences of the later mediaeval hymns vanish, and the inspiriting decision of martial music rings through them once more. They are songs to march to, reviving the fainting strength after many an hour of weary journeying; blasts of the priests' trumpets, before which many a stronghold has fallen; chants of trust and of triumph, which must often have reverberated from the very gates of heaven, as they accompanied the departing spirit thither, and mingled with the new song of the great multitude inside.

The hymns of Germany have been her true national Liturgy. In England the worship of the Reformed Church was linked to that of past ages by the prayer-book; in Germany by the hymn-book. The music and the hymns of the mediaeval church were not separated by so definite a barrier from the psalmody of the German Evangelical Churches as from ours, but floated on into it, the old blending with the new. The miner's son, who in his school-days had carolled for bread before the doors of the burghers of Eisenach, remembered the old melodies when the hearts of his people were looking to him for the 'bread which satisfieth,' and gave forth out of his treasure-house things new and old. The great Reformer of the German church was also her first great singer. Luther gave the German people their hymn-book as well as their Bible. He brought over some of the best old hymns into the new worship, not word by word in the ferry-boat of a literal translation, but entire and living, like Israel through the Jordan, when the priests' feet, bearing the ark, swept back the waters.

Yet, as in his theses affixed to the church doors at Wittenberg, so in his hymns, Luther seems to have had no plan of writing for a nation, but simply to have spoken out the irrepressible emotions and overpowering convictions of his own heart, come of it what might. 'Here stand I, I can no other; God help me, Amen,' breathes through his hymns as well as his confession. The great battle-song of the German church, his 'Ein' feste Burg,' was said to have come into his heart on his way to the Diet at Worms. Its truths were certainly there then, whatever antiquarian research may prove about the date when they were written down. 'Out of the depths I cry to thee,' he sang when recovering from a fainting fit, brought on by the intensity of spiritual conflict; and when at last his dead body was borne through Halle, on its way to its last resting-place at Wittenberg, his countrymen thronged into the church where it was laid, and, amidst their tears and sobs, sung the hymn beside it. His sweet Christmas hymn, 'Vom Himmel hoch da Komm ich her,' was written for his little son Hans. 'The poet had the child's heart in his breast.' From the old Latin psalmody he gave a free rhymed translation of the 'Te Deum' and several of the Ambrosian hymns. The funeral hymn, 'Media in vita in morte sumus,' composed by Notker, a monk of St. Gall, A. D. 900, he poured forth anew in three verses, and infused into it a tone of confidence and hope very faintly audible in the original.

Just as the first recorded hymn of the church was called forth by the first persecution, when the place was shaken where the disciples were met, and they were all 'filled with the Holy Ghost,' it is interesting to find that Luther's first hymn was called forth by the death of two martyrs of Christ, 'burnt at Brussels by the Sophists.'

To give a series of biographies of German hymn-writers, would be to write the church history of Germany. To the three thousand and sixty-

six hymns selected in the 'Liederschatz' of Albert Knapp is appended a list of four hundred writers, with brief biographical notices of each. It is this multiplicity of hymn-writers which, in regarding hymns as the voice of christian life, gives its great interest to German hymnology. The German hymn-book is no mere series of metrical compositions, compiled by a few orthodox divines; nor is it a collection of the religious poems of a few poets. It is the utterance of the heart of the German church, of those whom faith in Him who is invisible has made singers. It is emphatically a fragment of the great song of the church universal. For the first time in the history of hymns, since Mary the mother of Jesus sang her song of joy, the names of women appear among the singers. Louisa Henrietta, born princess of Orange, wife of the great Elector, Frederick William of Brandenburg, poured out her hope and trust in a Resurrection Hymn,* which, as a rock of faith, stands beside the hymns of Luther himself, or Paul Gerhard. During the two hundred years which have elapsed since the Christian princess breathed her heart into those verses, how many souls have been breathed out to God with its words falling from the dying lips! A translation is attempted in this volume." p. 220 sqq. This is not a large work—a 12mo volume of a few over three hundred pages. We hope that we have said enough to induce very many of our readers to purchase it, confident that they will thank us for having directed their attention to it, and that we risk nothing in saying, that they will find it one of the most delightful volumes they have ever perused.

The Sheepfold and the Common; or the Evangelical Rambler. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 530 Broadway.—1859.

This book is altogether *sui generis*. It is a reprint of a work originally published, above thirty years ago, under the title of the *Evangelical Rambler*. It had then an immense sale both in England and in America, and as it was thought by a large number of persons, that it might now prove as acceptable and useful as it did then, this new and *thoroughly revised* edition has been issued, under the title of "The Sheepfold and the Common," as being more descriptive of the aim and intention of the work than its former name. "The object of the work is to afford instruction and amusement, conveyed by a simple narration of the events of every-day life. In constructing his story, the author has availed himself occasionally of the conceptions of his fancy, and at other times he has crowded into a narrow compass facts and incidents culled from an extended period of his history; but reality forms the basis of every narrative and of every scene he has described. He has departed

* Jesus meine Zuversicht.

from the common-place habit of presenting the grand truths of the christian faith in didactic and dogmatic statements, preferring the dramatic form, as more likely to arrest the attention and interest the feelings, especially of the youthful and imaginative portion of the community." Its primary design appears to be, to vindicate the character and claims of genuine evangelical and experimental religion, in opposition to the bigotry, the indifferentism, and the self-complacent but barren formalism which so long pervaded and, in some degree, still characterizes the church of England, and to the arrogant dogmatism and impertinent exclusivism of her modern Tractarians. Every subject is presented in the form of conversations between a great variety of persons, yet so as that there is a continuity and connectedness in the whole. The manner in which the nature and evangelical genuineness of true, practical, heart-religion are exhibited, illustrated and commended is exceedingly attractive, interesting, striking and impressive. In the progress of the narrative, which recounts the experiences, conversations, and reflections of an English clergyman of the Evangelical party, travelling from place to place in his native country, and presents a great number of scenes, situations and relations of the highest interest, a great variety of most important subjects come up for discussion. Scepticism and infidelity, under divers aspects, are encountered and discomfitted with great ingenuity and acuteness: the church-of-England notion of Baptismal Regeneration, totally different from the much misunderstood and misrepresented doctrine of our own confession, and essentially Romanizing in its character, is severely handled, and justly so: spiritual ignorance, indifferentism, self-righteousness, and obduracy in sin are most searchingly and effectively dealt with: the absurdity of the vaunted apostolical succession is successfully demonstrated, and its impudent claims given up to well merited contempt: christian doctrine, life, duty, practice, consistency and example—the christian's strength and joy in earth's experiences and multiplied relations, his triumph in its struggles, temptations and conflicts, his victory and rejoicing in the hour of death, all are here presented with singular clearness, simplicity and force, and with an amplitude, beauty and aptness of illustration, which invest every subject in detail, and the whole great theme of religion, with a profound and absorbing interest. We most cordially recommend this very handsome octavo volume, as abounding in the most valuable instruction, presented in a truly popular form and pleasing style, and enforced with great earnestness and power of application.

Other book notices have been deferred for want of room.

THE EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

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ARTICLE I.

THE THREE SAXON ELECTORS OF THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION.

No. III.

By Charles F. Schaeffer, D. D., Gettysburg, Pa.

JOHN THE CONSTANT.—PART II.

WE had commenced a biographical sketch of this eminent man in a former number of the Evangelical Review, (July, 1858, p. 36 sqq.) but the space allotted to such articles did not allow us to complete it. At the request of several readers of the Review, we now resume our task.*

A sketch of the life of John of Saxony, as *the first Protestant*—the first in the order of time, who bears that name in history—could not be easily prepared, without becoming really a history of the Augsburg Confession, from its appa-

* The writer of this article must apologize for the slender amount of strictly biographical matter which it contains. At the period in the history of the elector John, which we have here reached, his position as a *Protestant* far exceeded in importance every other circumstance with which his name is connected. We were thus unavoidably led to explain his real position with a certain degree of minuteness, and hence were required to consider a question which seems to be entirely overlooked by large numbers of Lutherans in this country, namely: Which of the twenty-eight articles composing the Augsburg Confession are, distinctively and essentially THE PROTESTANT or Lutheran ARTICLES, as contradistinguished from the popish system? If the correctness of the view which we here submit to the reader has been substantiated by us, the rank which a genuine Protestant will assign to the last seven articles, can be easily determined.

rent germs at the Marburg Colloquium to its presentation in a fully developed form at the diet of Augsburg. Indistinct views respecting the true character and design of this Symbol or Confession of faith, as well as of the relative importance of the twenty-eight articles essentially belonging to it, are often entertained and expressed, which lead to many practical errors. These inconveniences may be obviated by examining the subject in the light of history—by tracing this remarkable production to its original sources, and observing the events and the men, on the one hand, whose history is connected with its origin, and, on the other, the controlling influence which these events and these men respectively exercised in giving it a peculiar character and shape. We may possibly be enabled, by such a procedure, to understand its spirit and design more accurately, and also to determine with precision the relation which its two constituent parts or sets of articles—respectively, *twenty-one* and *seven* in number—sustain to each other. The more remote influences which produced the Augsburg Confession, such as the peculiar position assigned by Divine Providence to John, in aiding the great work for which Luther had received a commission from heaven, and also the relations which existed between these personages, on the one hand, and Philip of Hesse and Zwingli on the other, have been already partially described in our last number. After having thus disposed of that branch of the subject, we propose, in the present article, to describe historically the *immediate* influences which led to the composition of the entire *twenty-eight* articles of the Augsburg Confession. The circumstances to which we here allude, belong essentially to the history of John the Constant.

The Diet of Spires* of 1526.

The cause of the Reformation had received a new impulse in Germany, when John acquired by inheritance the electoral dignity, after the decease of his brother Frederic, May 5,

* The cities and towns mentioned in this article, and situated chiefly in the central and southern parts of the old German Empire, after being on various occasions transferred from one government to another, are now assigned respectively to the following territories: *Augsburg*, *Spires* and *Nuremberg* which were formerly free or imperial cities, now belong, together with *Schwabach*, to Bavaria. *Torgau*, on the Elbe, belongs to Prussia. *Schmalkalden*, a town in Hesse Cassel, is situated at the confluence of the Schmalkalde and Stille. *Marburg*, in the same principality, is on the river Lahn, and is to be distinguished from another Marburg in the Austrian dominions. *Coburg*, the capital of the princi-

1525. The hostility which existed between Pope Clement VII. and the emperor Charles V., and their military operations so completely occupied their attention, that the evangelical party was not seriously molested. The members of the latter, the elector John, Philip of Hesse, &c., had not, however, neglected to adopt proper precautions in reference to any hostile demonstrations which might at any moment be made on the part of the Papists. In the Spring of 1526, when the emperor's prospects seemed to grow brighter, and he had released Francis I. from captivity, (March 16) he found more leisure to attend to the internal affairs of the empire; he addressed, March 23, an official document to several Catholic princes, in which he highly commended the anti-Lutheran alliance already formed by them; he urged them so earnestly to sustain the popish faith, that Duke George of Saxony allowed himself to entertain the hope of wresting the electorate, with the emperor's aid, from the hands of his cousin John. (Ranke: Deutsche Gesch. II. 280. The documentary evidence which this eminent writer furnishes, has shed new light on the history of the Reformation.) At this period the evangelical party had also formed an alliance, (the Torgau alliance) which was first planned in Gotha, then ratified in Torgau, fully sanctioned towards the close of February, 1526, and subsequently (June 12) confirmed and signed at Magdeburg. While all the parties were in this state of suspense, the day appointed for the Diet of Spires arrived—June 25. The position of the emperor, however, whose restless enemies, Francis and Clement, had resumed their hostile projects against him, had suddenly again become very critical, and the influence of the change was instantly felt at the Diet. The baffled papists, who had expected to enforce at this Diet, the Edict of Worms, which outlawed Luther and his friends, were compelled to curb their intolerant and persecuting spirit. In our former article (Vol. X. 46) in which we furnished a few details, we mentioned that the *Recess* or final decree which was adopted by this diet, and which was regular and legal in all its forms, virtually granted the evangelical princes and cities full liberty to continue the work of the Reformation in their respective territories. *In this decree lay the first germ of Protestantism.* A "compact evan-

pality of Coburg, on the Itz, is in Central Germany. The old castle in which Luther found a temporary abode, is on a height overlooking the town. *Schleiz* belongs to one of the minor branches of the modern Saxon house.

gelical party" now existed, which owed its birth to the hostile movements of the enemies of the truth. (Ranke II. 283.)

The Diet of Spires, February, 1529.

After the conclusion of that Diet, hostilities between the pope and emperor were renewed with increased vigor. On May 6, 1527, the imperial troops, consisting chiefly of Spaniards and Germans, had assaulted the "eternal city," and the celebrated "Sack of Rome" occurred. At the close of this Italian war, the authority of Charles was permanently established in Italy, the French were humbled, the pope remained powerless, and Charles held all Italy between the Alps and the sea, in subjection to his victorious arms. Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, was equally fortunate in enforcing his claims on the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary, and both his diplomatic and his warlike movements were crowned with brilliant success. The Bohemians, on the one hand, who were no longer blind partisans of Rome, compared the bigoted attachment to popery of Duke William of Bavaria, who aspired to the crown of Bohemia, with Ferdinand's politic assurances that he would recognize and protect the Utraquists (also termed Calixtines, one of the parties adopting the reforms of Huss;) the result was that they rejected William and elected the latter as their king; he was crowned in Prague, February 24, 1527. On the other hand, the adherents of Zapolya, who had been elected and crowned as king of Hungary, November 11, 1526, were strict papists, and had already adopted a resolution in 1525 that every Lutheran in their territory should be burned alive. When Ferdinand appeared among these, he changed his tactics; he adroitly assumed the character of a rigid Catholic, sternly repelled the charge that he had selected none but Germans as the attendants of his consort, and that all these were Lutherans, (*dedit ei Germanos qui omnes fuerunt Lutherani*—was the charge, Ranke II. 341) and thus finally secured their favor. His troops defeated Zapolya in an engagement near Tokay; the latter was expelled from the country, and on November 3, 1527, Ferdinand was crowned king of Hungary in Stuhlweissenburg, the fortress of which John the Constant had assisted in taking, thirty-seven years previously, as we remarked in the former article. (Ranke gives an interesting sketch of Ferdinand's policy, and of the events which terminated in his acquisition of the two crowns, in Vol. II. Book IV. Chap. 4.)

While the political affairs of the imperial house were assuming a favorable character, a dark cloud arose in another direction, the shadow of which appalled the hearts of the evangelical party. Philip of Hesse had contracted an intimate union with Otto Pack, to whose alleged revelations of a popish plot we referred in the last article. The former, roused by Pack's alarming statements of a secret alliance which the Catholic princes had formed, for the purpose of dividing among themselves by force of arms, the territories of John and Philip, and of extirpating the Lutherans, redoubled his efforts to strengthen the political union of his own friends. He had already sent Dr. Walter to the king of France, for the purpose of securing his aid against the emperor, and now commissioned Pack to visit Zapolya, another papist, for a similar purpose. (Ranke III. 30) Zapolya, with whom the king of France and the pope had formed an alliance, promised to furnish Philip with a large amount of money, in order to enable him to direct his arms against Ferdinand with vigor. In the meantime, Philip occupied the territories of the bishop of Wurzburg with his forces, and threatened those of the neighboring bishops of Mayence and Bamberg. The truth of Pack's disclosures was not satisfactorily proved, and he subsequently perished miserably. But he had involved Philip in a rash enterprise, of which the latter afterwards confessed that he was ashamed, and had prompted him to commit the grave offence of violating the peace of the empire by an unauthorized appeal to arms. The blemish which thus seemed to adhere to the entire evangelical party, was painfully felt by all of its members (Ranke III. 39, 118). The whole occurrence made a very unfavorable impression on Luther's mind; the latter freely conceded that a right of self-defence existed, but that it was inconsistent with the spirit of the Prince of peace to commence an offensive war. "They that take the sword," he repeated, "shall perish with the sword," (Matt. 26: 52). His letters on the subject are in de Wette's collection, III. 316—321.

The emperor's difficulties with his foreign enemies, on the other hand, had all been adjusted, or were rapidly disappearing. He concluded a peace with the pope, June 29, 1529, and soon afterwards (in August at Cambray) with Francis I.; the concurrence of Henry VIII. of England was also secured. The displeasure with which he had beheld the progress of the friends of the Reformation, to whom he now directed his attention, was at once openly proclaimed. At this period, the

beginning of the year 1528, "his policy," says Lindner, II. 73 sq., "assumed a decidedly anti-evangelical character, to which Philip's covetous glances at the imperial throne (Kaiserideen) unquestionably contributed not a little." His own early education, moreover, and general habits of thought, his apparent temporal interests and other influences (which the historian Ranke sketches with the pen of a philosopher, Book. V. Ch. 4) combined to lead him to the adoption of measures that contemplated the total extirpation of the faith which was denominated the "Lutheran heresy." On Nov. 29, 1528, an imperial proclamation was issued, directing that a Diet should be held at Spires on February 21 of the following year; it announced in the most emphatic terms that, besides the discussion of the subject of a proposed Turkish war, and of the recent violation of the public peace, effectual measures would then be adopted, in order to adjust the great religious question of the day. The members of the Diet assembled in large numbers at the appointed time, and it appeared that the Catholic party had secured a decisive majority of votes; Duke Henry of Mecklenburg and the Elector of the Palatinate, hitherto supposed to be friends of the Reformation, now acted with the Papists. The "Proposition" which the imperial commissioners offered, (March 15) while it promised a Church Council, to which the pope had ultimately consented, involved the following essential points: it expressly repealed or annulled the Recess or decree of the diet of 1526 (see the last article, p. 47) which legalized the ecclesiastical reforms of John and his associates (Kais. Maj. hebt angezeigten Artikel auf, cassirt und vernichtet denselben, &c. Ranke III. 120, n. 1), presented a substitute that was diametrically opposed to it, and extinguished completely the right of the evangelical princes and imperial cities to continue the work of the Reformation. This proposition was placed in the hands of a committee, containing a large majority of Papists, with instructions to present a report on it to the Diet. They submitted their report March 24; it recommended the adoption of the proposition of the imperial commissioners, with several amendments, conceived in the same persecuting spirit: one of them expressly sanctioned anew the Edict of Worms of 1521, which had outlawed Luther (for which see the last article, p. 44). The report of this committee was adopted at the sessions of April 6 and 7, in all its details, precisely in the form in which it was presented. Thus the Edict of Worms was revived, and the ju-

risdiction of the popish bishops in every place was restored. Tolerance was only temporarily granted to the new ecclesiastical order established in the electoral and allied dominions by the Lutherans, that is, only until a general Council should be held; but all further changes, such as the Diet of Spires of 1526 had allowed, in view of the principle of territorial sovereignty, were sternly forbidden. The Zwinglians and all others (Anabaptists, &c.) without exception, who were not identified with the Lutherans, were expressly excluded from the enjoyment of the peace of the empire. This harsh measure, which outlawed the Swiss Reformers, a party entirely distinct from Luther and the elector John, originated in the political alliance which the popish Swiss cantons had previously formed with Ferdinand (Ranke III. 122. Lindner II. 75). The cause of the evangelical religion was thus apparently crushed by a single blow; the avowed object of the extreme measures adopted by the Diet, was obviously the annihilation of Lutheranism.

A crisis had arrived. If John and his associates had faltered, the cause of evangelical truth would, humanly speaking, have been entirely prostrated; it was indeed a struggle between the Gospel and the powers of darkness; an indirect renewal of the awful scene at the commencement of the Savior's ministry, when Satan, veiling his real purpose, attempted to seduce Him in whom "dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." The circumstances alone are changed—the servants of Christ are now struggling with those whom the god of this world had "taken captive at his will." The former are found to be faithful—their Master is present to guide and strengthen them. John addresses the throne of grace; Luther, God's chosen instrument, the man of faith and prayer, is guided by the Spirit of his divine Master in the instructions and inspiring letters which he transmits to John. It was decided that the evangelical party should present to the Diet a remonstrance for which Luther furnished the materials. This document (Bedenken) is given by de Wette III. 438 sqq. The latter could not decide on its precise date, and hence specifies simply: *Mitte Aprils.* It must have been written between the seventh and twelfth of April, as on the latter day Minkwitz declared in the presence of the diet that the evangelical party could not acquiesce in the action of the diet, for reasons which he gives (Ranke III. 124) and which coincide with those advanced by Luther. For the latter furnishes, in this written opinion, five reasons for ad-

hering to the reformation of ecclesiastical abuses, as accomplished in the electorate and elsewhere. It deserves special notice, as foreshadowing the precise purport of the Augsburg Confession that, as the report of the committee referred chiefly to popish practices of the church, which it was designed to perpetuate, Luther terms all these "abuses" (Missbräuche), and declares that they constitute the immediate difficulty with the papists; it is, at the same time, obvious, that these *abuses* originated partly in the suppression of divine truth, and partly in the admixture of false doctrines with the truth. That these "abuses" (oppressive exactions, perversion of ecclesiastical patronage, substitution of human devices for scriptural duties, &c.) such as the last seven articles of the Augsburg Confession describe, *chiefly* attracted attention at this precise moment, is also apparent from the circumstance that Luther refers in this document to the celebrated *Centum gravamina* or list of one hundred grievances; this singular catalogue had been presented in 1521 at the Diet of Worms by papists themselves, who felt the burden to be intolerable, before Luther's doctrine was proclaimed, (as he himself here remarks) but who did not perceive, as he was enabled to do, that these evils originated in the perversion of sound Gospel doctrine, and the substitution of Pelagian and kindred heresies.* He now declares that John cannot lawfully assent to the action of this diet, for the following reasons: 1.) *That action* is a violation of John's rights of conscience, and hostile to wholesome Christian doctrine. 2.) An assent to it would make John a partaker of other men's sins. 3.) John has no authority to compel a restoration of these "abuses," as the diet required of him. 4.) Such assent would be inconsistent with the proceedings of the diet of Worms of 1521, when the emperor himself confessed that the one hundred grievances needed correction, and promised to abate them. 5.) That no valid reason can be given for the action of the present diet; "his Imperial Majesty," says Luther with great force, "may learn that your Electoral Grace has not been guilty of un-

* Here lies the secret of the success of the Lutheran Reformation. It corrected the abuses mentioned in the Augsburg Confession, as well as others, not simply because they were external evils, but because they practically denied one or the other of the two fundamental principles on which the Lutheran church is established: first, the Word of God as the only rule of faith and practice (in opposition to tradition, decrees of councils, popes, &c.), and, secondly, Justification by faith in Christ alone (in opposition to all human devices for acquiring merit.) *This* is the spirit of the Lutheran creed—by the blessing of God it prevailed.

christian conduct, from the circumstance that the estates of the empire have not condemned your doctrine, but only referred it to a church council; now they would not have refrained from such a condemnatory course, if they had really believed your doctrine to be at variance with the Christian faith." Sustained by such a decision, John urged the Diet to abstain from sanctioning the report of the committee, and entreated the members to await the action of the promised Council. The remonstrance was signed by himself and the other evangelical princes, and presented by the landgrave Philip. It did not, however, produce an impression on the majority. On the 12th of April Minkwitz, the Saxon deputy, whom we mentioned above, reiterated the sentiments expressed in the remonstrance, and adverted very appositely to the fact that it was indecorous in a political body, such as they constituted, to decide questions involving the faith and religious liberty of Christian men, and intolerable that they should virtually anticipate the action of the proposed church council. He employed all the resources of his eloquence to secure a peaceful adjustment of the difficulty, and seems to have delivered a brilliant speech, characterized both by a sincere love of peace, and by a calm determination not to swerve for an instant from the plain path of duty.

The minority had at this point of time formed clear views of their position, both in its political and its religious aspects, and were resolved to maintain it firmly. They regarded the former decree or recess of the diet of 1526, which conceded to them the enjoyment of liberty of conscience and of their political rights, as a contract solemnly ratified at a critical period of the empire, by two distinctly defined parties—a contract which neither party was at liberty to annul without the consent of the other. This view was founded on the fact that the decree of 1526 recognized the sovereignty or independent territorial rights of the Lutheran princes and cities, and was thus virtually a recognition of a fundamental law of the empire, legitimately applied in a new case, that is, it was a legal and irreversible decision that the political rights of the Lutheran princes secured to them liberty of conscience. Now this action of the diet, on the other hand, which directly assailed their rights of conscience, at the same time practically abolished their political rights, and, in reality, subverted the whole structure of the German Empire. The circumstance that their opponents commanded at the moment a majority

of votes, could not legalize an act of that party which invaded the acknowledged political, that is, the constitutional and established rights of the minority. For if this principle were admitted, an accidental majority could at any time subvert acknowledged rights, and the sacred character of covenants, order, justice, property, life and liberty throughout Christendom might be involved in one common ruin. In a strictly legal point of view, the minority could unquestionably refuse, for such reasons, to yield obedience to the action of the majority; the latter could, with no sanction of divine or human laws, rob the minority of their natural and inalienable rights.

Such general views, which seem to have been first developed by the landgrave Philip, were now expressed by him, and by John, as well as by George, margrave of Brandenburg, Dukes Ernest and Franciscus of Brunswick-Lunenburg, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt and the representatives of several free cities. But the majority was inexorable. Its constituent members, in the spirit of the Babylonian despot, adhered to the ungodly terms which they proposed: Worship the golden image—or—enter the burning fiery furnace. On the 19th of April, king Ferdinand, attended by Waldkirch and the other imperial commissioners, appeared at the Diet for the purpose of declaring it to be adjourned *sine die*, as soon as the decrees now passed, had been engrossed in the regular form of a *Recess* (Abschied); they expressed their thanks for "the devout, faithful and diligent services" of the members, and gave the imperial sanction and confirmation of the resolutions adopted, which formality constituted the latter laws of the empire. When John and his associates repeated their remonstrances, the imperial party haughtily replied that they *must* abide by the decision of the Diet, as it had, "according to the established and venerable custom, been made by the majority." The moments were precious—religious and civil liberty was ready to expire—if this outrage were silently endured, and the decrees of the Diet, in the form of a recess, were once deposited, with general consent, in the archives of the empire, not only would liberty have ceased to exist, but the Word of God would be disowned and its light extinguished. John and his friends rapidly passed into an adjoining chamber, for the purpose of preparing an answer, but Ferdinand, who was aware of their design, refused to wait, although entreated to remain. After repeating, in a still more contemptuous manner, that the said decrees were

now established laws of the empire, he withdrew at once, accompanied by the imperial commissioners. This abrupt departure, on the one hand, which in its mode and spirit, was felt to be highly derogatory to the dignity of princes of the elevated rank of John and his friends, and their deep conviction, on the other, that ther political existence, and their religious rights would be annihilated, if they tacitly submitted, now determined them to resort to the last legal and pacific measure of self-defence which remained; they had already had it in contemplation during several weeks, in case the action of the Diet, as they partially apprehended, should be unfavorable. They accordingly resorted to the right of Protest and Appeal. They hastily prepared a solemn PROTEST or PROTESTATION,* which was at once presented and read at the same session of the Diet, very soon after Ferdinand's departure, but in the presence of the estates of the empire, who were still assembled. (Very soon afterwards John issued a proclamation addressed to the nation, in which he gives an extract from his Protestation; the former is omitted in the Wittenberg and Jena editions of Luther's works, but we find it in the Altenb. ed. IV. 799.) It was the Protestation now described, as presented at Spires, April 19, 1529, by John and other Lutherans, that furnished us with the word *Protestant.* In its historical meaning, it designated originally the Lutherans exclusively, as contradistinguished alike from the Reformed and the Catholics. It seems to have been applied to them officially, first of all by Cardinal Contarini (Guericke: Ch. H. III. 163) at the Colloquium of Ratisbon, April and May 1541; it was not extended to the Reformed and non-Catholics generally, until after the Peace of Westphalia of 1648. In a dogmatic or doctrinal sense, the word

* This latter form, which is the one employed by John, is probably, as an English word, the more correct of the two. The document was not so much, in the modern sense of the word, a "protest against" certain acts, as, rather, *a solemn declaration of opinion and of dissent,* vindicating rights that had been violated. The term occurs in the document in the following connection:—"We, therefore, protest publicly before God, our Creator, &c., that, in all matters which are against God and his Word, or our own salvation and conscience, or against the decree of the former diet of Spires, we refuse our consent and agreement, and hold such matters to be null and void, of no binding authority, &c." Seckendorf, Germ. p. 944. The word "*Protestatio*" in this sense, is a technical law term, not of classic authors, but of writers on civil law as early as the days of Ulpian, at the beginning of the third century. History and analogy seem alike to decide that the accent should be placed on the second syllable of the English word *Protestant.*

seems to imply the rejection of only popish errors, and even of these only indefinitely, without indicating in a direct manner the rich treasure of positive divine truth set forth in the symbols of the Lutheran church; hence we may the less reluctantly abandon it to the use of non-Catholics generally.

The Protestation rehearsed the same objections which, as we stated above, had been made when the committee reported to the Diet; it renewed the declaration that the action of said Diet, which violated a lawful contract, was itself, for that very reason, illegal, and it announced the intention of the Protestants to disregard entirely the decision of the diet, and to continue the work of the Reformation, in so far as, in the language of the former diet of Spires (see last article, p. 47) they could hope and expect "to answer for the same to God and His Imperial Majesty." Reference was also made to the ungenerous treatment by the Papists of the Zwinglians, who were condemned without a hearing.

A detailed statement of all the grievances of these Protestants was at length completed on the 25th of April, in a regular and legal form. It assumed the character of an *Appeal* to the emperor, to the next General Church Council, or to the representatives of the entire German nation organized as a National Assembly. This document, which was termed their "Appellation," and which is to be carefully distinguished from the "Protestation," was signed by the Lutheran princes and the representatives of fourteen imperial cities. The Protestant party now assumed a distinctively defined attitude; its military resources were considerable, and its posture began to alarm the adherents of Popery seriously, while it emboldened the friends of divine truth to persevere in the work of Reformation. During all these exciting transactions, the elector John and Luther, both of whom God wonderfully supported, while they boldly defied alike the papal and the imperial power, infused life and energy into the bosoms of their friends, and directed and sustained the whole movement.*

* Various expressions of the apostle Paul, e. g. 2 Cor. 4: 16, indicate that while his spirit never quailed, inasmuch as "the life which he lived in the flesh, he lived by the faith of the Son of God" (Gal. 2: 20), his physical organization, disturbed and exhausted by perpetual conflicts, as well as by the "care of the churches" (2 Cor. 11: 28) at all times admonished him that he should not be "exalted above measure"—it was indeed in his weakness that the divine strength imparted to him was made perfect and glorious, (2 Cor. 12: 7—9). So, too, while the light in the souls of John and Luther was never clouded, their bodily health was se-

The Marburg Colloquium, Oct. 1—3, 1529.

The adverse result of the diet, while it could not dismay, at least deeply distressed John and Luther. The latter, however, relying solely on the aid of God, whose power was sufficient to deliver from great perils, as well as from trivial inconveniences, could not be persuaded that the good cause was now menaced by greater dangers than it had formerly been. But Philip of Hesse, governed as he was by more carnal views, redoubled his efforts to strengthen his political alliances. Zurich was engaged in negotiations with the anti-imperial Catholic governments of France and Venice, and hence an alliance with Zurich seemed to him to be indispensable. His ambitions soul was absorbed by such plans, and he was sorely grieved by Luther's opposition to them; he imagined that this opposition might possibly be withdrawn, if Zwingli could succeed in favorably impressing Luther at a personal interview. With this hope he invited the several parties to hold the celebrated Colloquium at his palace in Marburg. Of this meeting, as well as of Zwingli's peculiarities of doctrine, in consequence of which he widely differed from the faith of Luther and Melanchthon, we have already given an historical sketch in our last article, and we propose to supply here those details alone which we then reserved, in order to present in the present article a connected history of the origin of the Augsburg Confession.

The disputants had resolved that though they could not fully agree in doctrine, they would respectively obey the law of love. Zwingli took the offered hand of Luther, and words of personal good will were exchanged. The final act preceding their separation, was the joint recognition of those doctrinal points in which all agreed, and Luther was, by common consent, appointed to prepare a summary of them. When he performed this task, he appears to have regarded three classes of errorists, in opposition to whose unsound doctrines a statement of the pure doctrine was required: first, the Catholics (justification by faith, &c.); secondly, the Zwinglians (divinity of Christ, the Sacraments, &c.—on the subject

riously impaired by the anxieties in the midst of which they lived at this eventful period. They were only men—it was solely by the grace of God that, like Paul (1 Cor. 15: 10) they were "what they were." John's life, as in the case of his brother Frederic, was shortened by the mental labors which he performed, and which overtasked his frame. Luther often complains of the influence of his labors on his health, is distressed by violent pains in his head, &c. Letters, de Wette, III. 442, 496. IV. 15.

of Original Sin Luther did not think that entire unanimity had been secured); and thirdly, the Zwickau fanatics (Anabaptists; Infant Baptism, the Ministry, Government, &c.). These several points of doctrine were now submitted by him to the assembled theologians, in a pure scriptural form; the document consisted of *fifteen* articles, known in history as the *Marburg Articles.* They are found in a somewhat abbreviated form (the article on Infant Baptism being omitted) in the Jena edition of Luther's works, IV. 469, in that of Altenburg, IV. 563, and in the Wittenberg edition, from which Chytræus copied them in his *Historia*, p. 355 B. The original autograph was discovered a few years ago in the archives of electoral Hesse, and a fac-simile of it published by H. Heppe, Cassel, 1847; a second edition appeared in 1854, (die 15 marb. Artikel, &c.). Since the recent publication of the autograph, historians (Ranke III. 143, Guericke, Lindner, Kurtz, &c.) uniformly speak of the *fifteen* articles. A correct copy of the whole is given by Rudelbach in his *Ref. Luth. und Un.* pp. 665—668. We here insert an English translation which the Rev. Dr. Lintner of Schoharie, N. Y., published in the Missionary (Pittsburg Pa.) of Jan. 14, 1858. (As the learned translator faithfully adhered to the text of the Jena edition, the article there omitted is here supplied, as number 14.) We avail ourselves of the permission which our friend politely gave, to incorporate his translation with our article.

Articles of the Conference of Marburg.

The undersigned have agreed upon the following Articles, in the Conference at Marburg, October 3d, 1529:

Article 1. We believe and hold that there is one true, living God, Creator of Heaven and Earth and all creatures, and that this same God, one in essence and nature, is three-fold in person, that is to say, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as was declared in the Council of Nice, and is still taught by the Universal Christian Church.

2. Neither the Father, nor the Holy Ghost, but the Son of the Father, was truly made man through the Holy Ghost, without the agency of man; born of the Virgin Mary, with a true body and soul, like unto other men, but free from sin.

3. The Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary, inseparable in the person of Jesus Christ, was crucified, died, and was buried, rose from the dead, ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God, Lord over all creatures for the future Judgment of the living and the dead.

4. Original Sin is an innate depravity, which we have inherited from Adam, and condemns all men. If Christ had not come to effect our deliverance by his death and resurrection, we must all have perished under the condemnation of this Sin, and could never have attained the Kingdom and Salvation of God.

5. We are delivered from Original Sin, as well as all other sins and everlasting death, by faith in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who died for us. Without such faith we cannot be released from Sin by any works, authority, or order of human invention.

6. True faith is the gift of God, which we cannot obtain by our own strength, works or merits. It is produced by the Holy Spirit working in our hearts, through the Gospel and word of God.

7. By means of such a faith, which is our righteousness before God, we are accounted obedient and holy, without any merit in ourselves. We are released from sin, death and hell, and saved by the grace of God, for His Son's sake, in whom we believe, and through whose righteousness we are made partakers of life and all spiritual blessings.

8. The Holy Spirit, ordinarily, does not work such a faith nor bestow His gifts, without the preaching of the Gospel and hearing of the word of God, by which means faith is produced, according to Romans 10.

9. Baptism is a holy Sacrament, which God has instituted for leading us to such a faith, and with the command and promises of God annexed to it, baptism is not a mere sign or ceremony among Christians, but a sign and work of God inducing faith by means of which we are born again.

10. Having been Justified and Sanctified by faith, it will also bring forth in us good works; such as love to our neighbor, calling on the Lord, and patiently suffering persecution.

11. Confession, or as it may be termed, seeking counsel of our Spiritual Instructors, should be voluntary and free. Still it is considered necessary, for persons laboring under the burden of sin, and the various temptations and errors into which they are liable to fall, that they may be delivered and comforted by the Gospel, which is the only true absolution.

12. The civil governments instituted by worldly powers, are to be regarded as necessary and useful ordinances, and are not forbidden, as is taught by some of the Papists and Anabaptists. Christians who are called to the government, or born to exercise its functions, may be saved by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, as a father or mother exercising government in the family.

13. Human institutions and traditions in religious and ecclesiastical matters, which are not contrary to the Scriptures, may be tolerated; as the disposition of the people, and other circumstances render expedient, that offences may be avoided, and peace and unity preserved. But we

condemn the doctrine, which forbids the marriage of the clergy, as a device of Satan.

14. The baptism of children is right (and proper); they are thereby presented to the grace of God, and received into (the pale of) Christianity.

15. With regard to the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, we believe that it ought to be celebrated in both kinds, according to the original institution. The Mass is not a work by which one man may procure grace for another, either in this life or after death. The Sacrament of the altar is the Sacrament of the true body and blood of Christ, and the spiritual partaking of this body and blood is necessary for every Christian, and the ordinance should be used as the word ordained of Almighty God, that weak consciences may be strengthened and encouraged in their faith and love to God through the Holy Spirit.

And although we are not agreed at present on the question whether the real body and blood of Christ are corporeally present in the bread and wine, yet both parties shall cherish more and more a truly Christian charity so far as conscience permits. And we will all earnestly implore the Lord to condescend by His Spirit to establish us in the true doctrine.

MARTINUS LUTHERUS,
PHILIPPUS MELANCHTHON,
JUSTUS JONAS,
ANDREAS OSIANDER,
JOHANNES BRENTIUS,
STEPHANUS AGRICOLA,
ULRICUS ZWINGLIUS,
JOHANNES OECOLAMPADIUS,
MARTINUS BUCERUS,
CASPAR HEDIO.

The names of the signers were affixed Oct. 4 (Ranke III. 144); they suggest many reflections, for which we have no room here, and deserve attentive study. The reader will find that this series of articles is, both in form and expression, the original basis of the seventeen Swabach (Torgau) Articles, as given in the Evangelical Review, II. 78, to which we shall presently advert, and, ultimately, of the first twenty-one articles of the Augsburg Confession, and that it *does not* introduce the matters discussed in the last seven articles of that Confession.

The Swabach Convention, Oct. 16, 1529.

The developments for which the Marburg Colloquium had furnished, as it seemed, incidentally, an occasion, made a deep impression on the devout mind of John; he resolved anew to be guided by divine truth exclusively, and, in accordance with Luther's pacific principles and soundness in the faith, to discard alike all carnal reliance on human measures of self-defence, and all false doctrine. With these views he and his allies held a convention at Swabach, Oct. 16, a few days after the Marburg events had become known. Luther had proceeded from Marburg to Schleiz, where he met John and also George of Brandenburg. His arguments convinced them that doctrinal unity was the sole basis of any political alliance or ecclesiastical union to which they could conscientiously give their assent, and which could be harmoniously maintained, or lead, by the divine blessing, to a successful issue. For the purpose of ascertaining the parties among whom that unity really existed, a doctrinal instrument was indispensable—and such a document *already existed* in its essential features. The history of this procedure has been involved in much obscurity, as several of the original manuscripts had disappeared, and have only recently been regained. The narratives of Salig, Cyprian and Seckendorf are all somewhat confused; the more recent statements of Köllner (Symb. Vol. I.) and Ranke, and an examination of those sets of articles to which we have had access, enable us, after considerable search, to present the following chronological order of events, which we believe to be strictly correct.

At Marburg fifteen articles were signed, Oct. 4, as we have seen. The next day Luther departed from Marburg (Ranke III. 144 n. 3). Köllner supposes, p. 165, and p. 168 n. 23, that Luther had (possibly on the morning of his departure, or the previous evening) "somewhat enlarged and altered" these fifteen articles, for any future purpose, and "then presented them, Oct. 16, 1529, at the second convention of Swabach." The chief argument which he adduces for this *unaccountably early* expansion of the fifteen articles to seventeen, is the following: Riederer (Nachrichten, &c.) found in a collection of original manuscripts of Luther, the autograph of his Preface to his own edition of the seventeen Swabach articles, in the publication entitled: Auf das Schreyen etlicher Papisten über die 17 Artickel ("On the Clamor of some

Papists &c."). On this identical manuscript Veit Diedrich, one of Luther's attendants, had written with his own hand the following in Latin: "Luther's Preface, written at Coburg, to the seventeen articles written at Marburg." Ranke appears to assume, as Köllner does, that this fact decides that Luther *had enlarged the articles already at Marburg*. Still, we are inclined to believe that Diedrich simply meant that these seventeen articles were, *substantially*, those on which the parties had agreed at Marburg, for they are really the same in their general tenor and contents. We fully agree with Köllner in the remark, p. 168, that "the first foundation of the Augsburg Confession was laid at the Zwinglian Colloquium of Marburg," but the purpose and precise time *of the extension* of the fifteen to seventeen articles, which is not explained by the authors before us, may perhaps be conceived of in the following manner.

On the 5th of October Luther proceeded without loss of time from Marburg to Schleiz, carrying with him, as we assume, a copy of the fifteen articles *in the state in which they had been signed*. Here he met John and the margrave George; they resolved to adhere to the principle of doctrinal unity at the approaching (second Swabach) convention. The Protestants had already held a consultation at Rotach in June, for the purpose of concerting measures of self-defence, and then proposed to adopt formal articles of confederation at a subsequent convention, to be held in Swabach. The landgrave Philip, whose ambitious projects led him to underrate the importance of agreement in doctrinal truth, now addressed a letter to John, written in his characteristic style, urging him to adopt decisive measures, insisting that agreement of doctrine respecting the sacraments was not indispensable, and threatening to dissolve his alliance with John, if the latter permitted himself to be swayed by religious scruples, in place of being governed by political considerations. John replied with calmness, repeating his favorite remark that he would, under all circumstances, adhere exclusively to the Word of God. When the important day arrived, the first act was the presentation of *seventeen* articles, as the only basis of union. These had been prepared by Luther, and *they* constitute the articles *now* known as the *Swabach Articles*, but formerly styled those of *Torgau*. It was long a contested point whether they coincided with any other known series of articles, or were an independent doctrinal statement. But as it was known that the commissioners of the Zwinglian

city of Ulm had declined to sign them, the sagacity of Frick, the translator of Seckendorf, led him to search for them in the archives of that city, where he actually discovered them; he inserts them in his translation, p. 968. Of their genuineness no doubt is entertained (Köllner, 158). To the surprise of all, these Swabach articles were found to be identical with those which Luther himself had once been compelled to publish. It appears that a copy of these articles had been obtained surreptitiously and published; several papist theologians (Wimpina &c.) issued an answer, in which they criticised the articles. This publication induced Luther to republish his articles.

To this document, *Auf das Schreyen*, &c., we have already referred; it is givin by Cyprian (Beyl. p. 159), together with the Preface, the autograph of which was, as we observed, discovered by Riederer. The articles coincide with those which occur in the Altenb. ed. of Luther's works, V. 14, where they stand in an isolated form, simply bearing the title: "Bekenntniss christlicher Lehre und Glaubens, durch Dr. M. L. in XVII artickel verfasset"—that is, "Confession of Christian doctrine and faith, &c." Chytræus presents them in the same form, simply adding the date to the title: "Anno 1530," and in his notes at the end of the volume remarking that they were "the first formula from which the articles of the Augsburg Confession were prepared." An English translation was given in 1850 by Rev. Dr. Krauth, Jr., in the Ev. Rev. II. 78, under the old title of "Articles of Torgau." If the reader will compare them with Dr. Lintner's translation of the Marburg articles, he will observe both the essential agreement of the two series in the order of subjects and general tenor, particularly in the first nine articles, and also the *expansion* which the original Marburg draught received before it was adopted at Swabach. We think that these changes, for which neither Köllner nor Ranke accounts, may be now explained, if the conjecture which we here submit is well-founded: *After* Luther's departure from Marburg, and *before* the Swabach convention—an interval of at most eleven days—he is directed by John to prepare a doctrinal basis of union. Now he could simply re-assert the points of his faith which he had already submitted at Marburg, and hence the same topics (Trinity, Original Sin, Faith, Sacraments, &c., &c.) re-appear. But as it was desirable, under *these more favorable circumstances*, to set forth these points in their Gospel fulness, and not in that somewhat meagre

form, which alone could secure the consent of the Zwinglians, Luther was naturally led *at this time*, according to our theory, to express his doctrines with greater breadth*—that is, during this period of eleven days. The new document, generally following the order of the Marburg articles, but moving with more freedom, now appears in recent writers under the title of "Swabach Articles." It was, according to Luther's express statement, not originally prepared for the diet of Augsburg, as his enemies had asserted. A comparison of the dates conclusively demonstrates this fact. These articles existed already in October 1529, whereas the proclamation which convoked that Diet, is dated Bologna, Jan. 21, 1530. At the close of the year 1529, another convention was held in Smalcald by the evangelical party, for the purpose of again concerting measures for the establishment of a defensive alliance against the papists. An official report was here presented, from which it appeared that the ambassadors who had been directed to offer a copy of the Protestation to the emperor, had been arrested as criminals, and that the latter had with the utmost indignation refused to receive the document. Luther and John nevertheless adhered to their principle that the first essential measure consisted in fidelity to the divine Word, since it was the indispensable condition on which they could hope for divine aid. The Zwinglian members of the convention were now unwilling to abandon *their* doctrine for

* When the somewhat incomplete presentation of Gospel truth in the Marburg articles, is compared with the original eight "fundamentals" of the "Evangelical Alliance" of 1846—the latest machinery employed for propagating British and American sects in the Protestant countries of the continent of Europe—the former are found to be comparatively full of heavenly light and life. The latter are so distressingly jejune, so rigid in their refusal to recognize the glory of the Person of Christ, and yet so fearful of dealing impolitely with fallen human nature, so unwilling to believe that the holy Sacraments are more than empty ceremonies, so jealous in defending the right of private judgment and the office of the ministry, and yet so determined utterly to ignore the very existence of the Church of God which he hath purchased with his own blood, so skilful in evading the salient points of Gospel doctrine, and yet so bungling in meeting the charge of actual infidelity, that a *ninth fundamental* in very shame was afterwards added, so destitute of the Spirit of Christ, that if good men had not, in a temporary fit of enthusiasm, subscribed them, we should be disposed to believe that none but a heartless man, as their author, could so return the Savior's love! God preserve us from such modern creeds! May he preserve the Lutheran Church in the United States from every "unionistic" measure which would require the sacrifice of one jot or one tittle of that holy "faith which was once delivered to the saints."

the sake of establishing an alliance—why should John renounce *his* precious doctrine? The Protestants finally adopted a resolution (re-affirmed at the Nuremberg convention of Jan, 6, 1530) in which they declared that they could not conscientiously enter into any political union with parties which withheld their assent from the seventeen Swabach articles. These have accordingly acquired a high historical importance, as they were the first confessional statement which discriminated between the Protestants or Lutherans, on the one hand, and the Zwinglians and Catholics on the other.

The Diet of Augsburg, 1530.

The actual views and expectations of the Elector at this precise period are easily ascertained. The situation of the Lutherans, which was embarrassing in the highest degree, seemed to allow them only a choice between two opposite modes of procedure: first, to form a close alliance with the Reformed Swiss cantons and the Catholic parties that were opposed to the house of Austria, and concert with them a plan for conducting military operations—or, secondly, to unite with the Catholic reform-party in issuing a call for a general Church Council or National Assembly, which might result in the establishment of a German national Church, so far released from subjection to the pope, and purified in doctrine and usages, that they could conscientiously remain in connection with it. The former course it was now deemed inexpedient to choose; the absence of internal union, the admixture of political designs of a suspicious character, the political convulsions to which it would inevitably lead, the certainty that such heterogeneous parties, even if they prevailed in a struggle with the imperial troops, would never be able to establish a pure creed, and in addition the fear of God's displeasure—were the causes which decided John and Luther to reject it. The other course (although eventually also found impracticable) would not identify them more unequivocally with papists than the former; it seemed to allow the hope that the question at issue would be satisfactorily adjusted, that popish abuses would be suppressed, and that the evangelical religion would be peacefully restored to the liberty and predominance to which it was entitled. Hence they were disposed to adopt this course, if fair terms—such as devout men could accept—should be proposed. Luther said: "God is faithful and will not forsake us," and quoted the

words: "In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength." (Isaiah 30: 15). Ranke exclaims: "Such a course (of the Protestants) was not politically wise—we might, like others, take exception to it—but, in view of this conscientious deference for the divine will, *it was sublime.*" (III. 150, 151).

The conduct of Luther and John in declining an alliance with the Swiss and other Zwinglians, and still regarding a union with the Catholics as possible under certain circumstances, has often been misunderstood. The union with the Catholics which they contemplated, consisted in the adoption by the latter of the Protestant faith! They had *protested*—but that act was not a withdrawal *from the Christian Church.* The Church of Rome, as such, was still, in their view, at this time, capable of being restored to purity of doctrine and life. There were millions of souls still subject to its influence. Would it be right in the eyes of God to abandon all these, without another effort to conduct them to a purer faith? The Lutherans very reluctantly renounced the hope of this restoration. They could scarcely believe the appalling fact that the festering sores of the Church of Rome, which made it an abomination in the eyes of God, were utterly incurable; they did not immediately perceive, that if they desired to be the instruments of God in the work of rescuing the Gospel from the pestilential errors which surrounded it, the only alternative which remained, consisted in their absolute and complete withdrawal from that polluted Sodom, and in carrying the Church and the Means of Grace with them into a purified atmosphere. Hence the address to Charles V., which constitutes the Preface or introduction of the Augsburg Confession, still expresses such views and feelings as occur in the following passages: "In obedience to your Majesty's demand, we now offer in defence of our religion, the Confession of our adherents and ourselves, the doctrine of which, drawn from the Holy Scriptures — — they deliver—and discuss in our churches. For, if the other electors &c. [the papal party] shall produce their opinions on the subject of religion, we are here ready to consult on friendly terms with those princes —on the means by which we may come to an agreement — — and, having peaceably discussed the subjects of difference among ourselves, to consult how the dissensions may be suppressed, through the grace of God, and *how one true, harmonious religion* may be preserved; that, as we all live and serve under *one Christ,* and ought to acknowledge one Christ, — — all opinions likewise may be conformed to the standard

of divine truth,—an event which we implore from God in our most fervent supplications." They next remark, that if, nevertheless, a reconciliation should not be effected, "we, at least, shall leave the clearest evidence — — from our Confession, *that we have withheld no effort which might contribute to the restoration of Christian harmony, consistent with the will of God and the dictates of conscience.*" At the close of the address they say that if their efforts to adjust the existing dissensions amicably, should fail, they next propose to plead their cause before a "general, free and Christian Council (of the whole Church)"—they refer to the general wish, to the "unanimous voices" of all parties, that a competent tribunal should pronounce the final decision. "In this appeal," they say, "we continue to persist, nor do we intend, nor are we able to abandon it, unless the difficulty between the parties be settled," and Christian harmony be restored. Then follow the twenty-eight articles of the Augsburg Confession (Book of Concord, Newm. 2d ed, pp. 107–109.) This course of the Protestants is a beautiful illustration of that charity which "hopeth all things, endureth all things" (1 Cor. 13: 7.) The sentiments expressed in this address, which was elaborated by Melanchthon, were adopted by Luther, who doubtless refers to them when he pronounces a judgment on the whole Confession, and says, somewhat humorously: *Ich kann nicht so sanft und leise treten.* Indeed, the Reformers did not feel at liberty to withdraw from the ecclesiastical organization with which they had always been connected, until every measure which charity dictated, had been adopted. But they soon obtained the fullest light. Under the influence of analogous, long-cherished feelings, even the apostle Peter could not form clear views of Christian duty and liberty, until additional revelations had been granted (Acts 10 : 15, 28 ; 11 : 1—18). The "apostles and brethren" at length understood the true character of the Gospel, and learned to discriminate between Judaism and Christianity. Luther and John were taught to understand that Christianity was incompatible with Popery in all the forms and the spirit of the latter, and now they averted their faces from the unclean thing. It still maintains an existence, but of its decrepitude and utter separation from God and his truth, we have a revolting exhibition in the recent recognition by the Pope of the "immaculate conception" of Mary, who is now made equal to Christ, for her sinlessness is now distinctly maintained—a doctrine so monstrous, that the councils and popes even of

the darkest ages, did not venture to give it their official sanction.

The emperor and Clemens VII. had, in the meantime, agreed on terms referring to the pacification of Italy, at an interview in Bologna, towards the close of the year 1529; on February 24, 1530, the pope presided at the coronation of Charles V. in the presence of the French ambassador. The emperor had already pledged himself at the peace of Barcelona, June 29, 1529, to employ all the resources of the empire for the purpose of converting the Protestants, or of exterminating them, and a favorable period for redeeming that pledge had now arrived. He had secured at least a temporary peace with his most dangerous enemies, and the rapid progress of the Reformation, to which the Protestation of Spires had given new life and vigor, claimed his undivided personal attention. Before he left Bologna, he accordingly issued a summons (Jan. 21, 1530) directing that a new Diet should be held in the city of Augsburg on the 8th of April, and the following days. The portion which refers to the religious question of the day, is of special moment; it is declared by Köllner, p. 154, with strict historical truth to have been the original cause which led to the preparation of the Augsburg Confession, in its present form. The whole proclamation was written in a pacific spirit; after speaking of the religious disputes which prevailed, the emperor desires both parties (Catholics and Protestants) to be prepared to state their views, opinions and thoughts on the subject in dispute; he promises to listen kindly, and consider every statement with impartiality, and he avows his strong desire to adjust all the difficulties to the satisfaction of both parties; he also expresses the hope that as all believed in the same Savior, all would ultimately concur in professing the same Christian faith. These sentiments (which were afterwards quoted in the Preface of the Augsburg Confession, in the extracts given above) were repeated at the opening of the diet, (Monday, June 20) in the "Proposition" or opening address read in the emperor's presence, and corresponding somewhat to the modern "speech from the throne." In this imperial address the parties are directed to present their views in writing, both in German and in Latin, and to specify "the abuses" which it might be desirable to correct, as well as the doctrines respecting which differences of opinion prevailed ("ein jeglicher sein gut bedüncken, opinion und meinung der berürten irrung und zwyspalt, auch *missbrcuch* halben—zu Deutsch

und Latein in Schrifft stellen und uberantworten ;" Chytræus, who gives the original, p. 50 sqq. from which we carefully copy, fourth ed. 1580, furnishes the best orthography of the age.) Let the reader observe that the emperor refers to the "abuses" as prominent matters of complaint on the part of the Lutherans, and he will already be enabled to form a conception of the nature of the topics which the expected statement or confession would introduce.

While John, who had received the imperial summons to the diet on March 11, was deliberating on the course which duty would require him to pursue, his judicious chancellor Brück (Pontanus) advised compliance with the imperial requisition, and referred to the advantages which would be derived from a written statement of Protestant views, when publicly presented ; he deemed it expedient that while John, as a member of the diet, should officially present such a written statement, the document itself should be carefully prepared, according to the teachings of the Scriptures, by the theologians ; the latter would not, as he apprehended, be permitted to defend their cause in person. John accordingly sent a copy of the proclamation, on March 14, to the Wittenberg divines, Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon. The letter which he addressed to them at the same time, directed that they should at once lay aside every other matter which occupied them, and prepare the document or declaration of religious opinion which the imperial summons required; he desired them to furnish him, as the letter says, "with articles referring to the matter in dispute, with respect both to *doctrine* and also to other points, namely, *external ecclesiastical customs and ceremonies*" (Köllner, 156). He added that, as the time was short, they should communicate this statement of religious views within six days, by the 20th of the month, at Torgau, where he was established, and then be prepared to accompany him to Coburg, on the way to Augsburg. The theologians immediately complied, and prepared certain writings which were, some days afterwards, presented at Torgau.

At this point a grave historical difficulty presents itself, referring to the identity, substance, authorship, &c., of these writings. That certain "Torgau" papers really constituted the matter of the subsequent Augsburg Confession, according to the traditional account given by writers previous to the recent discovery of the documents, is already evident from a

letter of the elector to Luther, dated Augsburg, May 11; the writer says: "After you and our other learned men of Wittenberg had, in accordance with our desire, drawn up the articles *on contested religious* points, we will not withhold the information from you that Magister Philip Melanchthon has re-examined (weiter übersehen) them, and combined them into one statement (in eine Form gezogen) *which we hereby transmit to you*, &c." This letter was written ten days after John and Melanchthon had reached Augsburg; at Coburg the latter had sketched the Preface of the Confession, but the work of preparing that Confession itself, he commenced only after his arrival in Augsburg, (Köllner p. 170). *In these ten days the Augsbnrg Confession is written*, for the same letter now proceeds to solicit Luther to subject the accompanying work of Melanchthon to a close revision, and to add or expunge according to his judgment. With the well-known answer of Luther, of May 15, which is given by all the writers before us, he returns the document, *which was the Augsburg Confession in its complete state*, stamped with the seal of his approbation. It is not to be supposed that in this comparatively short period of ten days, Melanchthon could have completed the Confession, if we do not assume that his task consisted simply in classifying the materials on hand. The preparation of a new and original document, in whole or in part, of such vast importance, by a man so slow to regard his work as well done and complete, is inconceivable.

But *what* constituted the materials from which Melanchthon's skilful pen produced the Augsburg Confession? This point was for more than a century involved in obscurity; the discovery of a number of the original manuscripts, to which we have already referred, has at length greatly simplified the matter. We have already seen that the seventeen articles, often called by earlier writers the "Torgau," are really the "Swabach" Articles. It seems to follow that the term "Torgau Articles" must be the general name for the whole collection of manuscripts presented *at Torgau* to the elector, in conformity to his wish expressed in the letter above, and subsequently placed in Melanchthon's hands for the purpose of being combined in one homogeneous confession. That the seventeen articles constituted only *the smallest part* of the Augsburg Confession, is apparent from the article of Dr. Krauth, Jr. (Ev. Rev. II. 78) to which we have already adverted. It there appears that, with the exception of three short articles, the first twenty-one of the Augsburg Confes-

sion *exhaust* that series, and we have not yet accounted for the last seven Articles, which constitute *ihree-fourths* of the whole Confession. Guided partly by Köllner's exposition, and partly by other documentary evidence, we arrive at the following results.

The Wittenberg theologians, Luther, Justus Jonas, Bugenhagen (Pomeranus) and Melanchthon, are directed, March 14, to furnish articles on contested points in the doctrines and usages of the church of Rome. On the same day at noon (*Hora* 12. 14. *Martii.* de Wette III. 564) Luther writes to Jonas, whose temporary absence from Wittenberg was occasioned by an ecclesiastical visitation; he communicates the order of the elector, and adds that he, together with Bugenhagen and Melanchthon, would on that day and the next (*hodie et eras*) comply with John's desire, as far as it lay in their power, in the absence of Jonas, whom he then urges to return immediately and join his colleagues on the next day. These theologians appear to have first consulted together; then, certain subjects may *possibly* have been assigned to each, as the short time allowed to them, demanded a division of labor (*festinata enim sunt omnia*, says Luther in the letter,) and these several writings or articles, referring respectively to different subjects, but all alike proceeding from the same hallowed source of truth, were at once transferred to the Elector. In preparing them, Luther and Melanchthon, first of all, as Köllner says, p. 166, adopted the Swabach articles, as corresponding to the request of the elector in reference to strictly doctrinal points; some topics, not fully presented there, are exhibited in new articles, for instance, the present twentieth article on Faith and Good Works. Their attention was, however, chiefly directed to the preparation of new articles on external *abuses*, *as evidences of the corrupt doctrines* of the popish system; to such "abuses", indeed, both the emperor's proclamation and the elector's request directly referred. These were now first exhibited in specific articles, and the several unconnected documents were submitted to the elector at Torgau (Köllner 166). The whole collection constitutes, strictly speaking, the "Torgau Articles" or Torgau Papers. These manuscripts were, at a comparatively recent period, discovered by K. E. Förstemann in the Weimar archives, and published in his "Urkundenbuch, &c.," 2 vols. Halle. 1833. "They constitute," says Köllner, p. 159, "the basis of the second part (the last seven articles) of the Augsburg Confession *de abusibus mutatis* (on the abuses

which have been corrected). Of this fact no doubt can any longer be entertained, as these writings in part agree word for word with the German copy or text of the second part of the Augsburg Confession." This collection of new matter received temporarily the name of "Wittenberg Bedenken" (opinions, or statement of views.) From these materials, which were either furnished by Luther himself, or examined and adopted by him as the expression of his views of religious truth, Melanchthon, who had also personally assented to them at Wittenberg, constructed the Augsburg Confession.

Even at this late period, however, when the Elector received the papers at Torgau (after the 21st of March), the Protestants had not formed an entirely clear conception of the precise character which they should give to the written statement for which the imperial proclamation called. Should it assume the form of an apologetical statement, that is, a defence of the ecclesiastical reforms which they had effected? Or should it simply express their doctrinal position, as that of Christians, so that they might be distinguished from Jews and Mohammedans, with whom they had been confounded by the ignorant? Should it breathe a conciliatory spirit, and express the hope which they could not yet entirely abandon, that in place of appearing as schismatics, they might still retain their connection with the church, after it had been cleansed from its pollutions? Or should they furnish, strictly speaking, a Confession of Faith, resembling the ancient symbols, but fuller and more comprehensive in its defence of sound doctrine and profitable church usages? To none of such questions could a categorical answer be given, until the complexion which affairs might assume at Augsburg should have been more clearly ascertained. The materials—the Torgau papers—were now in Melanchthon's hands, in a somewhat unconnected form, but they were full and complete as a whole, and it was obvious that an appropriate document, suited to the exigences of the case, could readily be constructed from them. John, who had personally examined them, and thoroughly understood the merits of the case, could suggest no additions.

On the third of April the elector departed from Torgau, attended by an imposing retinue, consisting of numerous princes and noblemen. Luther, Jonas, Spalatin and Melanchthon also accompanied him. The party passed the following Sunday (it was Palm-Sunday) at Weimar, where the Lord's Supper was administered to John and other devout

Christians. They continued their journey on the following days; at every point Luther was solicited to deliver a sermon. On Maundy-Thursday and Good Friday, as well as at other times, he accordingly conducted divine service. On Saturday they reached Coburg, where John observed the festival of Easter and remained during several of the following days. At this place, which was not far distant from Augsburg, John possessed a fortified castle, the Ehrenberg, constructed on a lofty hill near the line which constituted the boundary between his own dominions and the adjoining territories. Here Luther remained, as the circumstance that the ban of the empire, pronounced at Worms, had not been removed, rendered it unsafe for him to leave the elector's dominions. From this point he addressed a number of remarkable letters to his correspondents (de Wette IV), among which we may refer, as an instance of his serenity of mind, to the well-known sportive letter, descriptive of the "Diet of the Jackdaws," which inhabited the same venerable pile. While the party proceeded to the neighboring battle-field of Augsburg, Luther, like another Moses (Exod. 17 : 11) held up his hands on a commanding eminence, and prayed that the people of God might prevail. "I will pray, and call for help," he writes to Melanchthon, April 22, (de Wette IV. 3), "until I know that my cry is heard in heaven."

On the first of May, which had subsequently been designated as the period for opening the Diet, John reached Augsburg, but the emperor, who had been detained by the complication of his Italian affairs, did not arrive till the 15th of June. It was during this eventful period of six weeks that the Lutherans were at length enabled to form a clear conception of the nature of the task assigned to them by the emperor, and to determine the precise character and the contents of the document which it would be appropriate to present. The Augsburg Confession, already existing in the Torgau papers, now first assumed the fully developed form in which we at present possess it.* At Augsburg, as the temporary

* We do not, of course, here refer to the more or less imperfectly translated English copies of the first twenty-one articles, which have at times appeared, but to the genuine twenty-eight articles. Those who are familiar with the former only, and then happily meet with a faithful translation of the whole, are often as much surprised as Luther once was, when a student in Erfurt, according to one of the charming *Historien* of Mathesius. He there first saw a copy of the entire Bible, in Latin. On examining the volume, he was surprised to find "many more texts, Gospels and Epistles," than he had ever heard explained in the pulpits of the day.

focus of intelligence, the Protestants were taught both by the communications of friends and by the insinuations of enemies to understand their true position, (Cyprian, p. 67), the relations which they sustained to the cause of divine truth, and the decisive influence for good or for evil, which the statement expected of them, would necessarily exercise on the mind and heart of the nation for all future times. The delay of the emperor's arrival, apparently occasioned by his political interests, was doubtless ordered by Providence, so that this Augsburg Confession of faith, to which all subsequent orthodox confessions of the age of the Reformation were conformed, might meet the wants of the Church of Christ, and set forth the holy, unalterable and divine doctrines of the Scriptures, after due deliberation, in a spirit of unintermitted prayer, and of tried and unwavering faith. Let us examine the position of affairs.

The Protestants had never yet found an opportunity to set forth their doctrines before a suitable tribunal. Their writings were eagerly seized by hostile papists, and sometimes republished in a mutilated form, or with slanderous notes and explanations; their doctrines were distorted by an envenomed spirit in every imaginable manner. Hence the most absurd opinions respecting their Christian character and their doctrine, were entertained by the popish population in general, and even by some intelligent Catholics. The several weeks which they, like other parties, passed in Augsburg, while all waited for the emperor's arrival, furnished them with a more favorable opportunity than they had previously found, for ascertaining the sentiments that generally prevailed among their adversaries. They now determined that, with the help of God, they would boldly meet their opponents on the floor of the diet, where their voice could be heard without interruption, and then set forth their views in a Christian, candid and fearless manner. Melanchthon was appointed to write out the statement according to the materials in his hands, and embody in it the leading points on which they differed from the church of Rome. Many consultations were held by the Protestant divines, messages between them and Luther at Coburg were continually interchanged, and a clear conception was finally developed of the nature and contents of such a confession of faith as the particular circumstances required. It also became apparent that the document should be presented to the diet, not only in the name of John, but also of the other members (princes, representatives of free

cities, &c.), who concurred in the adoption of Lutheran views. Philip of Hesse in vain attempted to secure the coöperation of the Swiss Reformed; the opposition which he found on all sides to his favorite measure, compelled him to abandon it. This disappointment of his political expectations rendered it doubtful at one time whether he would unite with John in presenting the Confession; better principles subsequently prevailed, and he resumed his place as a Protestant prince.

It is now clear, when the historical facts are examined with an unbiased mind, that the chief purpose for which the Augsburg Confession was prepared, was, in the view of its authors the following: To define the position of the Lutherans, or, in other words, to assign the causes for which they, as Protestants, could no longer remain in communion with the church of Rome, unless that church would reform the abuses in doctrine and practice which had been gradually introduced, and return to the pure doctrine and the wholesome usages of the apostolic Church. This fact, so distinctly revealed by the light of history, enables us to decide a question which various garbled translations of the Augsburg Confession (as unhistorical in their form as they are untheological and puerile in spirit and in execution) have rendered perplexing to many minds, viz.—Which of the articles, if any, are of comparatively secondary importance, and which really constitute the matter, being and very life of the Augsburg Confession? The main task of the Lutherans consisted in the vindication of their course, in as far as they had corrected the gross abuses of the times, such as the unscriptural mode of administering the Lord's Supper, and in general the abuses connected with the mass,* Confession, monastic vows, episcopal jurisdiction, &c. It was, at the same time, indispensable, before they should proceed to this work as the main task, to remove the false impressions which Catholic slanders had produced on the minds of some individuals. For this latter

* "The name *missa* catech. and fid. occurs first in Augustine and in the acts of the council at Carthage, A. D. 398. It arose from the formula of dismission at the close of each part of the services, and is equivalent to *missio, dismission. Missa* (*mass*) afterwards came to denote exclusively the celebration of the holy communion."—Dr. Schaff: Hist. of the Chr. Ch. 383. n. 8. We trust that this simple historical fact, after having been repeatedly explained, is *now* at last better understood by those writers who had for a year or two, in consequence of unacquaintance with the ancient ecclesiastical terminology, persisted in denying the original meaning of the word *Mass*, before the rise of Popery, as simply equivalent to the "administration of the Lord's Supper."

purpose, a comparatively brief exposition of Christian doctrine would be sufficient (the first twenty-one articles); the other and more important object of the Confession, evidently was—to set forth fully the reasons for which they had ceased to be papists and had become Protestant Christians or Lutherans; to this work they accordingly assigned by far the larger part of the whole statement (the last seven articles, numerically fewer, but, in the aggregate, of considerably more than twice the length of the former). A glance at the facts is sufficient to show that these seven articles, in view of the peculiar circumstances, contain the gist of the Confession. The introductory twenty-one artibles, forming Part I., are purely doctrinal, and are designed to refute three charges:—first, that the Lutherans had ceased to be Christians, by adopting heathenish doctrines; secondly, that they were infected with the immoral and seditious principles of the Anabaptist fanatics; thirdly, that they coincided with Zwingli in lowering the rank of the Sacraments to that of mere forms or ceremonies. As intelligent papists, like the emperor and many princes, bishops, &c., already discriminated between the Protestants on the one hand, and other anti-popish parties on the other, these three charges could be answered with comparative brevity, or by a simple re-affirmation of the ancient faith or creeds of the early Church, prior to the development of popery. Melanchthon could find nothing better suited to meet this want comprehensively and directly, than precisely Luther's seventeen Swabach articles, which the Marburg conference had suggested to the latter. The position of these articles—now first expanded into *twenty-one*—as the introduction of the Confession, was dictated by the circumstances; it demonstrated at the very threshold, the *Christian* character of the Protestants. We proceed to furnish the evidence that these twenty-one articles were intended to be not so much expressive of the Lutheran faith specially, as rather of the common faith of the whole Christian Church, contradistinguished from Judaism, Mohammedism and Paganism.

Cardinal Campeggio presented a memorial to the emperor at the time of the diet of Augsburg, the original of which Ranke believes to be a manuscript which he found in a Roman library (History of the Popes, translated by Kelly, p. 48, n. He gives extracts from it in his valuable Appendix to that work, p. 435, No. 19.) The Cardinal uses the following language: "In some places in Germany, all the Christian

rites handed down to us from the ancient holy fathers, have been abolished through the suggestions of these scoundrels: the sacraments are no longer administered; vows are no longer observed, and marriages are contracted promiscuously, and within the forbidden degrees, &c." He urges the emperor "to constrain the German heretics by fire and sword to return to the holy Catholic faith," or else to arrest their "diabolical course" by a "radical extirpation of these noxious and venomous weeds." Leo X. had described the Lutherans already in 1521 as traitors, &c., who were worthy of an eternal curse. (Cypr. 56) Adrian termed Luther "the destruction of the Christian religion, and the emperor had, as early as the Diet of Worms, denounced Luther as a criminal, who released his adherents from all law, and taught them to lead a beastly (viehisch) life. (Altb. ed. I. 737). King Sigismund of Poland declared that he would put all evangelical heretics to death, as subverters of morals and church-order, who fraudulently scattered poison among the people. Henry VIII. of England published abroad that Luther was worse than any Turk or Saracen or infidel. King Lewis of Hungary, on being informed that Luther rejected the principal doctrines of Christianity, passed a law in 1521 that every Lutheran should be burned alive. The following fact is, however, specially important. Alphonso Valdez, a secretary of Charles V. (not Juan Valdez, the secretary of the viceroy of Naples, a friend of the doctrine of justification by faith alone, Ranke, Popes, p. 55, Guericke III. 270) made the following remark to Melanchthon, a week before the Confession was presented to the emperor: "The Spaniards firmly believe that the Lutherans entertain an unholy doctrine respecting the nature of God, the Trinity and the Virgin Mary, and hence they believe that they do God the most acceptable service, whenever they kill a Lutheran." (Cypr. 56–58) He also impressed on the mind of Melanchthon the importance of convincing the emperor that the Lutherans were sound in the faith of the church, e. g. Trinity, &c. (Seck. Germ. 1041). The morals of the Protestants were described as loose and infamous, and they were denominated a pestilent body of men, who outraged all the laws of God and man.

Melanchthon and his associates accordingly saw at this juncture, that while such charges were too absurd to be believed by the more intelligent and reflecting members of the diet, a brief statement of Christian doctrine in general, must

necessarily constitute a part of the written defence. It was accordingly decided to introduce the doctrines of the Trinity, Divinity of Christ, &c., in the form adopted by the ancient church. Those articles, further, which refer to the Ministry, Church, civil Polity and Government, &c., not only contributed like the former, to demonstrate the decidedly orthodox and Christian character of the Protestants, but also to establish the fact that they were not identified with the lawless Anabaptists. Those on Original Sin, the Sacraments, &c., proved that they did not entertain the alleged (rationalistic) errors of Zwingli, to which we referred in our former article. Those, finally, on Justification, Church rites, Confession, and especially Faith and Good Works and the Worship of Saints, which advanced views very different from those entertained by the papists, were designed, pre-eminently, to show that all the departures of the Protestants from the prevailing popish doctrines, constituted in reality a return to those of God's Word, and the early church. As the larger number of these points had been so successfully stated by Luther in the Swabach articles, the latter were adopted unanimously as a fit introduction to the main discussion, in Part II. that is, art. XXII—XXVIII, "on the Abuses corrected." The identity of the matter in the Swabach articles and in the first twenty-one of the present Augsburg Confession, may be seen by referring to the translation of the former in the Evangelical Review, II. 78—83.*

If the Augsburg Confession had terminated at this point, as the violent suppression of the last seven articles in a few comparatively recent publications, seems to imply, the great purpose for which the Confession was prepared, would have been very strangely overlooked. For the seventeen articles, constituting the substance of nearly all of the twenty-one of the Augsburg Confession, *had already been published*, and been also reviewed by four popish theologians, (Wimpina, Mensing, Redörfer and Elgersma) in a treatise addressed to the elector Joachim of Brandenburg, and reprinted in Luther's works, (Altb. ed. V. 16—20.) "In their reply," says Dr. Krauth, Jr., whose terse abstract we transcribe from the

* The translator has there indicated the parallel parts under each article of the former. Of the entire seventeen, fourteen occur in Part I. of the Augsburg Confession; the last three were more appropriately transferred to the main body of the Augsburg Confession, and now appear respectively in art. 27, 24 and 26.

Ev. Rev., II. 83,* "they reproach Luther for having mingled so much, which they were compelled to acknowledge as orthodox, with his errors, but find a reason for it in his disposition to dilute in this way the poison of error, so as to secure for it a more ready reception. They take up the articles one by one. The first *three* they approve, in the *fourth*, though disposed to cavil, they are unable to lay hold of anything which they show to be reprehensible; on the *fifth* they say, that we are justified by that faith which worketh by love, which Luther by no means denied, though he properly separated love from the act of justification; confounding faith with a mere intellectual apprehension of religion, they object that it is consistent with the commission of enormous sins; on the *sixth* and *seventh*, they have nothing but verbal niceties; on the *eighth*, they contend for several sacraments; on the *ninth*, they trifle; on the *tenth*, they maintain transubstantiation and the communion in one kind; on the *eleventh*, they insist upon sacramental confession in accordance with the papal statutes; on the *twelfth*, they present the ordinary arguments for the visible church, which they, of course, hold to be the Romish; the *thirteenth* they do not seriously object to; on the *fourteenth*, they put the ecclesiastical magistracy on the same footing with the secular; the *fifteenth* and *sixteenth* they wholly reject, and whilst they do not deny the *seventeenth*, they insist upon knowing from Luther what ceremonies he regards as in conflict with the Word of God." These theologians here betray their disappointment; they discover chiefly ancient doctrines to which the Church had always assented, and only modify the Lutheran language in some cases. *Something more direct was now needed.* That our representation of the incompleteness of the first twenty-one articles, or rather, their imperfect adaptation to the *present emergency*, and consequently their subordinate character, as compared with the last seven, is strictly correct, appears from the views expressed by various contemporaries. Spalatin, for instance, in the list of the subjects of the twenty-eight articles, which he prepared (inserted in Altenb. ed. V. 152), after giving the titles of the first twenty-one, thus proceeds: "Then followed the *contested articles* (streitige artikel) &c." He then subjoins the titles of the seven—evidently

*We trust our esteemed friend will excuse this unceremonious appropriation of matter which he has prepared with so much care; if his writings possessed only mediocre merit, we should not disturb their repose.

regarding the latter as the direct and principal matter of the Confession, in view of the times and circumstances. The following fact removes the last doubt.

It is well known that after the presentation of the Augsburg Confession, the popish theologians (Eckius, Faber, Wimpina, Cochlæus, &c.) were directed by the emperor to prepare a reply—the "Confutation;" the task was confessedly difficult, when leviathan was to be drawn out with a hook. Still, after several mortifying failures, these men produced a paper which they styled a "Confutation" of the Lutheran confession. We have it before us in Latin, in Pfaff's Appendix to his edition of the Symbolical Books, and in a German translation in Chytræus, p. 135 B. Cochlæus himself published a brief summary, which is given in Altb. ed. V. 221 and Cyprian, Beyl. No. 35, p. 196. This Confutation reviews the entire twenty-eight articles, and is doubtless the best popish matter which could be furnished; for after writing five confutations, one of which Charles, in his disgust, tore up with his own imperial hands, to the bitter vexation of Eckius, we have here, in the *sixth* copy, the blossoms and fruits of the arduous labors of six weeks. We have prepared the following abstract: Articles 1, 3, 8, 9, 16, 17, 18, 19, of the present Augsburg Confession, are admitted without hesitation, or very slightly modified; the terms are, *acceptanda est, nihil quod offendat, probatur, zugelassen, annehmen.* Articles 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 15, are admitted in part, and rejected in part; *comprobatur quidem—sed; acceptatur—at rejicitur; zugelassen zum Theil—aber verworfen.* Articles 10, 11, 13, 14 are admitted with some explanatory additions; *adjicitur—admonenda tamen.* The only articles of the twenty-one which are altogether rejected, are the last two, 20 and 21, where the Lutheran doctrines on Faith and Good Works, and on the Invocation of the Saints are disowned; *improbatur, penitus rejiciendus—verworfen.* After this brief exposition, from which it appears that the greater number of the twenty-one articles are not so much statements of specially Protestant or Lutheran doctrines, as rather of the common faith of Christendom, from the earliest ages, the papists proceed to review the main body of the articles, that is, the last seven, or specially Protestant articles. These treat professedly on "points contested;" they are designed to set forth Lutheran principles as distinguished from those of Popery, and the Confutation now adopts a different tone; it had treated the Protestants respectfully, but it now becomes somewhat sar-

castic and abusive. Before Cochlæus, the bitter foe of the Lutherans, proceeds in his summary to particulars, he says of the aggregate of the last seven articles, that in this division of the Confession "no part is admitted, for they (the Protestants) call those things 'abuses' which *are not abuses.*"* These seven articles are accordingly rejected (*rejiciendum, verworfen*) without any compunctions of conscience—the old abuses are defended, unholy doctrines re-affirmed, divine truth is suppressed, and very significant language is employed at the close, intimating that if the Protestants will not recant, and solemnly reject the "impious doctrines" of these seven articles, as well as express their general agreement (in the 21) with the ancient faith, the emperor will proceed judicially against them, supported by the whole force of the empire. Somewhat later, but also during the year 1530, it was proposed to make a new attempt to secure a union of the two parties. Eckius, the popish Goliath, was directed by the Cardinal of Mayence and George of Saxony, to subject the Augsburg Confession to a re-examination, with a view to submit a basis for the proposed union (Salig 289). His report (Bedenken, given by Chytræus 173. B) coincides with the above, deals gently with the twenty-one articles, but declares

* The reader may perhaps remember that about two or three years ago, an anonymous pamphlet, styling itself "Definite Synodical Platform," troubled the Lutheran Church in the United States for a short season, until the good sense of the church permitted it quietly to retire to an unhonored grave. A preliminary "Note," which, like a papal brief or decretal, was designed to regulate the Church, and instruct it respecting the most appropriate mode of abandoning its history and its early faith, speaks with great satisfaction of the fact that while the Platform has succeeded in expunging three-fourths of the Confession as having no pretension to the rank of fundamental doctrines, it was not compelled to add a single sentence to it. This Platform, adopting sentiments similar to those of Cochlæus, like him highly disapproves of the seven Protestant articles, and presents quite a respectable "list of symbolic errors rejected" by it. The "entire mass" of the seven articles, and of the "other former symbols," is cast out without mercy. A commentary was published about the same time, which in Part I. "Articles of the Confession," completely ignored the seven articles, inasmuch as the Platform had not admitted them, and very curiously represents the elector and other Lutherans, on p. 339, as signing only twenty-one articles, "*as all they had to say*—Dies ist fast die Summa, &c." The whole belongs more to the region of poetry than of history or theology. Cochlæus, who objected on different grounds, was like his contemporary Popish brethren, compelled to recognize the existence of the seven articles—the Platform, under more propitious circumstances, quietly passes them over. In each case an attempt is made to stifle the life-principles of Protestantism.

that an agreement is scarcely possible, if the seven articles "on the abuses" are not withdrawn by the Lutherans.

These historical facts plainly reveal the great thought which the Reformers were solemnly bound to embody in their Confession—namely, an unequivocal declaration that they could not continue to be both Christians and Papists, and that duty to God required them to discard the errors which the ignorance of the middle ages had allowed to combine themselves with the Christian faith. Indeed, if the Augsburg Confession had terminated with the twenty-first article, the emperor could have, with the utmost propriety, addressed them at the Diet in the following language: If these points of doctrine, in which it is conceded, that with a few exceptions, we do not differ materially from you,—if these points of doctrine constitute your *sole objections* to the Catholic system, why have you withdrawn from the communion of the church, renounced its traditions, usages and forms of worship, restored the cup in the Eucharist, allowed the marriage of priests, rejected auricular confession, disowned the obligation of monastic vows, denied the authority of councils, popes and bishops, circulated the Scriptures among the laity, and proceeded as if you had introduced a system of faith which admitted of no compromise with that of the church of Rome? Does a single article of the twenty-one condemn our masses for the dead, or allow all, without exception, to contract marriage, or disapprove of auricular confession to the priest as it is practised among us, and of the penances which he enjoins, or convict our traditions of error, deny the merit of the monastic life, or call in question the powers which the church has, through her bishops, always exercised? Why do you convulse all Europe with your innovations, when you can allege nothing in your own vindication save a few doctrines, in which you generally agree with the ancient church and the church of our own day?

John, who was himself a sagacious prince, was surrounded by wise and far-seeing counsellors; Luther and his theological school clearly understood the merits of the great question which agitated the public mind. The Lord was pleased to impart to these holy men the wisdom and the strength which the emergency demanded. Their proper course was now fully revealed. That they were Christians and not Jews, Turks or pagans, was demonstrated by the seventeen Swabach articles. But the papers which Luther and his associates had prepared in Wittenberg and presented at Torgau, contained precisely

the matter for which the present occasion called. Therein it was demonstrated that the church of Rome of that day had really become a foul and corrupt institution, that it had extinguished the light of the Gospel by the many abuses which it sanctioned, and which the apostles had in part predicted (2 Thess. 2: 3—12; 1 Tim. 4: 1—3), that its practices were at variance with fundamental Gospel principles, and that, where such popish errors were tolerated, the religion of the Bible, to which they were diametrically opposed, could find no home. Accordingly, after Melanchthon had revised the seventeen articles, added one on Faith and Good Works from the materials before him, and made some other changes, which were approved, he obtained twenty-one articles; to these he added several remarks: that these doctrines are all taught in the Word of God, that the controversy, however, referred principally to abuses and traditions, &c. After reaching this point, he digested the other Wittenberg or Torgau papers, whence he obtained seven extended articles, forming the main body of the document; he connected this part with the former, by remarking that the reasons should now be given which led the Reformers to correct various ecclesiastical abuses; he then marshals the seven articles with admirable skill, and avails himself of all the aid which his colleagues can afford. In the conclusion he says: "These are the principal articles which are regarded as controverted;" he could easily describe other abuses, he says, several of which he specifies, but he regards the matter now presented, as a sufficiently full exhibition of the spirit of Protestantism.—*And thus it came to pass that out of the vast mass of religious truths in the Scriptures, the Augsbug Confession selected precisely those which we now find in its twenty-eight Articles.**

* The entire "Unaltered Augsburg Confession" exists in two English translations, appended to the translation of Luther's Small Catechism; the one is published by Mr. Henry Ludwig, of New York city, who has rendered such valuable services to the Church by his various publications; the other was published in Philadelphia by Messrs. Lindsay and Blakiston, for the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania. The utility of these two small publications—the only two complete translations of the *whole* of the German Catechism and Confession, which the English church possesses—has secured for them a wide circulation. Neither pretends to do more than furnish a simple version of the original German. The Confession is preceded in the original by an address to Charles V., from which we have quoted above; as it possesses chiefly a historical interest, it has been omitted by both of the English translations just mentioned. The whole, however, in all its fulness, together with all the

No method could have been more judiciously devised for exhibiting the Lutheran faith in its power, fulness and divine beauty, than the one which the Augsburg Confession adopts. It selects several of the grossest abuses which prevail—it demonstrates irrefragably that these and all other practical errors of the church of Rome had proceeded from Pelagian and other noxious doctrines, which, while they ascribed virtue and merit to man and his works, essentially obscured the cardinal doctrine of justification by faith, and detracted essentially from the honor due to the Savior. Never before had so glorious a confession of pure Bible doctrine, so consistent, so full, and so pure, been made—never had the doctrine of Justification been exhibited to the world since the apostolic age, in this sublime concrete form—in its comprehensiveness and vital power—in its whole tendency to glorify the Redeemer. And therefore, *every attempt to sever these seven articles from the preceding twenty-one, and to suppress them, is equivalent to a renunciation of the whole spirit of Protestantism*, and a virtual endorsement of some of the vilest errors of Popery; for it is by these seven that the whole character of the Augsburg Confession must be judged.

One of the most recent writers on this general subject, E. F. Leopold, in an extended article on the Augsburg Confession, in Herzog's Real-Encykl. I. 607, incidentally expresses the same view. After referring to the happy adaptation of the seven articles to the peculiar wants of the times, he introduces the following reflection: "Although the antagonistic position which the Augsburg Confession assumed (in the last seven articles) inflamed the rancour of the Papists anew, it was precisely this negatory position of the Confession of Faith (which, namely, gave the condemnatory name of "abuses" to long cherished customs) that was of most importance, and produced the weightiest results; the fullest light was now for the first time shed by it on the Reformation, and it at once

other Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church, may be found in the English translation of the "Book of Concord, &c.," published, with other excellent works, by the enterprising Messrs. Henkel—2d edition, New Market, Va., 1854—to which volume we refer the reader. We are not aware of the existence of any other readily accessible publication containing a complete English translation of the "unaltered Augsburg Confession." We may yet direct attention to another very valuable publication of Mr. Ludwig—The unaltered Augsburg Confession, &c., with an Introduction and copious notes by C. H. Schott, translated from the German. The text of the Augsburg Confession is the same with the one given in Mr. Ludwig's edition of the Catechism.

secured for that Reformation a large number of friends and adherents. For it now became apparent to all that the Reformers had no other object in view save that of returning to the original doctrines of Christ and the apostles, and, in strict conformity to them as the sole standard, to cut off every human appendage to scriptural doctrine, and extirpate every hierarchical excescence of the Church. At the same time, this pure exposition, presented in a popular form, refuted all those slanderous charges which popish malice had disseminated in Germany and other countries."

An incident occurred, a few days after the public presentation of the Augsburg Confession, on June 25, which fully demonstrates its adaptation to the times and circumstances, when we read it in its wholeness, and not in a mutilated form. During the following week the popish theologians had completed one of the several Confutations to which we have already referred. They were seriously embarrassed, both by the twenty-one articles, since these were, as they confessed, "almost all *Christian* articles," and also by the seven, which were so thoroughly scriptural, and so inseparably interwoven with fundamental Christian doctrines, that as they were conscious, the rejection of the seven exposed them to the charge of rejecting the Gospel itself. They accordingly solicited the emperor to inquire of the Protestants, whether these twenty-eight articles (which they found to be invulnerable) were *all* that they desired to present, or whether they were not disposed to offer others, which, as it was signified to them, would yet be received. Spalatin relates the circumstance (Altb. ed. V. 160, and Salig, p. 255); Chytræus (p. 98) furnishes the documents. John and his Lutheran associates held a consultation, and then replied to the imperial messengers in writing, as follows: That many other abuses existed, it was true, in doctrine, church government, &c., which had not been specified in the Augsburg Confession, but that for the sake of avoiding prolixity, and in the spirit of forbearance, they had contented themselves with a statement of the most grievous errors only—that, nevertheless, the twenty-eight articles were really sufficient, as their whole spirit and tenor militated against every unsound doctrine and every abuse (dadurch widerfochten). "But if," the Lutherans added, "our opponents adopt these abuses as the expression of their own opinion and sentiment, or if they assail our Con-

fession (in their Confutation) then we are prepared to make a further report on these subjects from the Word of God."

Such were the general views of the Reformers in preparing the first of our Lutheran Symbols or Confessions of Faith. We now obtain the following results: all the materials of which it is composed, written by Luther himself, or else prepared in his presence and adopted by him, were fused together by Melanchthon at Augsburg. The ultimate form which the Confession assumed, was fixed by the information which reached the Reformers in that city; but the essential contents were not new creations of Melanchthon. The position of John and Luther remained the same; they always had desired to declare that they were Christians, but that they could not belong to the church of Rome, unless it returned to the faith and practice enjoined by God's Word. Such a declaration they now make officially in the Confession, and furnish the reasons for which they intend to adhere to this declaration.

At this point we pause in our historical statements respecting the Augsburg Confession. We have seen the process by which it attained its present shape, and are now placed in a condition to declare that no sound Protestant, who entertains the evangelical views of Luther, can ever consent to an unhallowed disintegration of this Confession—that it forms one undivided whole—and that those parts which constitute essentially its Protestant character, as opposed to the church of Rome, are found in the last seven articles. Another point which the foregoing statement also places in a clearer light than that in which it is sometimes presented, is the following, to which we can here only advert in a few words, without expanding the thought. The Lutheran Church, namely, has already been accused of committing a practical error, by adopting several Symbols of considerable extent; it now receives the following, in addition to the Apostles' Creed, and the two other ancient Creeds: *The Augsburg Confession; The Apology; The Smalcald Articles; Luther's Small Catechism; Luther's Large Catechism; The Formula of Concord.* A general refutation of this charge is furnished by the above. *The Augsburg Confession is not a complete Creed;* it is a *Protestant* Confession, negative rather than positive, that is, rather rejecting popish errors than unfolding the *entire* Gospel system in an explicit, exhaustive mode. This latter work was accordingly reserved, in the Providence of God, for the succeeding symbols, each of which added

new statements and illustrations of Bible truth, until the whole divine work was completed by the bounty of God in the noblest of all our Creeds—the Formula of Concord.

We have nearly lost sight of the elector John, while we have been investigating the history of that exalted work—the Augsburg Confession—with which his own honored name is forever connected. He is now entitled to resume his position in the foreground in this sketch. His admirable conduct when the Confession was actually submitted to the diet, next claims attention. We are here, however, anticipated by another writer, Dr. Krauth, Jr., who has already described in the Review (Vol. I. pp. 250—263) the whole scene of the presentation of the Augsburg Confession. To this graphic account we accordingly refer the reader.

The writer just mentioned closes his article with the departure of John from Augsburg, September 23. The refusal of the emperor to invest him in due form with the electoral dignity inherited from Frederic, as well as other harsh measures, had made no impression on the stout heart of John the Constant—he repeatedly declared that he would, under all circumstances, adhere to the cause of evangelical truth. His counsellors, who dreaded the superior power of the emperor, had suggested at Augsburg, that the law of Christian love might justify him in making some concessions to the papists, but he indignantly replied: "I desire that my theologians should pay no regard to me or my political interests, but teach and write the truth with boldness, and not timidly suppress any portion of that truth." The efforts of the emperor to detach John from the evangelical party by promises and threats, were alike fruitless; his fidelity to the truth was equal to that of the great Reformer himself. The letters of Luther, addressed to John, Melanchthon and others, at this period (de Wette IV., beginning of the vol.) are admirable compositions, exhibiting alike his child-like submission to the divine will, and his heroic faith. None of his contemporaries as clearly saw the evil consequences of concessions in matters of faith as he did—he opposed strenuously every "union" which endangered the purity of doctrine, and on one occasion said: "Once for all, I am not at all pleased with these negotiations concerning union in the faith, for that union is impossible, *unless the pope will lay all his popery aside* (wo der Papst sein ganzes Papstthum nicht will abthun)."

It was indeed a noble scene, fit for the pencil of a master, when John uttered the following words, on taking leave of

the emperor, whose military resources were incomparably greater than those of the former, and who felt personally aggrieved by John's constancy: "I am most sure, and am fully persuaded that my Confession and the doctrines contained therein, are so firmly and immovably founded on the Holy Scriptures, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against them." On the 11th of October, he reached his palace in Torgau, and requested Luther to preach in the chapel on the following Sunday. In December the emperor succeeded in securing the election of his brother Ferdinand as King of the Romans, by lavishing immense sums as bribes on five of the electors. John protested against the election, without dreading the imperial frown; the election was a violation of the fundamental law of the empire (the Golden Bull), as well as of the engagements assumed by Charles at his own election. The venal character of the pope was revealed by a curious incident: he sent two official documents, termed *bulls*, to Charles, in one of which John was excluded from the election as a heretic, in the other, his admission was permitted; the pope allowed Charles to use either according to the circumstances, but he suppressed them both.

The Smalcald Alliance, formed in February 1531, was one of the last political events with which John was connected. The energy which he and his associates here exhibited, alarmed Charles and Ferdinand, whose hostile preparations were not yet completed, and the two parties ultimately signed the articles of the Peace of Nuremberg on July 23, 1532. It was the first religious peace acknowledged by the parties; its terms did not grant any new material concessions to the Lutherans, but secured for them temporary repose, and prescribed that all points of difference should be adjusted in harmony and love, at a Church Council to be held in the course of a year from the date of the articles. This peace was equivalent to an imperial and papal recognition of the evangelical Church.

John did not long survive this event. The political and religious agitations of the times had seriously endangered his health at an earlier period. At the beginning of the year 1532, he had been confined by a severe illness, which ultimately affected one of his feet so severely as to render the amputation of the great toe necessary. A letter which he wrote to Luther when he was convalescent, breathes a spirit of holy resignation and trust in God. He afterwards departed from Torgau and spent two days in hunting; he was so suc-

cessful on this occasion, that he became unusually cheerful, and an improvement in his health was indicated. But on the 15th of August he was suddenly attacked by such severe pains in his head, that after several exclamations and appeals to God for relief, he lost his speech; an apoplectic fit supervened, and he lay twenty-eight hours in a state of insensibility. On the next day, when Luther, Melanchthon and the physician, Dr. Schurff, entered the chamber of the dying man, the latter, who was now restored to consciousness, attempted to raise his hands and welcome them, but could not succeed, in consequence of excessive debility. Soon afterwards he expired. His death, which occurred August 16, 1532, was calm and peaceful. He had long maintained a living faith in the Redeemer, and his Christian character, by its purity and holiness, reflected honor on his Christian faith. His life, which abounded in the fruits of the Spirit, was a continued exhibition of the power of the grace of God, and his last moments found him prepared to depart. He reached the age of sixty-five years, one month and seventeen days. He was buried, two days after his death, with appropriate funeral honors, and the body placed in the same tomb occupied by the remains of his brother Frederic. Luther who had thrice preached on the death of the latter, delivered two funeral sermons on John, during the course of the week succeeding his death. He selected on these occasions the Epistle of the twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity, 1 Thess. 4: 13—18, as his text; Melanchthon delivered a discourse in Latin. Both were deeply afflicted by the loss of their faithful friend, whose unwavering fidelity to God and his cause, had endeared him to them, while they unitedly fought the battles of the Lord. Luther said emphatically, in a moment of overwhelming grief: "With Frederic wisdom expired, and godliness with John."

The elector John was characterized, in an unusual degree, by a spirit of devotion, and by a love and fear of God, which seem to have perpetually controlled him. He often occupied six hours on the same day in listening to the reading of portions of the Scriptures; the duty of reading aloud was usually performed by a page, but was also frequently assigned to the princess Maria, his eldest daughter. His happiest hours were those which he passed in communion with God in prayer. He frequently took notes of the sermons which he heard, and made them the subjects of his meditations; a copy of Luther's Small Catechism, which he transcribed with

his own hand, is still preserved in Gotha. The concurrent voice of history concedes that while he occupied a lofty position as an earthly ruler, his humility, zeal, fervor and love, constituted an example of godliness, which was as cheering to the humble believer, as it was glorious to that divine grace from which it derived all its beauty and its power. A very influential position was assigned to him by the Lord at an eventful period in the history of the Church; in all the relations of life he proved himself to be a faithful steward—and if we may judge from his consistent life, his personal acts, his language and the whole spirit which he breathed, we cannot doubt that he was permitted to believe with confidence that the Lord would address to him the words: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant—enter thou into the joy of thy Lord" (Matt. 25: 21).

He was succeeded by his son, JOHN FREDERIC, THE MAGNANIMOUS, the third of the Electors, to whom the title of our article refers. To him also, the Lord was pleased to assign very difficult duties, but, at the same time, to grant sufficient strength and faith to fulfil them. In the darkest hours of his life, when misfortunes seemed to overwhelm him, his Christian virtues shone with increased lustre. We may possibly furnish a sketch of his life in a future article.

ARTICLE II.

TESTIMONY OF JESUS AS TO HIS MEDIATORIAL CHARACTER.

PERHAPS the first question presenting itself to the human mind, in connection with the fact of a future life, is that which has regard to the moral standing of the being, who thus lives on, after physical death, in the sight of God. It is certainly the first in importance; is usually, if not always the first, in the order of time, which presents itself for solution. This remark is, of course, only applicable to those who really believe that they shall live hereafter; or who feel that there is a high probability to this effect; who have been compelled, or induced to look distinctly at this fact, and the evidence by which it commands attention. There are always two disturbing forces interfering with such contemplation;

leading the mind instinctively to shun and turn away from it, to put it away by a violent effort, when the subject presses itself, as it sometimes does, upon human consideration. One of these obstacles is the ghastly fact which lies between earthly and endless existence.

Physical dissolution, *per se*, is an appalling fact, to man as to all other organized beings. By a strange fascination which they cannot entirely resist, but under which they groan and agonize—as seems, for instance, to have been the case with the great moralist of the last century—men are sometimes drawn to this thought, and dwell upon it with morbid apprehension. But not willingly. And they gladly find relief in other things, by which it is put aside and forgotten. Whatever may be said of occasional exceptions, apparent or real, the stupid ox, going stupidly to the slaughter, or the hardened and reckless criminal, dying in empty bravado, the general experience of our race corresponds with that striking statement of the Apostle. They are all their life time subject to bondage. By this very subjection to the fear of death they are paralyzed in their capacity of looking beyond death to the life of which it is the precursor. This, of itself, prevents many from thinking of the subject of immortality, from examining the evidence in its favor; interferes with those clear and decided convictions of which such examination is productive. The repugnance of Louis XIV to the palace of St. Germain, because from that point he could see the towers of St. Dennis, where his own remains would be deposited after death, is but one out of the many exhibitions of this natural instict. An instinct implanted for the wisest purposes; but thus allowed, improperly, to neutralize alike the convictions of conscience and the deductions of reason.

But this is not the only disturbing force in reference to such contemplations. There is another connected with this, acted upon by this, and reacting upon it, in turn, the power of each, by the process, being heightened and intensified. There is an undefined dread, not only of the fact of physical dissolution, but of what that fact may bring with it; a dread of immortality itself, as something which may reveal to the soul infinite disaster; to that soul there is "a fearful looking for of judgment." We may see the effect in the cause, or we may recognize the cause in the effect. We may say that the sting of death is sin, or the fact that there is a sting in death, proves that there is sin, or we may just take the fact as it is, without any explanation whatever. But that it is a

fact, no honest observer will think of calling in question. The mind of man is not naturally comfortable, in the presence either of death or of what possibly lies beyond death; does not enjoy their contemplation, finds relief in forgetfulness of them, in the absorbing pursuits and thoughts of other objects. To use the thought of the great delineator of humanity, it is not only the sleep of death, but "the dreams which in that sleep may come," that disturb man's conscience and imagination.

But supposing these influences resisted, these obstacles put aside, and the man fairly confronted with this fact of his own endless being. Live he must and will, through eternity, whatever may be his desires or wishes to the contrary. His existence is felt to be something that cannot be shaken off. God will not, devils, and angels, and men cannot take it away from him. He has forced his unwilling mind and heart up to this issue; is consciously standing before it. The question of questions, under these circumstances to him, is that which has been suggested, that which has reference to his personal standing in the sight of God. "I am going," is the proper reasoning of one under these circumstances, "I am going into eternity; it may be into the immediate presence and under the immediate hand of the Almighty. How do I now stand, and how shall I forever stand before that eternal God, with whose endless existence, for the future, my own runs parallel? Am I now enjoying his favor, or suffering under his displeasure? Have I a satisfactory ground for anticipating this favor for ever? Or are there serious causes for apprehension, for apprehension of his righteous displeasure and the endless consequences of which it must be productive.

To all such enquiries the replies of Scripture are distinct, emphatic and unequivocal. Those replies are substantially contained in two weighty propositions. First, if man be an offender against divine law, he has everything to fear from this fact of endless existence. Secondly, that he is such an offender in nature and in act, and therefore his most fearful apprehensions of futurity are well founded. God, in his essential nature, "is a holy God." In his judicial character, "he will not look upon iniquity but with abhorrence." "The imagination of man's heart, antagonistic to the divine will and character, is evil from his youth." "The heart of the sons of men is full of evil, and madness is in their heart, while they live, and after that, as the penalty of this evil and madness, they go to the dead."

Nor do those who are disposed to keep out of Scripture, find more encouraging indications of reply to these questions elsewhere. If there be a God—if there be in the universe a personal Creator, Preserver and Benefactor, infinite in all moral, as well as physical and intellectual perfection, then sin, voluntary opposition to, deviation from, or neglect of this will, is and must be infinitely atrocious and disastrous. All the outward indications of his providence, in the moral, social and physical world, sustain and enforce such inference. The violated law, in any of these provinces of his wide and diversely arranged dominions, brings its own penalty. Reason, conscience and physical nature unite in proclaiming that if there be sin, ruin to its author is wrapped up in it. "Where the carrion" of sin is, "there the vultures" of divine justice "are gathered together."

Not less distinct are the natural evidences of this other fact: that man is actually in this condition of offence and moral ruin. Whatever standard may be selected, that of Christ, of Moses, or of nature, if it be consistently and unshrinkingly applied, it will bring out this appalling result. Given the premises of a supreme and perfect moral Governor, and man his accountable subject and creature, there is not a single requisition of duty to be found in the morality of the Old and New Testament, which does not flow out of these premises, by logical necessity. Reason and conscience unaided, may indeed never draw these inferences. But that does not at all interfere with the fact, that they may be drawn, that reason and conscience ought to do this, and that they would do it if unprevented. And what is most to our present purpose, although reason and conscience unaided, may never form these premises, which they themselves admit, deduce the grand conclusion of supreme love to God, and love to men as brethren, as the proper spring of human action, yet when this conclusion is distinctly presented from without, as in the language of Christ, its propriety is at once admitted. But taking this, or any other standard which claims our respect, it will be found that in almost every particular, man is deficient, has violated in positive act, or failed, by neglect, to obey and honor his Creator. We are not here offering explanations. We are only stating a fact. The whole world of accountable beings is guilty before God. The whole world, in every age of its existence, has confessed the fact; has endeavored to atone for these sins, and to get rid of them.

Man, as a creature of God, tried consistently by any law that claims his respect, is defective in doing what are his duties, does what is positively wrong. And just in proportion to the religious and moral elevation of man, is the depth and clearness of this conviction.

And over against this conviction of sin, to be seen in the confessions of men in past time, is there this other fact, of our endeavor to make atonement for it. And, in making this atonement, there has been always a disposition manifested to find a mediator; some one to stand between the divine judge and the human criminal; to make satisfaction himself, or to render the criminal's atonement and repentance acceptable. So universal is this disposition, that it may be regarded as an instinctive movement of man's moral and religious nature. Like all instincts, this may be, and has been prevented. But in spite of such perversion, it is manifestly based upon some fundamental fact in human nature: upon some truth in the moral universe, to which this fact has correlation. Man asks naturally for a priest. If, like Micah, he can succeed in getting one of the Levitical order, he will avail himself of the opportunity. If this is out of his power, as did Micah at first, he will consecrate some one else. If necessary, as did the Danites, he will take one by fraud and violence. And if no human mediator at all, or by any of these means can be obtained, he will act priest himself, offer his own sacrifice, and regard that sacrifice as the mediating influence between his soul and God. The whole world of accountable beings is consciously and confessedly guilty before God. In the manifestation of this consciousness, in the utterance of this confession, it cries out for a helper. It asks, in tones of agony, for a daysman; one who can intercede with God, one who can say to man: "I have found a ransom."

We are thus brought to our point of enquiry. Christ has been regarded by the great majority of his followers, in every age of Christianity, as occupying this position; as the real and only Mediator, of whom all others were types, shadows, and symbolic prophecies. Such, doubtless, was the opinion of those who professed to receive their doctrine immediately from him; *and who are sustained in this statement, by his own declarations.* Such manifestly was the opinion of the early church, for centuries. Does this opinion find its sanction in his own recorded teachings? Does he proclaim himself as occupying this position? And if so, what are the specialities of his instruction, with reference to the whole

subject? He is the Lord of life; brings to light, in his Gospel, life and immortality. What is the assurance to sinners, that endless life is not an endless curse? What are the features of his work and character, which give to his people assurance that going into eternity, they are going safely; free from the condemning sentence, from the enslaving thraldom of sin.

A practical reply to these enquiries is suggested in one of the titles assumed by Christ, and frequently applied to him by the inspired Apostles: the Lord of life, the Giver of life, spiritual and eternal. He promises a future physical life to his people. And the fact that he confers upon them a present spiritual life, is adduced as the strongest proof that this promise of life beyond the grave, will receive fulfilment. There is a present moral resurrection; a future physical resurrection. These two forms of resurrection are so connected and blended in his own and the instructions of his Apostles, that it is sometimes difficult to know which constitutes the main thought of the speaker: the word life, indeed, being employed to designate that complex idea which includes not only endless existence, but perfect existence, in duration of course, as in all other respects, of blessedness. Christ is the giver of spiritual life, to one spiritually dead. But this kind of life, to one thus dead, involves pardon to the criminal, dead in the eye of the law, legal permission to this criminal, through this pardon to live. Nor can anything short of this meet the real exigencies of the case. If, for instance, it be supposed that Christ, by his moral teachings and example, work upon the heart and affections, so as to change and purify them in a natural way, or by some supernatural influence, infuse within the sinner the principle of a new life, and eventually bring this life to perfection, still, under such supposition, he has not provided for the first and greatest want of that sinner. That soul, as guilty under legal sentence, first needs pardon. Christ, to give him life, must procure and give him this pardon; legal right to live a single moment in the dominions of the Great King. He must do this unconditionally, in his own sovereign right, leaving his law and word without vindication, or he must do it in such manner as vindicates the law, and deters the sinner and all others from future violation. Until an assurance of pardon, in one or the other of these modes be obtained, that offender can never feel safe. He may be dragged at any moment, and whatever may be his present character or principles, to immediate ex-

ecution. We may say, therefore, in general terms, that Christ's announcement of himself, as the Lord of life, to sinners dead under the law, would seem to imply that, in some manner, he will stand between these condemned criminals and the law of a perfectly just God, under which they are thus condemned. Prior to examination, this seems to be the mode in which life to these dead souls is possible.

And this presumption, or natural anticipation, falls in with the most remarkable fact in Christ's earthly existence: the simple fact of his death. This incident of death, under any form, whether through the agonies of crucifixion, or in the gradual waste of disease and old age, in the experience of an intelligent being, is an inexplicable mystery. It is not the wages of nature, nor will nature ever heartily assent to such an assertion. It is felt to be an outrage upon God's established order of things; the effect of a previous outrage, still more fearful and disorganizing. Regarded as the wages of sin, it is still mysterious. But the most perplexing part of the mystery, under this view of it, is removed. The moral propriety of this connection between sin, the most awful fact to human reason and conscience, and death, the most awful fact to human apprehension, it is easy to recognize. But when one of these facts is seen without the other, when we see sin not followed by death, or death not preceded by sin, the mystery comes back upon us in all its inexplicability. Such is the case in this instance. Christ, in dying in any form, suffered in his own person the penalty of sin, although he himself was perfectly sinless. He owed the law no debt. No wages were due to him as a laborer in the service of sin. And yet, in dying, he paid a debt to the law; received from sin these wages. Death itself constituted this unaccountable transaction: unaccountable as viewed simply with reference to his individual standing before God, and deserts under the divine law. But perfectly consistent with all the natural and revealed principles of the divine government, if this be regarded as the voluntary act of a sinless mediator: paying, in his own death, a debt to the law, which sinners owed, receiving, in this death, the awful wages for which sinners had labored. "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things," voluntarily placing himself in this position of mediator between God and man? Ought he, a sinless man, have suffered such things, as standing upon his own standing, and treated according to his own deserts, under a law which he only lived to honor and illustrate?

And as coincident with this line of thought, and confirmatory of the conclusion to which it points forward, is the carefulness of the Lord Jesus to exclude from the minds of his disciples, the supposition that his death was an isolated transaction; that it was the result of mere accidental violence, or unanticipated casualty. He tells of it beforehand. "The son of man shall be delivered unto the chief priests and the Scribes, and they shall condemn him and put him to death." "The son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders and chief priests and the Scribes, and be slain." He tells additionally of the mode of his death; that it would be by crucifixion, a Roman form of punishment, and through a condemnation obtained from the Roman authority. "He shall be delivered to the Gentiles, and shall be mocked and spitefully entreated and spit upon, and they shall scourge him and put him to death." "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the son of man be lifted up." "If I be lifted up, I will draw all men unto me." He speaks of this event as taking place only through his voluntary acquiescence. "I lay down my life of myself." No one ουδεις taketh it from me. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. "Thou wouldst have no power against me unless it were given thee from above." "Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels." This great transaction, moreover, to which he voluntarily submits, and becomes a party; which he describes beforehand in these, its varied details, is still further declared to be the central fact of a great scheme of divine operation; one which had been foretold by Old Testament prophecy; one so wrought in with certain predetermined divine counsels and consequences, that it would take place in a certain time; that he would not, and his enemies could not move in this matter, until the hour for it had arrived. "For this purpose came I into this world." "Behold we go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written by the prophets concerning the son of man, shall be accomplished." "Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer." "This that is written, he was numbered among the transgressors, must be fulfilled in me." "But all this has been done that the Scriptures might be fulfilled." "My hour is not yet come," is the statement more than once, during the early periods of his ministry. "Now is the hour and the power of darkness," is his utterance, as his enemies surround him in Gethsemane. None of the passages quoted thus far,

assert in express terms that Christ died as a sacrifice for the sins of men. We have not brought them forward for that purpose. But rather to show the position which this fact of his death is made by Him to assume. That position is one of infinite significance. And prior to any special examination of his words, as to its moral efficacy, we shall anticipate that the highest interests of man were in some manner therewith connected. "If I be lifted up, I will draw all men unto me." The son of man must be lifted up, that whosoever believeth on him "thus lifted up," shall have everlasting life." Statements of this kind are well calculated to prepare the mind for some wonderful revelation, in regard to the efficacy and significance of the fact to which they have allusion; annihilate all these puerilities which would explain this fact, by the accidental violence of an excited mob, on the one side, or the mere exhibition of patient suffering and forgiveness on the other. When Christ with loud voice proclaimed: "it is finished," he meant something more than that this was the end of his physical sufferings. It was his great work, of which he was speaking, of which his death was the crowning act and conclusion.

Thus the matter stands, prior to the examination of any distinct utterance of Christ, as to the moral significance of this great transaction. He, the Lord of life, sinless, and therefore under no obligation to die the death of a transgressor, voluntarily submits to such a death. This act he describes as the crowning and completing one, of a great scheme of divine mercy, for the benefit of man: as one foretold in Old Testament prophecy, and by which men, in all coming time, will be drawn to his service. Does he, besides this, let us inquire, give express information as to why it is, that his death is a matter of so much interest? It is conceivable that there might have been existing circumstances, which would have made it improper and inexpedient for him to have gone any further in his personal references to this coming event, and to have left the full explanation to his duly authenticated witnesses. There certainly were circumstances which forbade any detailed and circumstantial information to the multitude, and which made it expedient not to dwell upon it at length, and frequently, even to the chosen circle of the Apostles. Christ's prophecies of his own death, like all other prophecies, must receive their fulfilment through human agency. This human agency must work freely in its own sphere; however unbecomingly or unintentionally it may be

accomplishing results provided for in the counsels of divine wisdom. The prophecy, therefore, whether spoken or written, cannot, and must not be history foredelineated. Even if such detail could have been given, there was a state of mind and heart, which would have interfered with its reception. "I have many things to say unto you," was his language, only the evening before this event of his death, but ye cannot hear them now—even now, although the event is just at hand. Their minds were preoccupied with an altogether different theory of the Messiah and deliverer of Israel. It would have been useless to persons in this state of mind, when the fact itself was one they could not receive: a fact which they would not, for a long time, believe; which they struggled against as long as possible; and which, after all, and in spite of his declarations, took them by surprise. The manner in which the multitude received the intimation of such an event, as described in the sixth chapter of John, and the mode in which it was met by Peter, after his noble confession, will show some of the difficulties connected with any instruction upon this point, until after the event actually took place. From the nature of the case, we could only expect it in the form of incidental allusions: allusions obscure to those who heard them, but fully explained in the light of the fact to which they had reference.

An examination, however, of some of these allusions, will show more clearly the nature of his instructions upon this point. One of the most striking is that to which allusion has just been made; the statements of the sixth chapter of St. John. The reader is, of course, aware that the area, so to speak, of this chapter, has, since the Reformation, been the great battle-ground of the Sacramental controversy. Into that controversy, however, it is not at all necessary just here to enter, or even, in regard to it, to express an opinion. For the purposes of our argument, the interpretation of the Romanist and the Protestant, alike bring us to the same conclusion. Whether with the Protestant, we say that Christ is speaking of his flesh once given, and his blood once shed for the life of the world, or whether we say with the Romanist, that he is speaking of this same sacrifice, constantly repeated in the Sacrament, until the end of time, the fact itself of such sacrifice is necessarily implied. "I am the living bread," says he, "which came down from heaven; if any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever; and the bread that I will give, is my flesh, which I will give for ὑπὲρ the life of the

world." Similar in meaning is that statement, in the tenth chapter of the same Gospel. "I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep." And then further on, as if to show that he was not merely speaking of what any good shepherd would do, under certain circumstances, but of what would actually take place in his own personal experience, he adds: "as the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father; and I lay down my life for the sheep. And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and they shall be one fold and one shepherd. Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life, and because I take it again. No one taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again." "Now," says he, soon after these last statements, and manifestly referring, and understood by those around, to be referring to his death, "now is the judgment," the condemning judgment "of this world, now shall the prince of this world be cast out. And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." "This," adds John, "he said signifying what death he should die." "The people answered," showing that he was understood by them to refer to this event of his death, "the people answered him, we have heard out of the law that Christ abideth forever," will not die at all, "and how sayest thou, the son of man must be lifted up? Who is this son of man?" If you, the son of man, are going to die, and draw all men unto you, how can you be the Messiah of whom it is prophesied that he will not die, but "abide forever." The resurrection, of course, solved this difficulty. But whether thus solved or not, the connection of dependence between the life of the world and his death, is clearly brought to our view in these declarations. He gives his flesh, that is, he dies for the life of the world; that a world of condemned creatures, already dead in the eye of the law, may again live, not only physically but morally.

But there are additional statements, in which this fact of Christ's death, as an atoning sacrifice for sin, is still more clearly presented. There are, first of all, the general declarations to the effect that his work is a saving one; that it was not merely to reveal a purer standard of duty than already existed, but to save those who, tried either by the old or the new standard, were already condemned. "The son of man is come to seek and to save that which is lost." "The son

of man did not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." "God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world," already lost, "through him might be saved." "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." All these passages proclaim the fact of man's ruin and Christ's salvation; that to save man, already lost and ruined, not merely or mainly to teach or set him an example, was Christ's great undertaking. And not only in those already quoted, but in others, we are told how this salvation was accomplished. The son of man would not only save the world, but he would save it in his death, by being lifted up, the serpent in the wilderness being typical, not only of his work, but of the very mode in which it would take place. As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the son of man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. "This," says he, on the night before he died, "this is my body which is given for you." "This is my blood of the new covenant, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things." "It behooved Christ to suffer." "The son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give his life a ransom for many." "The hour is come," is his language in connection with a passage already referred to, "the hour is come in which the son of man must be glorified. Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." "Father save me from this hour: but for this cause came I unto this hour." "I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened until it be accomplished." These passages, all having reference to his death, of suffering, not only present it as the central fact of his work, for man's benefit, but as thus so, in view of its expiatory character. It is his blood of the new covenant, shed for many for the remission of sins; his life, given as a ransom for many; his body given for his people's redemption; his flesh, exposed to agony and death, for the life of the world. Let the reader thoughtfully re-peruse these words of Jesus, bearing in mind not only their manifest meaning, as it lies upon the surface, but what must have been their signification to his Jewish hearers, whose minds were familiarized with the idea of sacrifice for sin, and he will have no difficulty in understanding

where the Apostles got their doctrine of Christ crucified; why it was that one of them determined to know no other; found in it his only ground of boasting or reliance. "God hath made him who knew no sin to be sin for us." "God hath set forth Christ to be a propitiation for our sins," will be recognized as assertions finding their authority, as well in Christ's own words, as in those acts and sufferings of Christ by which these words were illustrated.

But while it is thus satisfactory to look for, and to find, in the very words of the Master, a revelation of his atoning sacrifice for sin, it is scarcely less so, to trace this revelation, as in other forms it comes before us in his instruction. From the nature of the case, as we have already seen, full instruction as to the meaning and efficacy of Christ's death, could only be given after it had actually taken place. The fact itself, the disciples would not receive; struggled against it as long as possible; and the multitude, by any allusion to it, were immediately offended. Any utterance in regard to it, must come out incidentally, as suggested by passing occurrences, and be left for its full explanation to the event when it actually occurred. Such we find to have been the course really pursued. The passages, for instance, already adduced, do not form part of connected discourses addressed to the multitude, as was the sermon on the mount, or many of the parables. They are rather put forth incidentally. Most of them were utterances to the inner circle of the disciples, the people not being present. And those of them that were uttered before the people, were suggested by some passing occurrence. In this way the properly disposed were gradually prepared for this wonderful transaction, which was to revolutionize everything; were gradually prepared, not only for this wonderfully unanticipated and offensive fact, but for its understanding; to recognize in it, although full of folly to the Greek, and offence to the Jew, the highest manifestation of divine goodness and wisdom.

And yet there were other modes in which such preparation was made; other modes in which Jesus actually made preparation. It will not be aside from the purposes of our argument, to develop this plan of preparation. Placing ourselves as far as possible in the position of the contemporaries of Jesus, or of men in any age, to whom this doctrine of our atoning Savior was about to be revealed, what, let us inquire, would seem to be the most natural mode of preparation? Would it not be just that which is pursued by the wise and

skilful minister of Christ, in every age of the world, and to all classes of men; convincing them oft heir need of such an atoning Savior for their sins, and the offering of their divine evidence, after this conviction has been produced, that such a Savior has been actually provided? We do not presume to say that divine wisdom could not adopt any other plan. But certainly this seems to be adapted to the exigencies of the case in question.

And this was actually the course adopted by the Lord Jesus. The whole drift and substance of his instruction, was to magnify the law of God and make it honorable; to show its sacredness and infinite purity; to show that through this law there was no hope to the sinner. The age, and the men of that particular community, needed a moral quickening, which would enable them to see their need of an atoning Savior, and from this sense of need, too look for and to find him, as revealed in the events of his life, and in the previously misunderstood messages of Old Testament prophecy. It was, therefore, the work of the Master, and of his great forerunner, the Baptist, to break up the fallow ground of national pride and self-conceit; to show that the lineal children of Abranam, if not like Abraham in character, were children of wrath. And this they did by exhibiting the law in the full extent of its demand upon human affection and action. The moral teaching of the three years ministry of Jesus is, as it were, a concentration and spiritualization of the whole force and substance of Old Testament morality. Through that law, thus vitalized and expounded, is the knowledge of sin; that thorough conviction of personal deficiency, of guilt, of depravity and helplessness, which finds its natural utterance in the cry for a deliverer; that cry which Paul puts in the mouth of all who are in this condition: "O wretched man, who shall deliver me from the body of this death!"

It is, therefore, not only relevant to the object of this argument, but a matter of deep interest, to notice the modes in which this work of preparation went on, in the instructions of the Master. One mode of getting rid of Christ's mediatorial character, as a personal Savior, making atonement and interceding with God for sinners, has been that of insisting upon his character as a moral teacher; of making even his sufferings a part of his teachings, in the way of example. Now there can be no question as to the fact that Christ is the Great Teacher—the Great Teacher, by example as well as by precept—and that his people are told to imitate him,

even in the example of his meek endurance of suffering for the welfare of others. But granting all that may be urged in this respect, insisting upon it much more strenuously than those do, who are so fond of bringing it forward, do these persons see where, if consistently followed, their own doctrine will lead them? You say that Christ is a moral teacher. So do we. And we affirm that every word of his teaching, and every act of his life, in the way of example, is a revelation of the absolute necessity to man, as a sinner, of an atoning Savior. If by the law, was the knowledge of sin, how must this knowledge have been purified and enlarged in the light of that law, as illustrated and perfectly exemplified by Christ Jesus. If the sinner has no hope, under the imperfect standards of nature, and of Moses, what can be this hope, tried upon his own merits, by the higher standard of Christ's precepts and example? It is a noticeable fact, in regard to some of the more distasteful doctrines of the New Testament, that the modes of getting rid of these doctrines, frequently bring them back in a more positive form, if possible, than usually stated. By way, for instance, of getting rid of the doctrine of endless punishment, and of the fact that the punishment of the wicked and the life of the righteous are described by the same adjective of duration, it has been urged that this adjective is not confined, in its significance, to the idea of duration, that it means perfect life in the case of the righteous, perfect death in the case of the wicked; which, of course, involves the very fact to be gotten rid of, endless duration, as one of the necessary attributes of this perfect moral life or death; the argument really being an attempt to show from the assertion of a whole, that one of its parts has no existence. So, again, in regard to the distasteful doctrine of human depravity, we are sometimes told that it is only the gloomy dream of haters of their kind, that men sin not as depraved beings, having a strong natural tendency so to do, but through force of evil example, or through deficiency of proper instruction; which, of course, if it were true, would only make the acts of sin more atrocious and inexcusable. So, again, in this particular instance, Christ is a perfect moral teacher; of course, therefore more perfectly to exhibit to sinful man his deficiency, and guilt, and helplessness. And yet, strange as it may seem, and as showing the inconsistency of the human mind, we find these very persons, who see in Christ only a moral teacher, and who ought, in the light of his teaching and example, to see sin in all its enormity; we

find these very persons extenuating this awful fact of sin, and almost, at times, denying its very existence. The very word by which offences against God are described in the Bible, *sin*, is banished from this vocabulary. And Christ, the great revealer of sin by contrast with himself and his precepts, is presented under such an aspect as to make out sin to be a trifle. Regarding Christ, therefore, as a revealer of the law, that by this revelation men might be led to him, as a Savior from the curse and condemning sentence of the law, in other words, looking upon his moral teaching as preparatory to the work of his atonement, let us trace the steps by which this preparation was made. It will be seen that, so far from weakening, his moral precepts confirm every utterance, as to the atoning efficiency of his work and sufferings.

One of the first steps in this process, and one of no little interest, not only to his cotemporaries, but in its bearing upon questions that have since arisen, is his distinct and emphatic authentication of the Old Testament Scriptures, as inspired and of divine authority. "The Scriptures cannot be broken." "What saith the law? How readest thou?" These are the questions by which he sends his hearers, whether friends or enemies, to the Old Testament Scriptures. "Thou knowest the commandments," of Moses' law, of course. "Think not that I am come to destroy the law and the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." "The Scriptures testify of me." "If ye believed Moses, ye would believe in me, for he wrote of me." "It is *written* that the son of man must suffer." "The son goeth as it is *written* of him." "The *Scriptures* must be fulfilled." "All things that are written by the prophets shall be accomplished." "Thus it is *written*, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer." "O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken." "This that is written, he was numbered among the transgressors, must be accomplished in me."

And as the Lord Jesus thus authenticated the Old Testament, as a whole, so is this authentication specially emphatic in reference to its moral system. His first public utterance contains an assertion to this effect. "Thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness—to meet every requisition, inward and outward, alike of the righteous law of God." We do not stop to show how much more this language means—to notice the claim it involves of an ability to do—what to mere man is impossible. We simply bring it forward as showing the position of Christ to the moral law, as its firm upholder.

"Which of you convicteth me of sin," was his challenge, once thrown out to his infuriated opponents. Which one of you is able to lay his finger upon the precept in my doctrine, the word of my mouth, or the act of my life, which will afford ground of such conviction? Of course, that law of Moses, to which they appealed, and the purity of which he upheld, was the common standard, to which this challenge had regard. "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil," to fill out, to complete, to perfect. "I am come to expound the law as to its meaning, to show what it really does mean; to establish it more firmly as to its authority; to fulfil, or comply with it in all its demands; to fulfil it, by actualizing all its types, and by bringing to pass all its prophetic declarations." "Whosoever, therefore, shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven; but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven." And then follows his own exposition of that law, showing that it goes to the very foundation of human action: that it covers human life in all its movements, and in every moment; and that in every such moment, and in all these movements, the sanctifying principle of love must and can alone render the obedient effort, an act acceptable. Christ, merely as a moral teacher, leaves human nature in a much more hopeless condition than he finds it. He widens an area of duty, already too wide for human capacity, without at all increasing that capacity for compassing it. But Christ, as a moral teacher, convincing men of sin, breaking up the court of carnal security, letting in the light of heavenly purity upon the darkness of carnal self-delusion, is seen to be preparing men for their reception of him, as an atoning Savior. The law, in his hands, becomes the pedagogue, by which the docile pupil is led, in a proper state of the heart, to receive from him, not only instruction, but salvation. Under this view, everything falls in its proper place, and Christ's whole life is seen to be a preparation for that which he asserts to be its crowning act and completion—his death and sufferings "as a ransom for many." Thus by his life, and by his death, he magnified the law, and made it honorable. And yet made it possible for a transgressor to be saved, under that law, without any of its demands being abated, or without offenders being encouraged to continue in transgression.

But the Lord Jesus, in the language already referred to, does not merely confirm and authenticate Old Testament morality, and in so doing, show man's need of a Savior from sin. His language clearly includes the typical and prophetic position of the Old Testament, and with similar bearing upon this fact of his atoning sacrifice. We have used the terms types and prophecies, in accordance with common usage, as if expressive of different ideas. Perhaps it would simplify the matter to say prophecies, whether by word or typical representation. The types of the Old Testament had a present signification. But that present signification was prophetic of a future one. As has been said of the sacrament of Baptism, they were "symbols of a symbol." They symbolized outward purification, this symbolizing and purification of an inward and moral character. And both pointed forward to the great purifying sacrifice, by which the soul of man is cleansed from pollution. When Jesus, therefore, proclaimed that he came to fulfil πληρῶσαι, to fill out, to complete, to perfect the law and the prophets, he meant to express much more than the idea of sustaining and enforcing the law, in all its moral requisitions. His language includes this idea. But it at the same time, goes beyond it. The law was not only a system of morality, but also an economy, through which temporary provision, at least, was made for the relief or the punishment of certain classes of offenders, against these its moral precepts. The offender, in certain cases, must make atonement for his sin, by the life of an animal, in a sacrificial offering. In certain other cases, of great atrocity, his own life was the forfeit. Besides these individual sacrifices, there were others, morning and evening duty for the whole people; and a special and very solemn day set apart every year, for atonement to be made by the High Priest, for the sins of the whole congregation of Israel. "To fill out," or to "perfect the law," to "keep its least, as well as its great commandments," "to fulfil all righteousness," as Jesus declared was his object, it would be necessary that this part of the Old Dispensation should not be passed over or neglected. He certainly did not complete or perfect it, as he did the moral law, by adding to it; by increasing its details, or by giving fuller instruction in reference to its rites and ceremonies. And, in a very few years, under the sanction of his own Apostles, and as we find out incidentally, in spite of their own feelings and prepossessions, the whole machinery of the Mosaic ceremonial went into desuetude. We are therefore compelled to look for some

other explanation of this language, to find some other mode in which, according to his own promise, he filled out this feature of the old economy. And we find one perfectly satisfactory, in the fact of his death as an atonement for sin; the realization of all the legal types and symbols of atonement for sin, the fulfilment of all the Old Testament prophecies, having reference to the same great transaction. "These," says Jesus to the Apostles just before his ascension, "these are the words that I spoke unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which are written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me. Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures. And said unto them, thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise again the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins in his name," his work and death, as the reality, having superseded the old symbolic mode, in which repentance and remission were acceptable," should be preached among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." "Behold," said the great forerunner of Jesus, "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." And Jesus tells us afterwards, that John's testimony is true. Clearly in this language of John, do we recognize the true sacrificial lamb, divinely appointed to take away the sins of men."

Nor is it any reply to this, to say, as is sometimes said, that all these ideas of expiation, of atonement for sin, of satisfaction for sin, are peculiarly Jewish conceptions; that, in all such conceptions, we see the "dark shadow of the Hebrew God," a shadow which it was the object of Christ's moral teaching to remove, as well from the human mind as from the divine character. Assertions of this kind may have weight with those who regard the Old and New Testament as coming from different authors, or as having different objects in view. But they have none whatever to those who will take Christ's word for it, that they constitute one organic whole, and that he and his work constitute their subject matter; in the Old Testament as being prepared for, in the New, as actually taking place. If holiness and justice constitute the dark shadow of the Hebrew God, that shadow becomes darker still, in the sermon on the mount, in the parables, in the condemning life and in the atoning death of his well beloved son. It is the peculiar glory and beauty of Christ's atoning work, that it makes manifest the fact, that this shadow does not rest upon God; that it is one which the sinner himself creates,

that holiness and justice, so long full of dread and of gloom, to the human soul are full of light, and brightness, and beauty, as much so as are benevolence and wisdom; that in every attribute, "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all." There was a time when the expiatory character of the Old Testament sacrifices was denied; when the assertion was put forth that they were only thank-offerings, expressions of devotion or gratitude. This notion could only, however, maintain a brief existence. And the plea of Jewish conceptions, which would degrade the Old Testament, and disconnect it from the New, is now a favorite mode of putting aside this evidence of Christ's atoning character. But, as we have seen, this plea is really of no advantage to the purpose for which it is employed. You say that this idea of mediation between sinful man and a holy God, of mediation by means of a propitiatory sacrifice, is a Jewish one. No doubt it is. And it is a heathenish one too; not, however, on that account necessarily false. Such universal prevalence of it, may be proof of its being founded in primeval truth. But whether so or not, it is as asserted, most undeniably Jewish. Judaism is full of it; cannot consistently hang together without it. Such being the case, Christ has put his seal of approval upon it. According to him, the fact that a thing is Jewish, is part of the Mosaic institute, so far from being against that thing, is in its favor; is evidence of its having been divinely established. While he condemns Rabbinism, the curse then as now of the Jewish intellect—note the distinction, for it is a very important one—the sophism of the argument we have been looking at, consists in the play upon the two words as identical; while he condemns Rabbinism, he everywhere authenticates and endorses genuine Old Testament Judaism, Mosaicism. He asserts that he came to fulfil them, the prophecies, in type and symbol, as well as in word. Or, as we have already urged, that all these were established to familiarize the Jewish and the human mind with certain ideas and principles, in the light of which his work was prepared for, and by which, after being actually performed, it could be understood. In this his atoning work, all these stated prophecies of Judaism, daily, weekly and yearly repeated, received fulfilment. Judaism itself, as a system, constituting, as it were, one great organic frame-work of prophecy, silent, yet impressive, received like fulfilment.

And as the symbolic prophecies of Judaism were thus endorsed by Christ, and thus, under his authority, became evidence as to the nature of his work, so also, do the prophecies in word, under like endorsement, fall in with the same line of evidence. Only a few of these need be referred to. Two of them are alluded to by Christ himself, as inspired prophecies; one of them in the way of general reference, the other as having application to his death. With a brief examination of these, we close our argument.

"This," says Christ, the night before his crucifixion, and speaking of his death, "this that is written, he was numbered among the transgressors, must be fulfilled in me." Here is a prophecy, which Christ tells us has reference to himself, to his death. Now what is the substance of that prophecy? What bearing has it upon this enquiry, as to the whether that death is an atoning work, for human transgression? We need only turn to it, to have every doubt removed from our minds. It is that wonderful fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, which reads so much as if it were penned after the events of which it speaks had taken place, more than five hundred years after the prophet had been consigned to the grave. "Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows, yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted; he was despised, and we esteemed him not. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. He was oppressed and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth; he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth. He was taken from prison and from judgment, and who shall declare his generation? For he was cut off out of the land of the living; for the transgression of my people was he stricken. Yet it pleased Jehovah to bruise him; he hath put him to grief; when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his land. He shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied; by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many; for he shall bear their iniquities. Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he hath poured out his soul unto death; and he was numbered among the

transgressors; and he bore the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors." There are slight variations of phraseology, that might be suggested in the translation of these verses, by which some of the facts in connection with Christ's death, are seen to be more exactly delineated. But the great fact of an atonement for sin, comes up in too many forms, and is too clearly stated, to be obscured by any translation deserving the name. And if the reader will bear in mind that Christ himself tells us that this prophecy has reference to his death, he will see its bearing upon the question under discussion: as to whether that death was an atonement for sin. If still unconvinced, we suggest to him the experiment of framing some clearer or stronger mode, or form of words in which this fact can be stated. And if, in case of failure, he comes to the conclusion that he will not receive such a doctrine, however or by whomsoever stated, he is, of course, neither upon our premises, nor within range of our conclusion. He may, however, ascertain what he had never before suspected, the real facts of his own position—rejection of all revelation—logical Atheism.

But to other classes of readers, we say this prophecy does not stand alone. There is another, which, like this, comes, not only under Christ's general authentication of the Old Testament, as a whole, and in its three great divisions, "the law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms," but through his express reference to it, as a portion of these inspired Scriptures. We allude to the prophecy of Daniel. Portions of this prophecy are obscure, and it has been the favorite battle-ground of contending forces. We do not enter upon the chronological question. Neither, again, do we take part in the discussion, as to whether the latter of it is fulfilled, or still fulfilling. We simply call attention to the fact, that we here meet with the person of the Messiah, that he is cut off, that he shall be thus cut off, not for himself, and that in connection with the cutting off or offering of him the great sacrifice, the typical sacrifices and oblations came to an end. Let this ninth chapter of Daniel be read in the light of the fifty-third of Isaiah, and both of them in the light of the Messiah's life and death, and of his own express declaration that they are inspired prophecies, and it will be seen that there is one pervading idea with them all. An idea presented in Christ's own words: "the son of man is come to seek and to save that which is lost." "The son of man came not

to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many."

And with these as our leaders, we see more clearly the meaning of many others of these inspired prophecies. We can understand those allusions to a suffering Messiah, occurring in the book of Psalms. We can see what is meant by Zechariah, when he speaks of "the prisoners being sent forth by the blood of the covenant," "of the smitten shepherd," of "the fountain opened for sin and uncleanness," of Israel "looking upon him whom they have pierced," and of "the great mourning" which will follow upon conviction of this national transgression. We can look back through all these, to the first prophecy of all, and can see what is meant by that promise of a deliverer, who, through suffering, should bruise and overcome man's great enemy and tempter. And in the fact of a bloody sacrifice, which so soon followed, and which was accepted, rather than one of another character, we received an intimation that this first promise, if not fully understood, was, at least, connected with an institution which prepared the way for such an understanding. This fact, moreover, that the second man born into the world, offered such a sacrifice, and that it was accepted, constitutes a partial explanation of something already alluded to: the prevalence of atoning sacrifices, and the ideas connected with them, not only among the Jews, but among the heathen. The hope of all nations was thus never entirely out of their sight. His death, in the silent prophecy of type and symbol, alike among Jews and Gentiles, was constantly foreshadowed.

We have thus traced the various steps by which the Lord Jesus prepared the minds of his followers for this feature of his work and character; the mode in which he opened their minds to understand the Scriptures, in which the work was already revealed; to understand this work more fully in the light of its actual accomplishment. Beautifully complete is the process, as it thus comes before us. The record of Old Testament prophecy and revelation, alike closes with the announcement of the coming of the great angel of the covenant of the Lord, whom they were seeking; of the approach of his forerunner in spirit and power of Elijah. For four hundred years that promise wants fulfilment, and the heavenly voice is silent, as to when that fulfilment can be expected. This four hundred years' silence is at last broken. The lonely forerunner in the solitudes of Judea, proclaims that the kingdom of heaven was at hand; in other words, that the long

promised, and expected hope of Israel, the Messiah, Son of David, was about to be manifested. Subsequently he proclaims his presence, then points him out, then declares him to be the "Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world:" all along insisting upon repentance on the part of his hearers; this demand implying the necessity of a moral preparation, which they, as yet, had not for this Messiah's reception. Jesus himself takes up this burden of John's message; demands repentance for sin, faith in the Gospel which he was revealing. He distinctly endorses John's teaching in regard to himself; points him out as revealed in Old Testament prophecy. This attestation of John, the preacher of repentance, Jesus follows up by his exposition of the law, in its spirituality; thus shows, not only the necessity of that repentance upon which both he and John had first insisted, but of an all-sufficient Mediator, to render this repentance acceptable. In connection with this spiritual exposition of the moral law, he brings to view the fact, that he came not only to establish it, but fulfil it; to fulfil all righteousness, to fill out and actualize all of its types and symbols; to bring to pass all the Old Testament prophetic declarations. These general declarations of fulfilling what was written, are specially accumulated in reference to the fact of his death; that great event which he describes as the crowning fact of his work, "as the ransom for many," as the lifting up which would draw all men unto him. And after this death has taken place, and the disciples are able, in the light of the resurrection, to see its full significance, then the instruction which previously they had not been able to bear, is imparted. They are made to see that "Christ ought to suffer," "that it behooved him so to do;" in other words, that there was a moral propriety, a moral necessity, that in taking upon himself the office of an atoning Savior for sinners, the penalty of sin should be paid in his own person. When that penalty was paid, and all the demands of the moral law were met and discharged, and all the types and symbols of the ceremonial law were actualized, and all the prophecies of a suffering Savior were fulfilled, then, and only then, could and did the One Mediator between God and man, in his dying, and yet triumphant utterance, proclaim, "it is finished."

ARTICLE III.

EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SYNOD.

By Professor F. A. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania College.

In a previous number of the Review,* we gave a somewhat detailed narrative of the earlier efforts of our forefathers, to furnish the church with educational institutions. That account embraced the period of our history as a church in Pennsylvania, antecedent to the termination of our Revolutionary struggle, during which she had no collegiate institution of her own, but only a small share, for a limited time, in the instruction and management of the University of Pennsylvania.

We also promised, in the concluding part of that narrative, to trace out in this subsequent portion, the history of a collegiate institution, established especially for the benefit of our own church; and in this and other efforts in behalf of literary and theological education, to give greater prominence to *Synodical*, rather than individual action. That promise we proceed to fulfil, and for the purpose of presenting the two parts of the subject in the clearest light, and avoiding the injurious and unpleasant consequences, often arising to individuals and public bodies, by confounding things, in themselves distinct and separate, we will give, first, an account of the efforts of the Synod to secure for the church a *collegiate*, and then a *theological* institution.

Now some of these efforts were unsuccessful, while others were successful, though terminating, in the providence of God, in a way quite contrary to the design of the projectors. Of course, it is our intention to give greater prominence to those which were successful, but still, in connection with these, it is both necessary, and may be useful, to have brief narratives of the others. The successful collegiate effort was that with which the Synod began, *Franklin College;* and it is the history of the connection of this body, with the establishment and continued progress of this Institution, through a period of more than sixty years, which we propose to give in the body of the narrative. The further particulars with reference to the College, with which the Synod, as a body,

* Vol. X., p. 269.

had no connection, but which were the result of the action of its own Board of Trustees, as well as the account of *Frey's Institute*, in behalf of which the Synod was interested for nearly thirty years, will be given in foot-notes, as matters of interest to the church; whilst in the second part of the subject, *all* the efforts of the Synod to establish theological institutions, will be presented in the body of the article.

After the successful completion of our Revolutionary war, the German influence became more an object of attention. Many of them had, during the course of that struggle, freely shed their blood, and spent their substance in defence of our liberties, and as officers and private soldiers, endured the many privations of the war which terminated in the independence of the United States. Some of them had also been elected to fill important offices in the general and State governments, and as there was also a large body of German settlers in Pennsylvania, it became an object of importance, as it was an act of justice, to aid them in their efforts to benefit their people, and thus also to secure their friendship. They were therefore courted by prominent gentlemen of English descent in the State government. These gentlemen uniting their influence with that of our clergy and more intelligent laity, who were sincerely interested for the intellectual, moral and social welfare of their brethren, made application to the State Legislature, for a Charter or Act of Incorporation for a College, for the special education of the German population, and their descendants, of this State. This application was made during the session of 1786—7, under the title of an *Act to incorporate and endow the German College and Charity School in the Borough and County of Lancaster.*

As the design of this Institution is often spoken of, it may be well here to quote the preamble with the second section of the act, and to give, in a condensed form, the leading features of its Charter. These read as follows: "Whereas the *citizens of this State of German birth or extraction*, have eminently contributed, by their industry, economy and public virtues, to raise this State to its present happiness and prosperity, and whereas, a number of citizens of the above description, *in conjunction with others*, from a desire to increase and perpetuate the blessings derived to them from the possession of property and a free government, have applied to this House for a Charter of Incorporation and a donation of lands, for the purpose of establishing and endowing a College and Charity School in the Borough of Lancaster: And

whereas, the preservation of the principles of the *Christian religion*, and of our republican form of government, in their purity, depends, under God, in a great measure, on the establishment and support of suitable places of education, for the purpose of training up a succession of youth, who, by being enabled fully to understand the grounds of both, may be led the more zealously to practice the one, and the more strenuously to defend the other, therefore:

Be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the Representatives of the freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and by the authority of the same, that there shall be, and hereby is erected and established in the said Borough of Lancaster, in the County of Lancaster, in this State, a College and Charity School, for the instruction of youth in *the German, English, Latin, Greek and other learned languages, in Theology and in the useful Arts, Sciences and Literature.*"

It was designed, therefore, for the benefit of citizens of this Commonwealth, of German birth or extraction, and of others not thus descended, that they might be carefully instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, the English, German, and classical languages, science and literature, to qualify them for taking an intelligent and active part in the management of the affairs of this State, or of the general government, or of being useful to their fellow-citizens in the learned professions or the mechanic arts. In one word, its design was to make them Americans, not to keep them foreigners. They were to be *Americans* of German descent, and not *Germans* of American parentage.

Besides this, it was provided, that the number of its Trustees should consist of not less than *forty-five*, of whom fifteen were to be forever selected from the members of the Lutheran church, constantly in the same relative proportion between clergy and laity, fifteen from the Reformed or Calvinistic church, and the remaining fifteen from any other denomination of Christians, with the special provision that no one not an inhabitant of this State, should be capable of being elected one of the Trustees. The officers of the Institution were to be a Principal, Vice Principal and Professors, the Principal to be selected alternately from the Lutheran and Reformed churches. "One-sixth of the capital was to be appropriated to the maintenance and support of a Charity School for children of both sexes and all religious denominations, on the most liberal plan, consistent with the ability of said College."

Ten thousand acres, with the usual allowance, of the unappropriated lands of the State, were granted to the Trustees and their successors. It was also provided, that "from a profound respect for the talents, virtues and services to mankind in general, but more especially to this country, of his Excellency, Benjamin Franklin, Esq., President of the Supreme Executive Council, the said College shall be, and hereby is denominated Franklin College."*

Arrangements were made for organizing the College immediately. An address was prepared, by a committee of fifteen of the Trustees, whose names have already been given, written, if we mistake not, by Dr. Helmuth, published with a copy of the Charter in German, and circulated in pamphlet form among the Germans of this State. This address urged upon them the duty and importance of attending to the education of their children, and presented, as reasons, that they would thus be preserved from becoming the dupes of designing men, would be prepared to take part in the administra-

* The first Trustees were the following:

Hon. Thomas Mifflin,	Caspar Shaffner,
Hon. Thomas McKean,	Peter Hoofnagle, Esq.,
Rev. Dr. Helmuth,	Christopher Crawford,
" Caspar Weiberg,	Paul Zantzinger,
" Henry E. Muhlenberg,	Adam Hubley, Esq.,
" William Handel,	Adam Reigart,
" N. Kurtz,	Jasper Yeates, Esq.,
" G. Troldenier,	Stephen Chambers, Esq.,
" John Herbst,	Philip Wager,
" Jos. Hutchins,	William Sheaf,
" Frederick Weyland,	William Rawle, Esq.,
" A. Helfenstein,	Philip Greenwaldt,
" W. Ingold,	John Musser,
" J. Van Buskirk,	Hon. Robert Morris,
" Abraham Blumer,	Hon. W. Bingham,
" Frederick Dalecker,	Dr. Benjamin Rush,
" Christian E. Schultz,	Lewis Farmer, Esq.,
" John B. Cousie,	Michael Hahn,
" Rev. F. V. Meltzheimer,	George Clymer, Esq.,
Peter Muhlenberg, Esq.,	W. Hamilton,
Joseph Hubley, Esq.,	C. Kucher,
Joseph Hiester, Esq.,	D. Hiester, Esq.
George Stake, Sr.	

tion of the government, would become qualified to become pastors, teachers and professional men, as lawyers and physicians, and would even be aided by it in the mechanic arts. It was but too frequently said to their discredit: "yes, they are honest, worthy men, but they have no knowledge of the English language, they are not able to write, they are not acquainted with our laws, and are therefore incompetent to take an active participation in affairs as they ought, and, under other circumstances, would be qualified to do."

Nor was this all, the College was formally opened, *during the meeting of the Synod of Pennsylvania in Lancaster*, with appropriate ceremonies, in the month of June, 1787. The 6th of this month was the day appointed for the public services. The Institution was inaugurated with religious services and an appropriate address or sermon, by Dr. Henry E. Muhlenberg, who was elected its first Principal. These services took place in Trinity Church, Lancaster, in the presence of the Synod and a concourse of the people of Lancaster, Trustees, &c.

The sermon delivered on that occasion, and published by request of the Trustees, is now before the writer, and shows the correct views then entertained by the members of the Synod, on the subject of education. It is upon the words: *Ye fathers bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.*—Eph. 6: 4. After alluding to the object for which they were assembled, viz., to commence an institution for the education of their children, and stating that no more appropriate commencement could be made, than by earnest prayers for the blessing of Almighty God, the Giver of every good and perfect gift, and the presentation of proper arguments to encourage each other, to foster and rejoice in the success of all such means of improvement, he proposes as his theme, *the value of a good education.*

The discourse is divided into two parts; what is a good education, and what considerations show its value. A good education is defined to be one which is conducted in accordance with the example of God. The body and soul must both be educated, for this world and for eternity, and where the two interests come into collision, the body and time must give way to the soul and eternity. The attention must be directed to the study of nature, the Holy Scriptures, the voice of conscience, to experience, and to upright and consistent Christian examples. The value of such an education is evident, from the following considerations: that it is a di-

vine work, that it distinguishes man from the brutes, it benefits the teacher, it is a source of blessing to the individual and the land in which he lives, qualifies men for being useful and benefactors of others, as lawyers, physicians, pastors. We present a few extracts from this discourse.

"An education which is designed to be good, must be conducted on these principles. We must strive to enlighten the understanding of the pupil, and to affect the heart with suitable emotions. We must implant in it a love of virtue, and zeal for every good work. He who is only or chiefly concerned for the body, and suffers the soul to be unimproved, does not act as God. He who labors only to affect the understanding, without being concerned for the radical improvement of the heart, does not act as God does, 2 Tim. 3 : 15. It is worth the labor of a whole life, to rear but one person in a Christian manner. We should, my brethren, erect schools, not only those of a lower grade, though these in greater numbers, but also those of a higher character. Public institutions have many advantages over private ones, intended only for a few pupils. The large number animates both teacher and pupil, lessens the expense, and extends most widely the best influences. More especially, Christians, professed followers of Jesus in these western solitudes, let me freely express to you the wishes of my heart, allow your children to study for the ministry, that they may at one time become useful instruments to extend the knowledge of the Lord in these regions. Are you not concerned for the affliction of Joseph? You see before you nearly all the pastors of German Christians in this land, so few among so many thousands! Help, ye men of Israel! that more laborers may be sent out into the great vineyard."

Efforts were also made to realize money, by donations and subscriptions for this object, on the part of gentlemen interested in its success, both in the city of Lancaster and elsewhere. Circulars were sent to those residing at a distance, and a committee of the Trustees was appointed, to collect funds in that vicinity. We wish it could be said that these means were crowned with great success. But such was not the case, the circulars and personal efforts of the committee of Trustees, resulted in a way calculated to depress them in a very great degree. Small sums, it is true, were obtained, but these were not sufficient in number to cover the expenses connected with such an attempt. No very large ones were received, the only two which seem to deserve special notice

at this time, were one of £200, Pennsylvania currency, by Dr. Benjamin Franklin, and another by William Hamilton, Esq., viz., four lots of ground, with a building thereon erected, which had been used in Revolutionary times as a storehouse. Notwithstanding these untoward circumstances, the organization of the College was completed, and in addition to the Principal, who gave his services gratuitously, three additional instructors were procured, Rev. Joseph Hutchins, Professor of the English Language and Belles Lettres; Rev. F. V. Melzheimer, Professor of German, Latin and Greek, with salaries, at first, of £200, Pennsylvania currency each; and Mr. W. Reichenbach,* Professor of Mathematics, at a salary of £50 per annum. How many students they had the first year, we are not able to say, it could not have been a great many, for the next year one of the teachers reported the presence of fourteen pupils.

With such want of success in their collections, and so few students, it can very easily be seen, the operations of the Institution could not be carried on upon an enlarged scale. The very next year the salary of one of the Professors was reduced, and by degrees the number of Professors, until, as a general remark, it might be said, there was but one teacher present, who labored in the Institution, with such a support as the limited funds of the College could give, and the local patronage afford. The school, it must be admitted, was constantly kept open, so that the parents resident in that vicinity seldom stood in need of a place where their children could receive, at least, a respectable classical education. Among some of those who served as teachers in this Institution, at a subsequent period of this early part of its career, may be mentioned Rev. Mr. Stewart, of Ireland, recommended by Dr. B. Rush, the now celebrated Rev. Dr. Brownlee, and others.

The report of the first Treasurer of the College, John Hubley, Esq., will show the discouraging state of the funds, even during the first year of its existence. He reports a deficit of £244, and thus writes to Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia: "I wrote to you some time ago, how poorly our College stands, and how far we are in arrears; these arrears are increasing daily, and unless you gentlemen in Philadel-

* This gentleman subsequently willed his library to the Institution, which is now part of the property of "Franklin and Marshall College."

phia will put your shoulders to the wheels, we must inevitably perish, and that soon."

It is, however, not surprising, when we reflect carefully upon the circumstances of our church and country at that time, and up to the year 1817, that the hopes of our people were then disappointed. The time for success on so large a scale, had not yet come. The circumstances of our own people, at this time, were not found to be such as to insure the success of a College, as there were but few of German descent, who desired to give their sons a collegiate education, and it could scarcely have been expected that the gentlemen of English descent, residing in Philadelphia and elsewhere, would give largely for the support of it, or send their children there to be educated; and in addition to all this, the lands presented by the State were altogether unsaleable, and even if they could have been sold, would have yielded, at the market price, but an insignificant sum. Other resources than these they had not, and they did the best their circumstances allowed. The gentlemen, especially those of the Lutheran and English churches, and at a later period a few also of the Reformed communion, husbanded its resources, and thus prepared the way for greater good in the future. It was well that there were a few who thus gave at least some attention to it, for whilst its lands were lying unsold, little interest was manifested in its history at certain periods, so much so, that often it was impossible to obtain a quorum of Trustees to transact business, for three or four meetings in succession, and many of the earlier records were lost, or have only been preserved from destruction, by the care of more diligent and thoughtful successors. This apathy in the minds of many will be explained, when we remark, that even at as late a period as 1828, the funds in the Treasury were only about one thousand dollars.

But the want of funds, and the state of education among our own people, were not the only causes which interfered at that time to thwart the hopes of its more sanguine friends. The great prevalence of the German language, and the tenacity with which many of our forefathers clung to their mother tongue, was another, and a very potent element in bringing about a failure in their efforts to found an institution, whose ultimate aim would be to make the English predominant over the German. Had the Lutheran and Reformed population been thoroughly anglicized, and equal in intelligence and general culture with the English population around

them, the result might, and probably would have been different.

Besides this natural prejudice in favor of their own language, sufficiently strong already, which operated unfavorably to success, circumstances occurred about this time in some of our churches, which gave it increased and morbid action. A jealousy of the English language was excited in many of the members of the Pennsylvania Synod, which constantly increasing in intensity, by the force of circumstances, did much to prevent that harmony of operation, essential in any state of affairs to success in such an undertaking, but absolutely so, with the limited resources of our church at that time.

As long as it was not proposed to introduce the English language into our congregations, even those most ardently attached to the German, were willing to coöperate in behalf of an institution in which the English language was intended to be a subject of greater prominence than the German. But when the churches in which they ministered began to feel the pressure in favor of English preaching, the matter was viewed in a different aspect. The first agitation arose in the congregation in Philadelphia, where the parties were nearly equal; and as the matter was decided by a small majority against the introduction of the English language into the church, a separation took place, and a new organization was effected. The views and feelings which were prominent in the congregational conflict, were transferred to the Synod, and two parties were formed there.

What was the temper of a majority of the Synod, in consequence of this excited contest, may be seen from the resolutions which were passed in 1805, and appended as amendments to the standing regulations adopted for the government of that body: "the present Lutheran Ministerium *must* remain a German speaking body;" "Lutherans using the English language, *may* form a congregation of their own;" "their pastors will be acknowledged, if they undergo an examination, and *subject* themselves to its rules." And in 1807 it was also decided, by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-three, that no English communication, and nothing but German discussion should be allowed in the Synod, except by special permission.

It is true, this violence of feeling was modified considerably by the earnest opposition of the minority, and the increasing desire for English preaching, in spite of all synodical resolu-

tions to the contrary, so that in 1812, the subject was examined with much more moderation and wisdom, as far as the congregations were concerned. Difficulties had arisen in the congregation at Hagerstown, in consequence of the introduction of English preaching by the Rev. Solomon F. Schaeffer. A committee of five was appointed to settle the difficulty, upon equitable principles, Dr. Helmuth and Mr. Lange representing the German interest, Dr. Muhlenberg and Mr. Benjamin Schaum the English, and Dr. Lochman the Synod. They unanimously reported, as a general principle, for all cases of this kind, "that changes should be made only with the consent of the vestry, and a majority of the communicant and contributing members of the congregation to which they belong."

The same spirit, though somewhat subdued, still existed and manifested itself in the proceedings of the Synod, and was diffused throughout many of our congregations, to the great injury of the church, and we wish we could say it had spent its force even in our day. The action of the Synod, and the sentiments of some of the principal members of it, still in print, leave us no room to doubt the correctness of the above statement. They endeavored to infuse new zeal into the people of this State, in behalf of German schools and German teachers, and the "fatherland." A German magazine was established, containing strong appeals in favor of the above objects, to the Germans of Pennsylvania, urging them to greater activity for their language and their religion, and inviting them to found a German College. Now we cheerfully admit, that all these measures were, in themselves, good, and calculated to promote the temporal and spiritual welfare of those for whom they were intended, but the *extent* to which it was proposed to carry them, and the short-sighted policy, based upon these extravagant premises, we cannot but condemn and deplore. The appeals themselves are ably written, and contain a great deal to which we can give our unqualified assent, in respect to the virtues and services to mankind of the German nation. But there is also much that is exceptionable. There is that arrogant and self-satisfied laudation of the German people, which is, in its spirit, opposed to Christian humility and love, and in its assertions, in direct conflict with the truth. German literature and German character, are represented as the personification of excellence, the English the very opposite. The English language, in consequence of its poverty, is not capable of expressing

accurately the profound mysteries and the deep feeling of the Lutheran faith, and the study of it is calculated to prepare men only *for this world.* Therefore the German language was to be upheld, by laws as unalterable as "those of the Medes and Persians." It was to be made predominant in all the schools, the churches and the synods. This was the policy which these appeals were calculated to foster, in opposition to the providence of God, and the practice of Protestants, detrimental to the best interests of their children and the church, and so inconsistent with enlightened reason, that had Americans endeavored to act in this way in Germany, they would doubtless have been characterized as insane.

This was not, it is true, the policy of the early founders of our church in Pennsylvania, nor of all their immediate successors, and happily it did not prevail. Had this been the case, our church would have been merged in other denominations, except where it was fed by new accessions of foreign immigrants. Yet though it did not destroy our church, it interfered with our people in their educational efforts, and this cause, together with the war in which our country was engaged, and those previously mentioned, by their continued and united influence prevented our fathers from succeeding with their first College. Little is said of it, therefore, in the proceedings of Synod, between the years 1787 and 1817, and it seemed to be necessary, therefore, to assign suitable reasons for their failure, which we consider those already mentioned to have been.

The next Synodical action, in reference to this institution, took place during the years 1818—21. The immediate cause of renewed attention to this, on the part of the Pennsylvania Synod, was the German Reformed Synod. This body, at its meeting in York, in 1817, upon the motion of Mr. Samuel Helfenstein, had, "in consequence of the increase in the number and the growth of the congregations," appointed a committee to take into consideration the propriety of establishing a Collegiate Institution, for the preparation of ministers for their churches. This committee, in consequence of the great importance of the subject, had recommended the postponement of it until the following year, and also the appointment of another committee, to confer with the Lutheran Synod. This committee appeared at the session of the Pennsylvania Synod in Harrisburg, in 1818, and brought this matter before them. A committee, consisting of Revs. J. G. Schmucker, Jäger and H. A. Muhlenberg, was appointed to take the matter into consideration, who, after consultation,

reported: that "in answer to the enquiry what would be the best means of furnishing both churches with a Collegiate Institution for the education of ministers," they would inform the Synod of the existence of an institution in Lancaster, by the name of Franklin College, would express their regret that it had heretofore been so much neglected, and the design had failed, which the State had in view from the beginning; that they had examined the Charter and had found it necessary to propose, that the President be instructed to call together a general meeting of the Trustees. They also proposed finally, that the Lutheran and Reformed clergymen residing in Lancaster, should see that the above mentioned recommendation be attended to, and that a committee of both Synods should be appointed to prepare a joint plan, by which the above mentioned institution may be best fitted to accomplish the above object.

The report of the committee was adopted by the Synod in all its particulars, and Messrs. J. G. Schmucker, Lochman, Geissenhainer, Sen., Endress and H. A. Muhlenberg appointed to act for this Synod, in accordance with the last item of the above mentioned report.

At the subsequent meeting of the Synod, held in Baltimore, in the year 1819, Dr. Endress gave in a verbal report, in behalf of the committee appointed the preceding year, to confer with a similar committee of the German Reformed Synod, in reference to Franklin College, and the following action was had on this subject:

"*Resolved*, That one hundred dollars be given out of our Synodical Treasury, for the support of the College in Lancaster, in case the Reformed Synod determine to give an equal sum."

What was reported by Dr. Endress to the Synod, as the result of the action of the joint committee of the two churches, does not appear in the minutes of Synod, but having in our possession a copy of the minutes of the Board of Trustees of Franklin College, containing the memorial which was presented to them by Dr. Endress in behalf of the committee of conference, we are able to give the substance of their recommendations. This meeting of the Board of Trustees took place the 17th of November, 1818. The memorial contains *three* general recommendations; the studies, the teachers, and the supposed action of the Synods. In reference to the *first*, they thought the following branches should be taught therein:

"the German and English languages grammatically, Arithmetic, the Latin and Greek languages, the general outlines of Biblical and Modern Geography, of sacred and profane history, of Natural Philosophy and of Natural Theology." As to the *second*, they recommended that *three* teachers should, as soon as possible, be employed, one to give instruction in the English branches; "one in the German language (grammatically) the Latin language (according to the English mode of teaching Latin), in Biblical Geography, Sacred and Profane History;" "and another, in the Greek language (according to the English mode of teaching Greek) and in the first rudiments of Natural Philosophy and Natural Theology." As to the *third* point, they express to the Board of Trustees their conviction that if the College be placed on such a footing, the Synods together, would be willing, until the College had a fund of its own, to contribute pecuniary aid to the amount of about ten or twelve hundred dollars per annum. The above was the plan adopted by the joint committee of the two Synods, presented and acceded to by the Board of Trustees of Franklin College.

Yet it did not succeed, for at the meeting of the Synod in 1820, at Lancaster, we find that Dr. J. G. Schmucker reported to the body that the joint committee had adopted a plan, but that Dr. Endress and Mr. Hoffmeier, in whose hands it had been left for publication, had neglected to attend to this duty. Dr. Endress made a lengthy speech in his own behalf, but the Synod did not deem the reasons assigned, of such a nature as to exculpate him altogether.

The only additional item of interest in reference to this, is, that the College received from the two Synods, before the plan failed, the sum of two hundred dollars.

At this meeting of the Synod also, the Rev. Mr. Schnee called the attention of the body to *Frey's Institute* at Middletown.*

* George Frey, a merchant of Middletown in 1806, left a valuable estate, consisting of nine hundred acres of choice land with improvements erected thereon, for the purpose of establishing and endowing an institution for the education of orphans, to be called "Emmaus Institute." Among a great many other particulars in his will, it was provided, that the superintendent and teacher of the above Institute should be members of the Lutheran church, and that the orphans who should be educated in it, should be trained strictly in accordance with the orthodox faith of the church, as laid down in the Augsburg Confession. As already stated, the attention of the Synod was directed to this subject in the year 1820, and it appears in different phases in the minutes of Synod, with but few

From 1822—30, the Institution is not noticed in the proceedings of the Synod; during these years, this body met in other places than Lancaster, which may partly account for the fact of its being, for the time, kept out of view, for when it was brought before the Synod, subsequently to this period, down to the year 1850, it was invariably during its meeting

interruptions, up to the year 1847, when the matter was finally brought to a close, adverse to the claims of the Synod, by a decision of the Supreme Court. Elaborate reports were presented on this subject, at different times, and for a period, the hope of ultimate success was very bright. Thus in 1835, Dr. S. S. Schmucker presented a lengthy report, in connection with which, he informed the Synod that the heirs were willing to compromise the matter in dispute, and would agree to give one-twentieth of the estate to the Directors of the Poor of Dauphin County, one-half of the remainder they would retain, and the other half surrender, to be equally divided between the two Lutheran Synods of Pennsylvania. In view of this prospective termination, he proposed that the Synod of Pennsylvania should intrust their portion to the Directors of the Seminary at Gettysburg, who would pay the lawful interest to the President of the Pennsylvania Synod, to be applied to the education of poor Lutheran orphans, and that the Synod should agree to compel all those who received aid out of this fund, and intended to prosecute their theological studies at a public institution, to go to Gettysburg for this purpose. Further, that the Directors should be allowed a per centage for those students not thus educated. In 1846 also, in consequence of petitions sent in from different parts of the State, and the exertions of legal and other gentlemen acting for the Synod, an act was passed by the Legislature, authorizing the appointment of two Trustees, one from each of the Synods, to act for the proper management of the estate, in accordance with the will of the testator. The Trustees acting under the will, however, refused to be governed by the provisions of this act, and the matter was brought up before the Dauphin County Court, where it was decided in favor of the Synods, and against the acting Trustees. The matter, however, was carried by appeal, to the Supreme Court, and the decision of the lower court was reversed. It was "*held*, that the Trustees elected under the provisions of the will, had vested rights, that they were divested of these rights, privileges and franchises, by the act of 1846, without a trial by due course and process of law; by reason of which, a solemn contract of the State was impaired, and therefore the act of April, 1846, was unconstitutional and void." This estate, according to the estimate of Chief Justice Gibson, in a decision rendered in 1834, upon the same subject, when brought before him in a different way, was worth one hundred thousand dollars, and he remarks in the same connection: "This case is an additional instance of the futility of private charities. Even when established by law, and provided with the conservative apparatus of visitation, inspection, and whatever else ingenuity could contrive, these misdirected efforts of benevolence have conduced but to the emoluments of the agents intrusted with their care. So will it ever be, where the vision of the visitor is not sharpened by individual interest." How much better for men to contribute liberally to benevolent objects during their lifetime, that they may both superintend and enjoy the application of their bounty. *Twenty-five years of Synodical action to no purpose!*

in Lancaster, and the impetus given to it on these occasions, lasted for several subsequent meetings, and then again its force was spent, to be renewed at a subsequent meeting, in the same place.

In 1830, at the meeting in Lancaster, a committee was appointed to examine the condition of Franklin College, who presented a report in the English language, but as it was considered by the Synod not sufficiently extended, the committee was granted a longer time to bring in a more complete one "on this important subject." This committee reported at a later period of the session, and brought before the Synod a statement of the condition of the funds of the College. This they were able at that time to do, for two years previously the Hon. Samuel Dale had been appointed agent to visit the lands owned by the Institution in the counties of Venango, Bradford and Tioga, and ascertain what was their true condition, and what was really the amount still owned by the Board. He had discharged the duties of his agency to the satisfaction of the Board, and his carefully prepared report had been recorded in the minutes of that body. The committee of the Synod had access to this report, for we find on comparison, that the items in each correspond. They gave a very reliable and interesting statement, therefore, on this subject, and showed that at length, the funds of the Institution, after having been long locked up in unsaleable lands, were now beginning to be available. They reported the resources of the Institution, at that time, as consisting of upwards of twelve thousand dollars securely invested, arising from lands already sold, and expressed the confident belief, that an equal sum would be realized from the lands still unsold. This opinion was based upon the price of land at that time, for it was subsequently found, in the final division of the accumulated fund in 1853, to amount to more than double the above estimated sum.

This committee also allude with pleasure to the fact, that they had heard of an effort in progress, on the part of the Lutheran and Reformed churches, to place the Institution on a more permanent basis for the good of the two churches, and the promotion of the welfare of the Germans of Pennsylvania. In consequence of the encouraging prospects presented in the report of the committee, the Synod passed the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the committee prepare an extended report upon this important subject, have it printed and circulated

among our congregations." The committee appointed for this object, were Revs. Baker, Baetis, Ulhorn, Filbert, Dr. F. A. Muhlenberg and Mr. Keffer.

An appeal was prepared by this committee, in reference to which the Synod, at its subsequent meeting, resolved, "that each member of their body should take home with him a number of copies, and have them distributed among the members of his congregation." The Reformed Synod were coöperating with the Synod of Pennsylvania at this time in this matter, and in view of this circumstance, the following additional resolution was passed at the same meeting:

"*Resolved*, That the committee appointed last year for the investigation of the affairs of Franklin College, at Lancaster, be continued this year, for the purpose of meeting a committee appointed by the Reformed Synod, at the specified time at Lancaster, to confer about this matter." These negotiations, however, between the two bodies representing the two great divisions of German Protestants in Pennsylvania, terminated again unsuccessfully, and the whole matter was allowed to slumber profoundly, as far as the Synod was concerned, until the year 1837, at its *next* meeting in Lancaster, when one of the Trustees resident there invited the renewed action of the Synod.

This Trustee lamented the small degree of interest and earnestness manifested by the Synod in this important matter, and his representations were successful, at least in getting several resolutions passed, though the matter did not become the subject of very earnest action. The Synod resolved to have a new committee appointed to enlighten the body once more on this subject the succeeding year, and to prepare a petition to the Legislature, urging it to adopt all suitable means to carry out the wishes of the Synod, in resuscitating this ancient Institution, and placing it on the footing intended by its early founders, and they also made it the duty of each pastor in their connection, to obtain signatures to these petitions, and to forward them to the seat of government. We cannot trace these resolves any further, for in the minutes of the succeeding years, they are not again referred to, they probably met with an untimely death at that session; they certainly, if even partially carried out, did not result favorably for the Institution. The authorities of the State did not interfere. As far also as the Synod is concerned, there was, very strangely, no mention made of the subject, until it met in Pottsville, in 1850, when the incipient

measures, looking towards the present educational arrangements at Gettysburg, had already been entered into in another quarter, which eventually secured their hearty coöperation and efficient support. These we propose now more particularly to examine. How their attention was called renewedly to this subject, at this particular time, will appear from what follows. A series of measures had been entered into by the Board of Trustees of Franklin College, (of which and the history of the Institution under the management of its own legally appointed officers, a more detailed statement is given below*), which, after protracted discussion, ended in a mutu-

* Of the management of this Institution by its own Board of Trustees antecedent to 1828, something has been already said, in the account given above, and all that it is necessary to say in addition, as to that period, is, that it was the aim of the Trustees to have one or more teachers constantly giving instruction under their superintendence, as their means and circumstances allowed. They could not, perhaps, have done more. But after that period, affairs assumed a brighter aspect. A general meeting was called, and a new election for officers was held, Rev. Dr. J. C. Baker having been elected President, which office he filled until the dissolution of the Institution, Samuel Dale Secretary, and J. Dorwart Treasurer. Judge Dale was also appointed agent at this meeting, to visit the College lands, and report in detail all the circumstances in reference to them, and it was this report, very satisfactory and complete in itself, handed in and ordered to be filed in March, 1829, which formed the basis of the report of the committee to the Synod, at its session in Lancaster in 1830, as mentioned above. From this time onwards, there was a great deal of interest awakened in the minds of the Board, in reference to the Institution, and its affairs were managed with great accuracy and fidelity, and the two churches represented in it, owe a debt of gratitude to those who thus faithfully managed its constantly increasing funds. In 1828, the Lancaster County Academy was opened for the first time, and this furnished an educational Institution for that locality, which was amply sufficient at the time, for all who chose to avail themselves of its privileges, and the classics and mathematics were taught in it for a number of years, by competent teachers, the first of whom was Mr. Jas. P. Wilson, who has since that time been President of Newark College, and subsequently Professor in the Union Theological Seminary at New York. In 1835 the Trustees of the College offered the use of its funds and buildings to the General Synod of the German Reformed church in session at Chambersburg, which offer was, however, declined. In 1840, the Lancaster County Academy edifice was purchased from its Trustees, by the Trustees of Franklin College, and after this purchase, an additional building was erected on the north side, to furnish increased accommodations for students. The school was opened under the new arrangement the same year, and F. A. Muhlenberg, Jr., and Jas. Regan were elected teachers. In 1841 an English department was added to the classical and mathematical, and Mr. G. Day elected teacher. This arrangement lasted four years, until April, 1845, when the last named gentleman resigned. In 1841 also, Dr. F. A. Muhlenberg was unanimously elected Treasurer, and Rev. Dr. Bowman, now Assistant Bishop

al agreement, on the part of all those interested in its funds, to this effect, that *one-third* part of the money belonging to Franklin College should be transferred to the Trustees of Pennsylvania College, to endow in it the "Franklin Profes-

of Pennsylvania, Secretary, which offices they held until the dissolution of the Franklin College Board.

After the resignation of Mr. Day, the two teachers previously mentioned, continued in the service of the Board until July 1st, 1846, when Mr. Jas. Regan resigned. At this period, F. A. Muhlenberg, Jr., was unanimously elected Professor of Languages, and Rev. J. Chapman Professor of Mathematics, and a union was effected with the public schools of the city of Lancaster, by virtue of which, those pupils of these schools who were sufficiently qualified, were permitted to pass through the two departments of Franklin College free of expense, in consideration of the payment of the salary of one of the teachers by the Board of School Directors, though the management of the Institution was in the hands of the Board of Trustees of Franklin College. This arrangement continued for three years, until September, 1849. In consequence of the organization of a *High School*, in connection with the Public Schools, in which an opportunity was afforded to parents of obtaining gratuitously for their children, a classical and mathematical education, the number of students in the College had very much decreased, and as most of the *local* patronage was thus withdrawn, it was thought by the two teachers, that a sufficient number of students could not be procured, unless they were obtained from abroad, and in order to secure this, it was, in their judgment, necessary to have increased accommodations in the way of buildings, for such students; and a proposal was presented by the writer, for the organization of the Institution on an enlarged scale, the first step towards which, was the erection of an edifice of sufficient size to lodge students. This project was presented to the Board in September, 1849, and after the matter was discussed, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

"Whereas, in the opinion of this Board, it is absolutely necessary for the welfare of Franklin College, and for the more complete carrying out of the provisions of its Charter, to have a new and larger edifice erected for the accommodation of students from abroad, therefore,

Resolved, That five thousand dollars out of the Treasury, and such sum as may arise from the sale of the lot and buildings on Orange and Lime streets, be appropriated to effect the same, provided, that not less than ten thousand dollars be raised by subscription for the same purpose."

The two teachers immediately, during the intervals when not occupied with their duties of instruction, engaged in the work of obtaining by subscription, the above mentioned ten thousand dollars, and they had secured subscriptions to the amount of about seven thousand dollars, when their further efforts were suspended by a proposal from the Trustees of Marshall College, which totally changed the whole aspect of the question. This brings us to the most interesting point in the history of Franklin College, for it was the first step in that series of measures, which resulted in the present permanent arrangement, referred to in the body of the narrative. The meeting at which these incipient steps were taken, was held during parts of three days, beginning with December 3d, 1849, and was largely attended, there having been twenty-six Trustees present.

sorship;" the remaining *two-thirds* be retained at Lancaster, and given to the Trustees of Marshall College at Mercersburg, on condition of its removal to Lancaster, and its carrying on its collegiate operations there under the name of

The discussions were of a very animated character, and the issues varied, and often quite unexpected. The first session was opened with a proposed resolution, offered by the Rev. Mr. Bucher, supposed to be the representative of Marshall College, and a zealous member of the German Reformed church, to divide *equally*, the funds of Franklin College, between Marshall and Pennsylvania Colleges. This, however, met with such determined resistance from all the Lutheran, most of the third party, and some of the German Reformed Trustees, that it was *withdrawn* by the mover. He next proposed to merge *Marshall College* in Franklin, and to remove the former to Lancaster, to which an amendment was offered by Mr. Longenecker, to extend the offer to *all* Christian denominations, and make an agreement with the one holding out the best terms. The next day two additional amendments were offered, one by Dr. F. A. Muhlenberg, proposing to unite Marshall *and* Pennsylvania College with Franklin, for the purpose of forming a strong Institution for the Germans and their descendants, and that the Board should pledge itself to select one-third of the Faculty from the Lutherans, one-third from the Reformed, and one-third from other Christian denominations; the Principal and Vice Principal to be selected in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of Franklin College: the other by Mr. Bucher, to give two-thirds of the fund to Marshall College, provided it be removed to Lancaster, the remaining one-third to Pennsylvania College, to endow a Lutheran Professorship. After a motion to postpone to the next annual meeting had been lost, and before the above amendments were acted on, it was moved and seconded to appoint a committee of *three* Lutherans and *three* Reformed, to consider the whole subject, and report a plan of adjustment at a meeting to be held the next day. The committee on the part of the Lutherans, consisted of Dr. F. A. Muhlenberg, C. Hager and J. F. Long; the Reformed, Revs. Messrs. Bucher, Mesick and Mr. Heitshu. This committee reported, through their chairman, Dr. Muhlenberg, the following plan of union, the succeeding day, December 5, viz: application should be made to the next Legislature for a change of Charters, authorizing the consolidation of the two Institutions. *One-third* of the Trustees were to be Lutherans, the other *two-thirds* Reformed, or such as they should see proper to elect; *two* Professors to be nominated by the Lutherans and elected by the Board, with salaries equal to those of the other Professors; and action to be delayed for sixty days, to allow time to confer with the several Faculties and the absent Trustees. This plan was *unanimously* agreed to by the twenty-two members of the Board who were present, and a committee appointed to correspond with the Trustees of Marshall College, of whom Dr. Bowman was chairman. The Treasurer was also authorized to furnish the Trustees of Marshall College with a statement of the financial condition of Franklin College, and ask the same of them.

A special meeting of the Board was held on the 16th and 17th of January, to consider the reply of the Board of Trustees of Marshall College. There were thirty-three members present, the largest number at any one time; among the Lutherans from abroad were Drs. Demme and S. S. Schmucker, and Rev. B. Keller. Among the important amend-

"Franklin and Marshall College;" and this was subsequently also confirmed by legislative action. The Act of the Legislature confirming and legalizing the action of the Board of Trustees, was approved by the Governor the 19th of April,

ments proposed to the plan of union, though none such were originally contemplated, were the following: *two-thirds* of the Trustees to be Reformed, *one-sixth* Lutherans, and *one-sixth* of other Christian societies; *one* Professor of the Lutheran church, salary to rate with those of the other Professors, a *second* might be chosen, provided a fund were raised by said church for his support.

The Treasurer also of their Board, reported the available funds of the Theological Seminary to be $74,798.71, and of the College $60,000.

The above amendments were then acted upon; the first, in reference to the Trustees, was decided in the *negative*, by a vote of eleven to twenty-one; the eleven being all Reformed except *two*, one of whom was Dr. Bowman. The second, in reference to the Professors, was also *negatived*, without a division. At this stage of the proceedings also a committee of conference on the part of Marshall College, was introduced by a special resolution, and pending the consideration of one of the other proposed amendments to the original plan of union, a resolution was offered, *to adhere to the terms of union agreed upon at the annual meeting in December*, 1849, which was adopted by a vote of twenty-one yeas to seven nays, all *Lutherans*. Here the Lutheran Trustees separated, some being favorable to a union with the Reformed on equitable principles, others being altogether opposed to it.

A committee of conference was now appointed, to consult with the representatives of the Board of Marshall College. This committee, on the part of the Board, was composed of two Lutherans, Dr. Muhlenberg and Mr. C. Hager, and three other gentlemen of the third party. They were, however, unable to agree with the Marshall College committee, and so reported the next day, and then these gentlemen submitted their propositions to the Board. They proposed, among other amendments, these, in reference to the Trustees and Professors: that the number of the former should be forty-five, "and a majority of the whole be a quorum to do business, and two-thirds of said quorum be German Reformed; and that the election of one of the Lutheran Professors provided for, shall be postponed until $12000 be raised by subscription, and funded as a means of compensation for his services." These and other amendments were adopted, by securing the votes of the third party, who were anxious to have a College at Lancaster; but they did not meet with favor from the Lutherans. These latter, after the meeting was over, determined to *withdraw altogether* from the united institution, and a paper was prepared by Dr. S. S. Schmucker, after advising with the other Lutheran Trustees, and changing it to meet their views, which, after having been signed by a number of the Trustees as individuals, was intended to be the basis of future action, after the German Reformed Synod should have met. This body met, and in consequence of the new phase of the subject presented by the above action on the part of the Lutherans, refused to ratify the action of the Franklin Board. A final meeting was therefore held, the 12th of February, at which all the necessary arrangements were made, in accordance with the principles contained in the

1850. Now as the Lutheran Trustees in the Board of Franklin College were principally composed of clergymen and laymen residing east of the Susquehanna, and therefore represented that portion of the church, it was a desirable matter to have the sanction of its Synod, for what they had thus done, both with reference to retiring from the old Board, and consenting to a union with Pennsylvania College, an Institution within the territory of the West Pennsylvania Synod, and incorporated in 1832. It was also thought desirable to make use of the same occasion, for the purpose of inviting them to the consideration of the propriety of endeavoring to

paper above referred to, which terminated in the *entire separation* of the Lutheran interest from Franklin College, and the merging of it with its Trustees in Pennsylvania College. The provisions of this paper, as far as Pennsylvania College was concerned, were subsequently incorporated in the Charter of the consolidated Institution, which may be found in Section 12, in these words: "that three members of the Board of Franklin College be appointed to value and appraise the real and personal estate of said Franklin College, one by the Lutheran, one by the German Reformed, and one by the Remaining Trustees of said College, and that one-third of the value of said funds and property so ascertained, be retained by its Board of Trustees, until the German Reformed church pay an equal amount into its treasury, or give such legal obligations for its payment as may be deemed satisfactory, and so soon as said sum shall be so paid, it shall be paid over to the Lutheran members of said Franklin College Board, who, on the receipt thereof, or any portion of it, shall again pay the same to the Board of Trustees of Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg, to *be permanently invested by the Board last mentioned, for the support of a separate Professorship in said Institution, to be styled "the Franklin Professorship," of which the first incumbent shall be Professor of ancient languages, and be elected by the existing Lutheran members of the Franklin College Board, and the right of nominating the subsequent incumbents shall be vested in the old Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania, and the interest only of said fund to be used at any time for the support of the incumbent of the said Professorship.*"

The committee appointed to prepare the plan of union on this last occasion, and to procure the passage of the Charter, were Messrs. Schmucker, Muhlenberg, J. F. Long, Bucher, Mesick, Breneman, Reynolds, Atlee and Humes, in both cases, with the substitution on the latter occasion, of C. Hager for J. F. Long, and D. Longenecker for P. Breneman.

This Charter was read before the Board of Trustees, and approved June 3d, 1850, the committee of three were appointed in Sept. 1851, to act as appraisers, viz., J. F. Long, D. Longenecker and McClure, and at the meeting in December, 1852, they reported the value of the property, and the Treasurer was authorized to pay over to the Lutheran portion of the Trustees of Franklin College, "$17169.61, being the *one-third* part of the appraised value of the property of said College," which was then paid over to the Treasurer of Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg, by the authority of its Board of Trustees. The *last* meeting of the Board of Franklin College, appears to have taken place July 27, 1853. We here

establish another Professorship in the same Institution. The writer of this article, therefore, prepared a memorial to the Synod, embracing two particulars, one a request of the Trustees, for an expression of opinion from that body, in reference to their action; another, an offer of the same persons, in conjunction with a respectable number of Lutherans residing in Lancaster, to raise two thousand dollars towards the endowment of a *second* Professorship in Pennsylvania College, if they were willing to undertake it. The signatures of the Trustees belonging to churches in connection with the Pennsylvania Synod, as well as of those gentlemen who were willing to aid in raising the sum of two thousand dollars for the above mentioned object, were appended to the memorial, having been obtained by the writer of it. This is the memorial which was the subject of synodical action at Pottsville, in 1850, as already stated, and these, the occasion and mode of calling the attention of the Synod again to the subject which had been before them so frequently, but for a number of years had apparently been forgotten or neglected. The proceedings in reference to it are found on the *twentieth* page of the German, and the *nineteenth* of the English printed minutes for that year.

In reply to the first point, the following resolution was proposed by the committee, and adopted by the Synod:

"*Resolved*, That the Synod heartily approve of the agreement entered into between the Lutheran and German Reformed Trustees of Franklin College, and indulge the confident hope that, under the divine blessing, it will promote the

add, for future use, the names of its principal officers, as far as the writer could ascertain them:

Presidents.	*Treasurers.*	*Secretaries.*
Dr. H. E. Muhlenberg,	John Hubley, Esq.,	Dr. Chr. Endress,
Dr. Chr. Endress,	Dr. Chr. Endress,	Hon. S. Dale,
Adam Reigart,*	Jonas Dorwart,	Dr. S. Bowman,
Dr. J. C. Baker.	W. Heitshu,	
	D. Longenecker,	
	Dr. F. A. Muhlenberg.	

Dr. Endress was, indeed, at one and the same time, President, Treasurer and Secretary; and the Lutherans have, in general, as appears from the minutes which are still preserved, had always the greatest share in the management, if they did not obtain the "lion's share" in the division of the funds.

* Only for a short time.

welfare of the church." They thought it premature to take any definite action at that time, in reference to the second particular of the memorial, as the arrangements had not yet been fully consummated by the success of the German Reformed in obtaining the necessary funds; but they advised the brethren of the Synod to direct the attention of their congregations to this subject, in order that they might be prepared to act when called upon. The two prominent members of this committee were, Revs. E. Peixoto and C. F. Welden, and their suggestion was also adopted by the Synod, "*heartily and unanimously*;" though they make the memorial speak of *two* Professorships, instead of one. In the interval between this meeting and the succeeding one, held at Allentown, one of the teachers in Franklin College, the writer of this article, had removed to Gettysburg, in November, 1850; the other had resigned in September, 1850, and the German Reformed agent had made such progress in his work, that the probability of the ultimate completion of the arrangement entered into between the two contracting parties, was very much strengthened, and by the advice of Dr. F. A. Muhlenberg, of Lancaster, the *renewal* of the above proposal, in a somewhat modified, but more specific form, through the Board of Trustees of Pennsylvania College, was made the subject of thought and action. In consequence of these representations, Dr. Baugher brought up the matter, at the meeting of the Trustees of Pennsylvania College, in April, 1851, and the following action was had:

"*Resolved*, That inasmuch as the President of the College expects to attend the next meeting of the Pennsylvania Synod, he have discretionary power to make the following propositions to said body, on behalf of this Board:

1. That they be requested to endow a *Professorship of German Literature and Belles Lettres in Pennsylvania College.*

2. That the Synod shall have the nomination forever of the incumbent of that Professorship."

In tracing this matter, thus originating, still further in the order of time, we find Dr. Baugher present at the meeting of the Synod, and the following report of his success in the printed minutes of that year.* It is first stated that Dr.

* Page fifteen of the English minutes; the writer has no German copy of the minutes of that year in his possession, and therefore cannot give the page in them.

Baugher, President of Pennsylvania College, was permitted to make some remarks in reference to a German Professorship in that Institution, and it was, thereupon,

Resolved, That the proposition of the Trustees of Pennsylvania College be submitted to a committee.* In committee, the above proposition of the Trustees of Pennsylvania College was modified, so as to read a "Professorship of the German Language and Literature." In this shape the matter was then brought before the Synod, and after discussion, the following resolution of the committee "unanimously adopted:"

"*Resolved*, That this Synod accept the proposition of the Trustees of Pennsylvania College." Another resolution, in the form of a request, was also appended, through the earnest solicitations of Dr. Krauth, by the authority of the Directors of the Seminary, which properly belongs to the *second* part of our narrative, and will therefore be reserved for that portion.

The intelligence of this synodical action, gave great pleasure to the Trustees of Pennsylvania College, and at their next meeting, September 18, 1851, they passed the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary express to the 'Synod of Pennsylvania and adjacent States,' the gratification which this Board feels in the resolutions passed at their last meeting at Allentown, establishing a German Professorship in Pennsylvania College, on the terms proposed by this Board, and that they are prepared to coöperate in any proper measure for the consummation of this work."

The same committee of the Synod, who reported favorably as above stated, upon the subject of the endowment of the College Professorship, with the exception of Dr. Demme, were appointed to carry out the resolution, that is, make the necessary arrangements for collecting the money to endow it. They were fortunate, aided by several members of the Faculties of the College and Seminary at Gettysburg, in securing the services of the Rev. B. Keller, as agent, who commenced his labors on the 1st of November, 1851, and brought them to a successful close, after three years' service, having collected, up to that time, exclusive of all expenses, upwards of fifteen thousand dollars, all by his own exertions, with the

* Committee consisted of Rev. Dr. Baker, Rev. Dr. Demme, Rev. C. A. Hay, Rev. C. F. Welden, Rev. Dr. C. F. Schaeffer, H. H. Muhlenberg, M. D., and J. Ehler.

exception of eighteen hundred dollars, which had already been subscribed through the agency of another, in advance of his appointment, as may be seen in his final report, published by the committee, by synodical authority, at the conclusion of his labors. The Synod passed a vote of thanks to this aged but indefatigable and successful agent, upon the completion of his three years' toil, at their meeting in Reading in 1854; and the committee appointed, to use their own language, "*for funding a German Professorship in Pennsylvania College,*" published a full account of his labors, and reported the balance in the Treasurer's hands, at that time, to be $15,463.28. It now amounts to upwards of sixteen thousand dollars, but the sum is *still* in the custody of the Synod, which we regret; for the Professorship cannot be regarded as *endowed* in the Institution, until the equivalent for the right of perpetually nominating the incumbent, which this body is to enjoy, has been paid over to the Trustees of Pennsylvania College, by whom it was secured to them; and the delay in this matter operates to the injury of the Synod and the church.

There yet remains the *election* of a Professor to fill the post thus created. An effort had been made already in 1853, to elect a Professor, but it was postponed, in consequence of the still incomplete state of the collections. But at the meeting in Reading in 1854, all the difficulties had been removed, and the Rev. W. J. Mann was selected with great unanimity for the position, which, to the regret of the church, he felt it his duty to decline.

At the next meeting, at Harrisburg, a second election was held. The Synod, acting in accordance with the suggestion of Dr. Krauth, offered, through the President, humble and united prayer to the Great Head of the church, for the guidance of his Holy Spirit in this important matter, and then proceeded to the election. Two candidates were placed in nomination, the election was conducted by ballot, and on counting the votes, it appeared, that with the exception of a very few, all had been cast for Dr. C. F. Schaeffer, and he was, therefore, declared, *viva voce*, to be the unanimous choice of the Synod. Notwithstanding the extraordinary character of this selection, the Dr. manifested great unwillingness to accept of the nomination, and he was accordingly allowed four weeks' time to decide as to the acceptance of the position thus unanimously tendered to him. In this interval, he consulted with the officers and members of the congregation at Easton, and also

visited Gettysburg to advise with the Faculties of the Institutions there, as to the arrangement of his duties. Difficulties in his way, though not connected with the College, induced him to decline accepting the position, and a special meeting of the Synod was held, in consequence, at Reading, in August of the same year, when arrangements were made to obviate these, and his resignation was not accepted. These satisfied the Dr., and he accordingly removed to Gettysburg in the spring of 1856, and has been, since that time, laboring assiduously and faithfully as "Professor of the German Language and Literature in Pennsylvania College."

Theological Education.

The mode of preparing candidates for the ministry, in the period of our church's history in this State, prior to our Revolutionary war, has already been described.* The same system was kept up, with slight modifications, for some years immediately succeeding that period. The candidates pursued their preparatory studies wherever it was convenient, either at some of the colleges, as the University of Pennsylvania, or Dickinson; in the Schools or Academies in the neighborhood of their residence; or in the families of some of the ministers, and then studied theology under one of the pastors. Drs. Helmuth, Schmidt, Lochman, H. E. Muhlenberg, J. G. Schmucker, and others, prepared many students in this way, and this method has been more or less popular and continued even to the present time. It is true, some of the above ministers aimed at something more than mere private tuition, and established what they called Divinity Schools or Seminaries, as, for instance, Drs. Helmuth and Schmidt, in 1785, and Dr. Lochman, in 1802, but after all, they were more private than public institutions.

The earliest synodical action of a more formal character, upon this subject, during this second period, was a plan proposed and adopted at Easton in 1804. The most important features of it were the following:

"1. Each pastor was to seek out in his congregation young men of *capacity and piety*, and encourage them to study for the ministry.

2. As it was necessary for them to have a preparatory education, teachers were to be nominated in one or more suitable places, to instruct such young men in the following stu-

* Evangelical Review, Vol. X. p. 269 sq.

dies: Grammar, History, Geography, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Composition, Rhetoric and the elements of Astronomy.

3. After the completion of this course of studies, they were to be examined in one of the district conferences, and if the examination was satisfactory, a diploma was to be given them.

4. They were then to be required to select some ordained clergyman, under whom to prepare for the ministerial office."

The Synod also established a separate treasury, to be supplied by free-will offerings from the congregations, for the support of indigent students.

We have been able to find nothing further on this subject, in the documents we have examined, before the meeting of Synod at Germantown, in 1822, when the action of the *General Synod*, in reference to a Theological Seminary, was made a matter of deliberation. The Synod of Pennsylvania at its preceding meeting, had decided, by a vote of sixty-seven to six, in favor of the formation of this body, and its action now came up for consideration. They had decided adversely to the establishment of a Theological Seminary at that time, but proposed certain provisional arrangements for organizing such an institution in the course of a few years, such as the gradual collection of books for a library, the nomination of temporary instructors, the qualifications of candidates, &c. The Synod of Pennsylvania heartily approved of the action of the General Synod on several of the above particulars, the *necessity* for such an institution, the propriety of delaying the establishment of it for a few years, and the qualifications of candidates for the ministry in these words: "*that no young man should be received by any Synod as a student of theology, before he had obtained a diploma or certificate from some educational institute, in which the usual preparatory studies are taught, or has been examined and found qualified in such studies, by a committee of clergymen, appointed for this purpose.*"

The other items were postponed until the succeeding year, when, in consequence of strong remonstrances from many of the congregations, not from any change of sentiment in the members, but under protest, they declined, by a decisive vote of seventy-two to nine, taking at that period any further action on the subject of a Theological Seminary, but thus expressed their feelings. "We desired that the ministry of reconciliation should be honored among us, that it might continue to be efficient among our descendants, and looked for-

ward with hope to the time when a plan would be adopted to furnish young men with all those aids in their preparation for it, which the wise and gracious providence of God offers for our acceptance. We called such an institution a *Theological Seminary*, a nursery of divine knowledge." "And our own brethren misinterpret our conduct! They give ear to false and hostile representations, and suspect that love, which has heretofore sustained no sensible wound."

In consequence of this state of things in many parts of the church, "from a desire to promote the peace, harmony and love of the whole body, as well as of each separate congregation," they determined to wait until the congregations themselves would request the rescinding of the above resolution, which was connected also with a similar one upon the subject of the General Synod, and a union with the Reformed church.

After this retrograde course, the old order of things which prevailed before this time, was inaugurated afresh, viz., preparation for the ministry under individual pastors. The General Synod, it may be mentioned here incidentally, in accordance with their original intention, subsequently established a Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, in 1826.

As one of the necessary results of the above action, no mention is made of a Theological Seminary, as such, until the year 1842, when the subject in this specific form, was brought up in connection with the Theological Seminary at Columbus, Ohio, and in the following way.

At the session in Lancaster, a letter was received from pastor Wagenhals, written in the name of the Directors of the above Institution, in which he recommends it to the favorable notice of the Synod. The letter was read before the body, and the agent, Rev. W. Lehman, was authorized to make some remarks and statements in reference to it, and afterwards Dr. Demme offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

"*Resolved*, That this Synod regards the Theological Seminary of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church of Ohio, as an Institution deserving of our sympathy and support, and herewith recommend it to all the churches in our connection, and wish the Rev. W. Lehman a friendly reception in them."

At the same meeting, a committee was appointed to correspond with the Directors of it, for the purpose of ascertain-

ing more accurately how, and to what extent, the Synod of Pennsylvania could obtain a closer connection with that Institution. This committee reported at the subsequent meeting in Philadelphia, in 1843, that the General Synod of Ohio was willing to give to Pennsylvania Synod the election of *one-third* of the Directors, and in consequence of this information, "they thankfully accepted of the proposal, and pledged themselves to promote, to the extent of their ability, the welfare of the Institution." Four Directors, two clergymen and two laymen, were consequently elected at this, and four others at the subsequent meeting of the Synod in Pottsville, in 1844, and these latter were furnished with special instructions, among which we deem the two following to be worthy of particular attention, as indicating doubts already of the propriety of their action, in reference to this Institution: "*to make a proposal for the removal of the Seminary to a more desirable place; and to endeavor to give more permanence, and a greater extent to its educational arrangements.*"

The connection, however, proved to be a "rope of sand;" for the Rev. S. A. Mealy, in conjunction with his colleague, Rev. J. Haesbert, two of the clerical Directors elected by the Synod of Pennsylvania, attended the meeting of the Ohio Synod at Zanesville, in 1844, and the former presented a written report of their visit to the Synod, at Reading, in 1845, not of the most favorable character. He remarks:— "that he was fraternally and cordially invited to participate in the deliberations of the Ohio Synod, but he discovered with mortification and pain, that he was disqualified from acting as Director of the Seminary, to any extent, by a provision in its Charter, for the removal of which no arrangements had been made." In consequence of these representations, the Synod passed the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the obligations we assumed with regard to Columbus Seminary, are herewith cancelled, in consequence of the non-fulfilment of the agreement, on the part of the Joint Synod of Ohio."

The Synod were now compelled to look for relief nearer home, and as, for reasons which need not here be entered into, they had not full confidence in the Theological Seminary of the General Synod at Gettysburg, they endeavored to originate one within their own territory. Dr. Jacob Miller, President of the Synod, at its meeting in Orwigsburg, in 1846, spoke with great force upon the increasing necessity

for the establishment of some institution for the preparation of young men for the ministerial office. Subsequently also, he presented the following resolution: "that our Synod, for the present, appoint some qualified minister of our number, to educate young men for the ministry." Such a great degree of unanimity was afterwards found to exist among clergymen and laymen, on this important subject, that not only was the above resolution adopted, but further preparatory steps were taken to secure the above end. A committee, consisting of Drs. J. Miller and J. C. Baker, Rev. G. A. Reichart and Messrs. Dr. F. W. Heckel and Geo. Miller, were appointed to ascertain from Dr. Demme, whether he would be willing to become Theological Professor for Pennsylvania Synod, and if he should give his consent, to make the necessary arrangements with him. They were also authorized, in case he declined, to obtain some other suitable person.

The above committee held a meeting, for the accomplishment of the object for which they were appointed, in Philadelphia, September 23, 1846, and Dr. Demme signified to them his willingness to serve the Synod in the desired capacity, provided he could make the necessary arrangements with his church council; and in consequence of this, they had adopted a plan of operations. This plan embraced a number of particulars, the most important of which were, the salary of the Professor, the *necessity of a collegiate or other sufficiently extended preparatory education on the part of applicants*, the duties of pastors in reference to the procuring of suitable candidates, and the securing of contributions for the immediate and future wants of the Institution. All these met with the hearty approval of the Synod, and they determined that the Institution should go into operation the 1*st of October*, 1847.

Dr. Demme, however, at this meeting of the Synod, to the great regret of those in, and many out of the Synod, withdrew the consent he had previously given to the committee, "for reasons satisfactory to himself," and though they were continued to the following year, they reported, through their chairman, Dr. J. Miller, at the meeting in Easton, in 1848, that they had not been successful in securing the services of another suitable person to fill the station. Their action ended here, in this direction; now they begin to look towards Gettysburg.

Dr. S. S. Schmucker was present at this meeting of the Synod, and was allowed to participate in the deliberations on

this subject. He therefore took advantage of the occasion to invite their attention to the Seminary already established at Gettysburg, and "assured the Synod of the willingness of the Directors of that Institution, to adopt every possible means, in order to secure the friendly coöperation of their body." In consequence of these representations, the committee on the Theological Institution was continued, and directed to confer with the Board of Directors of the Seminary at Gettysburg, and ascertain on what terms the Synod of Pennsylvania could coöperate with them. The report of this committee is given in the printed minutes for 1849, during which year the Synod met in Lebanon. Dr. Baker, in behalf of the committee, addressed a number of questions to Dr. Morris, President of the Board of Directors, to which satisfactory answers were returned; and besides, the whole committee had a personal interview with the Dr. above mentioned and Revs. B. Keller and F. W. Conrad, who had been appointed to confer with the Synod of Pennsylvania upon this subject, and to offer to them the right of nominating a Professor, on certain conditions. They therefore felt themselves authorized to offer the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That this Synod accepts of the offer of the Directors of the Seminary at Gettysburg, and will yearly contribute from three to four hundred dollars for the support of a German Professor, provided such a one be appointed as is satisfactory to us, and as long as he continues there."

Another committee, subsequently appointed for this purpose, nominated Dr. Demme to the Directors of the Seminary, which nomination was afterwards ananimously confirmed by them, but the Dr. felt it his duty to decline accepting the position, for which every one "regarded him so eminently qualified."

This same subject was again before the Synod, at its meeting in Pottsville, in 1850, and in reply to an invitation of the Directors of the Seminary, to make a *second* nomination, through a committee appointed for this specific object, they proposed the following: That as they knew of no competent person to fill the position, they proposed to send a member of their body, Dr. Demme, to Germany, accompanied by one of the Directors of the Seminary, to be sent by them, who, with the assistance of experienced and judicious representatives of our church in that country, should select a suitable man for the station. The Directors, however, were unwilling to accede to this proposal, and in consequence of the neglect

of a committee, appointed to acquaint the Synod with their action, in attending to this duty, a coolness was occasioned between the parties concerned in these negotiations. Dr. Krauth, at the meeting in Allentown in 1851, in accordance with the above facts, begged the Synod not to blame the Directors with a want of courtesy, or a disinclination to coöperate with them; for the resolutions passed by them, strongly express the hope and the desire that the friendly feelings now existing between them may continue, and that they may still be able to labor harmoniously with each other.

Though the Synod thus failed in getting a German Professor in the Seminary, they were successful at this very meeting, in originating a measure, which ultimately led to the securing of the privilege of having one of their number to give theological instruction in the Seminary at Gettysburg. This seems, therefore, to be the proper place to allude to the *second* resolution, which, through the earnest representations of Dr. Krauth, was passed in connection with the determination to endow a "Professorship of the German Language and Literature in Pennsylvania College." The resolution is in these words:

"*Resolved*, That we request the Directors of the Seminary to acknowledge the German Professor as a member of the Seminary Faculty, and grant him the right of imparting theological instruction in the German language in that Institution."*

This action took place at Allentown in 1851, and the only other facts which may be of interest in this connection, are those which were the result of synodical agency at Harrisburg in 1855, and at the special session at Reading, of the same year. The Professor was obligated "to devote *half of his time* to imparting theological instruction in the German language in the Seminary," by a resolution offered at the meeting of Synod held at the former place; and the following additional items are extracted, for convenient reference, from the resolves passed in reference to the Seminary, at the special meeting in Reading,† which were subsequently also acceded to by the Directors of that Institution:

"1. *Resolved*, That the German Professor is obligated to devote *half* his time to instruction in the Seminary, and in

* Page 16, English Minutes for 1851.

† English Minutes for 1855, p. 49.

all other respects to conform closely to the regulations laid down in the resolutions passed at Harrisburg.

2. *Resolved*, That the theological students, who need instruction in the German grammar, receive the same in the College, and that the German Professor impart no instruction in the German grammar in the Seminary.

3. *Resolved*, That after consultation with his colleagues, the German Professor adapt his instructions, in the various departments of Theology, scrupulously to the necessities of the students who may attend upon his German instructions in the Seminary.

4. *Resolved*, That said Professor at no time lecture upon the same theological subject, upon which, at that time, one of his colleagues is engaged in delivering lectures.

5. *Resolved*, That said Professor consult upon this point, with his colleagues, at the beginning of the session, immediately after the examination of the students."

What has been done in the Seminary, since the spring of 1856, when Dr. C. F. Schaeffer entered upon the discharge of his duties in that Institution, in accordance with the preceding arrangement, is not connected with our present undertaking; we have reached that point in our narrative, with which it was our intention to conclude.

It will be evident, from a perusal of the preceding narrative, that the Synod of Pennsylvania has been, with striking consistency, from its first organization, through all the varied phases of action in which it has been presented, for a period of more than a hundred years, the steadfast friend of an *educated and pious ministry;* and though, in some instances, it was obliged, by the force of circumstances, to depart in practice from its principles, in which too, it doubtless acted wisely, for there is no rule which does not admit of exceptions, the foregoing history of its proceedings still presents us with a picture, pleasant to look upon, safe to imitate, and worthy of high commendation.

But it also suggests another thought, of equal or greater importance. If we believe, as we do, in the language of the gifted poet, that

> "There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
> Rough-hew them as we will,"

we think, as we expressed ourselves in the outset, that the hand of God has been in the synodical action which we have endeavored to sketch, and has directed it to the present is-

sues. It has defeated all the measures calculated to *separate* brethren of the same faith, by the organization of rival colleges and Theological Seminaries, either within or beyond the limits of this State, and has favored those which tended to *unite* them in the support of the Institutions at Gettysburg; whilst it has not thus conducted to a favorable result, those intended to produce a union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. Thus our whole church in Pennsylvania has but *one* College and *one* Theological Seminary; the two Synods, each for a period acting for itself, like Naomi and Ruth, have again, in the providence of God, been united, and that man in his boldness, is little to be envied, who would propose a violent disruption of these kindred elements, instead of saying: "*What God has joined together, let not man put asunder.*"

It follows, therefore, that we ought to give our united efforts, and offer up our united prayers in behalf of these Institutions, carefully avoiding everything calculated to disturb the peace, or impair the charity which ought ever to exist between those professing to have *one Lord, one faith, one baptism.* If such action and such feelings existed among us in their proper measure, these Institutions of the church would soon occupy a far higher eminence than they do at present, become a still greater blessing and ornament to this generation, a rich legacy to our most distant posterity. May all of our people be disposed to labor together for the accomplishment of this desirable end, in the exercise of the largest charity consistent with truth, for this Christian grace thus exercised, will be a golden chain of sufficient extent, to bind us in sweet harmony together, for she *beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things!*

ARTICLE IV.

REMINISCENCES OF LUTHERAN CLERGYMEN.

XLIV.

John George Butler.

"And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars forever and ever."

Forty-three years have passed away since the death of this faithful and laborious servant of Christ, yet there are some still living, to whom his memory is very precious, and who distinctly remember his active, anxious and self-denying efforts to build up the interests of our Zion, and to extend the boundaries of the Redeemer's kingdom. Although his body, for a long period, has mingled with its kindred dust, his influence for good continues to be felt in the life of many who survive, whilst there is reason to believe that there are redeemed spirits in the realms of bliss, who trace their first heavenly impulses on earth to his earnest prayers and Christian efforts, and who are now his "glory and joy," his "crown of rejoicing," in the celestial world.

Mr. Butler was born in Philadelphia in 1754, many years before we had an existence as a nation. He was left an orphan at the early age of two years, yet he was not entirely friendless. The God of the fatherless did not leave or forsake him. Friends were raised up to watch over his desolate path, who were ready to sympathize with him in his lonely condition, and to bring a cheering and helping hand to his relief. His mother had been a member of the German church, the pastor of which took a deep interest in the boy's welfare, and from time to time imparted to him faithful religious instruction. He endeavored to instil into his youthful mind a sense of the being of God, and of the reverence which is due him, of the love of the Savior and his infinite merits, and of the duty of prayer and the manner, in which it should be performed at the throne of grace. He tried to impress upon his heart Scriptural views of the object of life, and to withdraw his affections from the perishable things of earth to those of heaven, more substantial and enduring. These instructions were not lost. Their power was felt in his life, and while the dews of the morning were yet fresh upon his brow,

he consecrated his heart to the Lord, and cast in his lot with the people of God. His course in manhood was, in no small measure, the result of his training in youth, and his whole subsequent character was the ever ripening fruit of seed planted in his mind when a child.

In his early years, the subject of our sketch was apprenticed to a potter. At this business he continued, until his services were called into requisition, during the Revolutionary war. Deeply interested in the principles involved in the issue, he hesitated not to take the field in their defence. He did not, however, permit his religious character to suffer, whilst he was connected with the army. He was never ashamed or afraid, under any circumstances, to avow his Christian principles. Those who were associated with him, could tell that he had been with Jesus, and was imbued with his Spirit. His exemplary life in the camp was a beautiful and consistent exemplification of the excellence and power of religion. But the scenes which he witnessed from day to day, were not very congenial to his views and feelings. He was often shocked with the profanity which he heard, and the vices which prevailed. He could not connive at these violations of the Divine law, and he never failed to lift up his voice of disapprobation and remonstrance. On one occasion he greatly incurred the displeasure and odium of the Captain of the company of which he was a member, in consequence of a rebuke he administered to him for taking God's name in vain. He may be said here, in the army, to have made a beginning in preaching the Gospel. He seemed all the time interested in the subject of religion, and constantly sought opportunities to arrest the progress of iniquity, and to advance the cause of truth and righteousness.

He left the army after a brief service, and commenced the regular study of Divinity, under the direction of his pastor, Rev. Dr. Helmuth. In due time he was licensed as a minister of the Gospel, by the Synod of Pennsylvania, and soon after took charge of our Lutheran interests in Carlisle and congregations in the vicinity. Carlisle was, at the time, a frontier village, and our church a field only for missionary operations. The Revolutionary war had scarcely been brought to a termination, and its disastrous influence upon the community had not yet passed away. Its effects were to be seen in the prostitution of morals, and the indifference that every where existed in reference to religion. Mr. Butler began his

duties conscious of the pressure of accountability, and in reliance upon the Divine aid. He gave himself up thoroughly to the work, and labored indefatigably for the salvation of souls. Notwithstanding the poverty, trials, struggles and toils, incident to his difficult position, he was happy, and had reason to rejoice, that his efforts to do good were not fruitless. He was also, whilst a resident of Pennsylvania, pastor of the Lutheran Church in Shippensburg, and was, for a time, employed in visiting destitute portions of the church in the western part of the State, dispersed in the territory now known as Huntingdon, Blair, Bedford and Somerset counties. Much of his time was spent in Apostolic journeys, as an itinerant missionary of the Synod with which he was connected, in gathering together our members, establishing congregations, instructing the young in the Catechism, preaching the word and administering the sacraments. He was highly esteemed for his works of faith and labors of love. In some churches of our communion which he organized, his services are still kindly remembered, and his praises spoken by many of the aged, who are yet spared as a connecting link between the past and the present.

We next find this laborious and faithful servant of God in the State of Virginia, there exploring our waste places, and breaking to the destitute the bread of life. He was annually commissioned by the Synod of Pennsylvania to travel through the western part of Virginia and Tennessee, to look after our members, to remain for a season at such places as furnished a prospect of usefulness, to catechise and confirm the young, to distribute copies of the Bible and the Hymn Book, of which he usually carried with him a large supply, and to organize congregations wherever practicable. He had Botetourt County as his head-quarters, but he was constantly engaged in missionary labors. His several appointments were generally made a year in advance, and were most punctually filled. So conscientious was he in this respect, that he was often at the post of duty, when he could easily have pleaded physical infirmity as an adequate cause for the failure of the engagement. It is recollected that, on one occasion, he rode with a pillow placed on his saddle, rather than disappoint those who, he knew, would be assembled for the service. With the same conscientious fidelity he discharged all his obligations. Nothing could ever tempt him to swerve from the path of duty. He followed his convictions in spite of clamor or misrepresentation. His notions of right and wrong were

based upon the laws of religion and of God, and not upon the maxims and policy of the world. He was fearless in reproving iniquity, and would never, in any way, countenance what he knew to be wrong. Intemperance at this period was a prevalent and fashionable vice in Botetourt County, but he did not shrink to declare his uncompromising hostility to the practice, and to expose its sinfulness. His boldness in presenting the truth, sometimes aroused against him opposition and even persecution, but he cared not for the taunts or the sneers, the complaints or the maledictions of men, provided he could have a conscience void of offence.

"Assailed by scandal and the tongue of strife,
His only answer was a blameless life;
And he who forged and he who threw the dart,
Had each a brother's interest in his heart."

He realized that he was "about his Masters's business," and would be required to render an account of his stewardship to Him, in whose service he was engaged.

In 1805 the subject of our narrative removed to Cumberland, Md. This congregation was organized in 1794, and supplied with occasional visitations by members of the Pennsylvania Synod. It had no regular pastor until Mr. Butler assumed the charge. He entered upon his duties with his characteristic zeal and energy. His labors here were owned and blessed. The Great Head of the church was pleased to employ him as an instrument for doing a good work for the church to which his services had been devoted, and many souls were brought to a saving acquaintance with the truth as it is in Jesus. His preaching was of a most heart-searching and pungent character.

"He preached
Conversion and repentance, as to souls
In prison, under dangers imminent!"

A favorite expression with him in the pulpit, when addressing the impenitent, was, "Turn or burn! Repent and believe or be damned!" His manner sometimes appeared stern, and his language rough, but the force of circumstances, the character of the population, and the state of things that prevailed at that time, rendered it necessary for him to speak plainly and pointedly. He ceased not to warn every one, night and day, with tears, and to beseech the wanderer from God to

turn from his evil ways and live. The timid and irresolute were encouraged to persevere in that which was right, the afflicted were comforted, the distressed relieved, and the careless and obdurate arrested in their course. Cases apparently the most hopeless, were reached; individuals far sunk in vice, the reckless and debased, were reclaimed, and many rejoiced that they were rescued from ruin, delivered from the power of darkness, and introduced into the marvellous light of the Gospel. He seemed to feel his responsibilities as an ambassador of Christ, a steward of the mysteries of God. In the pulpit and in his catechetical instructions, he insisted strongly upon a change of heart. The doctrines of human depravity, the necessity of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, and justification by faith, were always kept prominently in view. Not only was union with the church represented as important, but union with Christ, as the Head of the church, by a living, active faith, still more important. He usually made a deep impression upon the hearts of his catechumens, and they seldom separated from him without being greatly moved and bathed in tears. His ministerial labors were connected with scenes of deep and eternal interest, and identified with genuine revivals of religion. He prayed and toiled for the enlargement of Zion, and for the awakening and conversion of immortal souls. Had he lived at a later period, he would have been considered a decidedly *New Measure* man. He sometimes used what is, at the present day, called the *Anxious Bench*, and was in the habit of having members of his church lead in the devotions at the social meeting for prayer. He taught them, at the very commencement of their Christian course, to take up the cross, and perform the duty, however painful, and they were often reminded of their personal responsibility to God for the keeping of their brethren, and the progress of the cause of truth. He did all in his power to promote the zeal and activity of private Christians, and to secure their coöperation in furthering evangelical piety in the church and the community. We subjoin an extract from a letter written by him in 1811, and published in the *Evangelische Magazin*,* which will give an idea, not only of the sacrificing labors, evangelical spirit and ardent piety of this pioneer of Lutheranism, but also of the condition of our church at this period, in what were then regarded as frontier settlements. The editor, Dr. Helmuth, in introducing the

* Vol. I. 18.

communication to the attention of his readers, remarks that it will afford them an opportunity of seeing how, here and there, in this western world, the spirit of religion shows itself of an active character. "It will be," says Mr. Butler, "six years, next October, since I live here. I serve at present eight congregations. Of these, one is forty-seven and another sixty miles from the place of my residence. I receive from all these congregations about one hundred and fifty dollars. I was requested, in August, 1807, to hold divine service some miles from my home. With the consent of my principal congregation, I set out on my journey. I was absent six weeks, traveling and preaching. And, blessed be the Lord! who assisted me, and crowned my labors with his blessing to old and young. I instructed a number of young persons in the catechism; and the nearer the close of the course of instruction approached, so much the nearer did God come near us with his blessing, so that very often our hearts were melted, and one flood of tears followed another. The Lord moved my heart and tongue, and gave me grace so to speak as never before. On Friday previous to communion, whilst I preached in the forenoon with great freedom, from the words, 'Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled,' God approached us in a special manner, and several of my hearers were powerfully affected; and towards the close of this afternoon's instruction, the King of glory came to us and wrought a powerful awakening. In short, the following three days were blessed days, during which, in the hearts of the aged and young, the Lord kindled a fire that burns still to the praise of his name. In October, 1809, I was called to a place sixty miles from this place, to instruct children. On Tuesday, previous to the celebration of the Lord's Supper, God came specially near to us. I thought I could perceive that some of the children would like to speak to me alone, did not fear prevent them. Hence, I exhorted them, that if they desired to disclose to me anything resting upon their hearts and conscience, they should not fear at all or be ashamed to do so, but should be free and open-hearted towards me. This evening I went home with six of the catechumens. After supper, one of them came to me and said, 'Sir, I wish to speak with you alone.' I went, and found the young person awakened and deeply wounded in heart. So soon as the rest saw this, a divine arrow seemed to penetrate the hearts of them all. I found one of them to be in the deepest anguish on account of

his sins. I pointed him directly to Jesus, the friend of sinners. He desired me to pray for him. I called together all the other catechumens, and prayed; but in a very few moments, I could not hear my own voice, by reason of their weeping and crying for grace and mercy. I arose and permitted them and our blessed God to treat with each other alone. They prayed in one strain for a whole hour, and one of the children prayed two hours, when all its strength was exhausted. And such child-like, spiritual and persevering prayers as these were, I have never heard from the lips of either minister or hearer. In short, God did here begin a work, such as I cannot and shall not attempt to describe, lest it may be regarded as something incredible. On my way home, I held a prayer-meeting in another congregation. Here eleven persons prayed, one after another, very fervently and perseveringly. The Lord came near us, and kindled a fire among us. An aged woman fell upon her knees, weeping and crying out, 'O dear pastor! pray for me—I am a poor, lost sinner.' Another woman, whom I confirmed some time ago, and who is believed, if I have a God-fearing soul in all my congregations, to be that soul,—this woman was again powerfully awakened and incited to ever increasing earnestness in religion. Here too the fire still burns. On the last Sabbath in October, 1808, I held a general meeting of all the catechumens from all my congregations. At this meeting the Lord kindled a holy fire, which he had also carried to other neighborhoods, and which continues to burn. Again, on the last Sabbath in August, 1810, I held in town a general meeting of the catechumens. This meeting continued three days. We saw here wonderful displays of the grace of God. The convicted, weeping, mourning and praying were seen everywhere. Some cried out, 'O God! what shall we do to be saved?' Others asked, weeping, 'Is there yet salvation for us?' All this, taken together, greatly offended the old serpent and his adherents, so that there was no lack of scolding, mocking, slandering, blaspheming and lying. Hence I have had to wade continually, and already for a whole year, through deep waters."

Mr. Butler continued to labor at Cumberland till death terminated his earthly pilgrimage. As he advanced in life he grew in spirituality and ripened for heaven. Every thought and impulse of his soul seemed schooled in subordination to the will of his Heavenly Father. For years before his death his mind was completely taken up with religious subjects, and

ordinary themes of social intercourse were very much excluded. If a secular or worldly topic were introduced, it appeared to have no relish for him. He soon endeavored to change the conversation and turn it into some serious channel. *Aliud nihil, nisi cœlum.* His views and feelings in prospect of death, were what might be expected to mark the departure of such a man. Peacefully and joyfully he bade adieu to friends on earth, in the joyful expectation of spending an eternity in heaven. He died December 12th, 1816, in the sixty-third year of his age. "He rests from his labors and his works do follow him."

In personal appearance, Mr. Butler was about the middle height, broad built, compactly formed, producing the impression of health and strength. He was married in early life to Catharine Miller, of Philadelphia, and was the father of six children, four sons and two daughters, all of whom became hopefully pious, verifying the promised blessing upon the house of the righteous. "The generation of the upright shall be blessed." He was most faithful in his family instructions, and rigid in enforcing discipline. Gideon entered the ministry the latter part of his life, and was, like his father, an earnest and faithful herald of salvation. The sons were generally active in the church. The youngest, a devoted and worthy elder, and Superintendent of the Sabbath School, at Cumberland, was the father of Rev. J. G. Butler, pastor of the Lutheran Church, Washington, D. C.

The testimony respecting the subject of our narrative, received from different sources, is, that he was a man of deep-toned, fervid piety, a man of prayer, of communion with God, and love to Christ and the church, the friend of vital religion, zealous and active in the work to which he had consecrated his powers, earnest and persevering in his exertions to do good, and laborious and faithful until death. His aim ever seemed to be, to do what is right. So manifest was this, that no one would have ventured to approach him with an improper or questionable proposition. The burden of his heart and the purpose of his life, was to honor Christ in the salvation of the soul. He faithfully and successfully fulfilled the duties of the ministry. His life furnishes a beautiful illustration of the power of prayer and the influence of personal effort.

Mr. Butler was a member of the Pennsylvania Synod, and seldom failed to be present at its annual meetings. He was one of the first of our ministers who introduced English into

the exercises of public worship, and preached regularly in that language. He was censured by many for his course, and in consequence of it, was often the victim of persecution. Satisfied, however, as to the propriety of the measure, he could not be persuaded to abandon it. He felt that the strong prejudice against the introduction of English into the services of the sanctuary, existing in the minds of many, must yield, and a different and more liberal policy adopted, or our church could never prosper or be extended in this country. He preached in the English language quite fluently. "I remember," says Dr. Kurtz, "that the first time I heard him, I supposed he must have lived in Ireland, or learned to speak from associating with Irish, so little were his pronunciation and accent like those of a German or an American." He was a plain, practical, pungent preacher, and appeared well versed in the Scriptures, from which he frequently quoted and drew illustrations. He presented the truth with unaffected simplicity and great clearness, but with boldness, earnestness and power. Fearless and unshrinking in the discharge of every duty, prompt in meeting his engagements, diligent in the improvement of opportunities, he did not live in vain. Much good resulted from influences which he put into operation. Many a poor wanderer was conducted to the realms of glory through his instrumentality, and fitted for eternal activity and enjoyment.

Mr. Butler kept a regular journal of his labors and trials, which contained a considerable amount of information relative to himself and our church, during the period of his ministry. It was, however, unfortunately destroyed during the great conflagration of 1833, which laid nearly the whole town of Cumberland in ashes. The only production we have from his pen, is a discourse on the "Duty of True-Heart Prayer," published in 1784, whilst pastor in Carlisle, and designed for circulation among his own people.* If his sermons generally, were of the same character, we are not surprised that he was so efficient and successful a laborer in the vineyard of the Lord.

* The Duty of True-Heart Prayer briefly considered and earnestly enforced: By Rev. John George Butler. Translated by Rev. David H. Focht, A. M.—1854.

XLV.

George Daniel Flohr.

"I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing."

The subject of our present sketch was born in the year 1759. He died in 1826, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Although he had nearly reached his fortieth year when he entered upon the sacred office, yet during the period he was permitted to labor, he accomplished much more than many whose ministerial career extends over a larger space. He is represented as having been a good man, a "living epistle known and read of all men," and a judicious, devoted and useful minister of the Gospel, "whose praise is" still "throughout all the churches." Hundreds yet live, who remember him, and always speak of him with the most tender regard, who mourn for him as they knew him in life, and testify to the earnestness and fidelity with which he discharged his duties.

Mr. Flohr was by birth a German, but of his parentage and early history, we have no information. We find him, in 1793, in Paris, engaged in the study of Medicine, under the instruction of his uncle, who was a Physician. He was a resident of France during that memorable period, which convulsed the whole nation; he witnessed the intense excitement which filled all Paris with consternation, and caused the eye to quail, the voice to falter, and the heart to shudder in the presence of the armed soldiery, and the yells of the populace. On the fatal morning of the execution of Louis XVI, he was one of the vast throng, and with the multitude, gazed upon the terrific and woe-stricken scenes. On this occasion, the accidental but tragical death of an individual in the crowd, standing near him, part of whose mangled body was thrown upon his person, most deeply affected him, and so operated upon his mind, as to lead him to change all his purposes and plans for the future. He at once abandons his medical studies, and resolves to turn his attention to other pursuits. This, perhaps, formed the turning-point in his life, and awa-

kened a train of serious thought which resulted in his subsequent consecration to the Christian ministry.

Soon after this he immigrated to this country, and we next meet with him in Madison County, Virginia, prosecuting the study of Theology, under the direction of Rev. William Carpenter. Subsequently he taught school in Culpepper County until his preparations for the ministry were completed. He was then licensed to preach the Gospel by the Synod of Pennsylvania, and engaged for a season in missionary services in South-Western Virginia. This field of labor was not only rich to him in experience, but it was among the scenes of his most useful efforts. In the year 1799, having been invited to settle as Pastor of several congregations in Wythe County, he accepted the call, and immediately entered upon his duties. Here he continued zealously and faithfully to labor for years. The charge was extensive, the position laborious. It embraced five organized congregations, to whom he statedly preached, not only on the Lord's day, but frequently during the week. His churches lay in three different counties, and the most of them were separated some distance from his residence—one nine, another twenty-two, a third thirty, and a fourth forty-seven miles. Some of these churches he was obliged to relinquish the latter part of his life, in consequence of declining health, but the congregation near his home he retained until the last. He was never satisfied unless employed, and his voice was heard in the sanctuary, proclaiming the precious truths of God's word within a few weeks of his death. He died after a brief illness. He met the final summons not only with calm submission, but with holy triumph, bearing the clearest and most joyful testimony to the all-sustaining grace of his blessed Redeemer.

> Is that a death-bed where the Christian lies?
> Yes, but not his: 'Tis death itself there dies!

The old warrior put off his armor, for the battle was fought, the victory won. It is said that no death ever occurred in that whole region of country, which produced so profound a sensation and so universal grief. An immense concourse of people came together, even from remote points, to look for the last time upon the countenance of the loved and departed one, who had so long and so faithfully ministered to them in holy things, and animated them in their Christian pilgrimage, by the hopes and consolations of the Gospel. Although the

cemetery attached to St. John's Church, in which his remains were deposited, was more than a mile from his residence, his friends, influenced by a feeling of high regard, insisted upon carrying the bier on their shoulders, the whole distance to the grave. Two sermons were preached on the occasion, the one by Rev. Mr. Houck, of the German Reformed Church, in the German language, the other by Rev. Mr. Chut, of the Presbyterian Church, in the English language. A simple but beautiful monument, carved out of the mountain-marble, has since been erected to his memory, by Mr. Crone, of Wythe County, a member of the German Reformed Church, at his own expense, as a memorial of private friendship, and a tribute to great excellencies, piety and usefulness, appreciated by the whole commuity.

The widow of Mr. Flohr, who was highly esteemed, was buried only a few months ago. They laid her beside her revered and still lamented husband, and in connexion with the funeral services, the Pastor* uttered the following sentiment, which found a response in every heart present: "We now consign to the grave the venerable partner of that great and good man, to whose faithful ministry and holy life, this Christian Church and community are more indebted than, perhaps, to any other man, living or dead!"

Mr. Flohr exercised extraordinary influence, not only upon the members of his church, but upon all classes of society.

"A man he was to all the country dear!"

He had the unlimited confidence of the community in which he dwelt, and with every one his word seemed to be the highest authority. When difficulties arose in the church or out of it, all were willing to refer the subject to the venerable Pastor for adjustment, and to abide by his decision, and from it scarcely any one ever thought of an appeal. In matters of local interest, where difference of opinion necessarily existed, he was often chosen to act as umpire, because all were satisfied that his judgment would be in accordance with the principles of equity. He was, on all these occasions, recognized as lawyer, judge and jury. Even now—more than thirty years since he passed away—his influence is felt, his sentiments quoted, and his views tenaciously regarded. "When I sometimes," writes one of his successors in the pastoral office, "step aside from the old landmarks of Lutheranism, I

* Rev. J. A. Brown, Pastor of the Lutheran Church, Wytheville, Va.

am immediately met with the remark, 'Father Flohr did not do so!'"

His house was the regular place of resort for those who were distressed, either in body or mind. His counsels were most highly valued, and his suggestions generally adopted. He was able to give advice, he knew how to sympathize with the afflicted, and to comfort the sorrowing. There is a good old member of the Methodist Church, yet living in Wythe County, who says that when he was young, and first became interested in the subject of religion, he at one time was in deep distress, and almost desponded in reference to the result. He went, however, to Mr. Flohr for counsel and direction, presented his case, and then asked him whether he thought there was any hope possible for him. Mr. Flohr walked up to him, laid his hand upon his shoulder and said, "I would to God that *all* could be brought to feel just as you now do!" "In that interview," says the old man, "I received the very instruction I needed, and soon my heart was comforted, and I was made happy."

If it be asked, how it was, that this man exerted so unbounded an influence, we reply that its basis was the confidence which every one had in his personal worth and Christian character. His integrity was above suspicion. "He walked in the furnace and the smell of fire was not upon his garments." His walk and conversation corresponded with his principles. They were a beautiful commentary upon the truths of religion. "I was brought up," writes one,* "in the neighborhood in which he labored and died, and now occupy part of the field which he cultivated, and I have never yet heard a single charge of impropriety or indiscretion preferred against him. All, even those who differed from him in some of his views, say that he was an upright man, and incapable of an intentional wrong." If you were to decide whether he would pursue any particular course of conduct, or aim at any particular object, it were only necessary to inquire whether he would regard that object as right, or that aim Scriptural, and you could rest assured that no mean or selfish consideration, or sinister purpose, would interfere to bias his judgment or lead him astray. There were no false appearances about him. He had none of that disguise or policy in his composition, sometimes found in men occupying high positions.

*Rev. J. A. Brown, of Wytheville, Va.

What he thought he felt and spoke. There was in his character a transparent simplicity, a cordial sincerity—

> ———"a clear and ready smile
> Unshadowed by a thought of guile"—

which struck all who were brought in contact with him. He was a man of an elevated, ardent piety, and fervent devotion to the cause of his Master—fixed and unwavering in his principles of faith and of duty—earnest in his prayers and efforts to do good, to diffuse human happiness and advance the interests of Christ's kingdom.

Mr. Flohr possessed many estimable qualities. He was amiable in his disposition and affable in his manners. He had the benevolence that delights in the good of others, and is willing to make sacrifices to promote it. His intercourse was characterized by great courtesy and kindness, always united with dignity and deep seriousness. He never indulged in levity or trifling conversation. His company was courted, but he was not disposed to mingle much in society, except when duty required it, and he could render it subservient to some useful purpose. He was a most laborious man, and seemed constantly engaged. This was necessary, as the calls upon his attention were numerous, and his duties onerous. His diocese was large, and at one time embraced nearly the whole territory now occupied by the Synod of Western Virginia. He was regular and systematic in all his habits, carefully accurate in everything he did, and observed punctuality in his engagements with great precision. Inclement weather or bad roads did not prevent him from filling his appointments. Even when advanced in years, he would sometimes ride twenty or thirty miles, through wind and rain, sleet and mud, to meet the beloved people committed to his pastoral care :

> "To them his heart, his love, his griefs were given."

He neither desired, nor would he have accepted of a dispensation from the most intense labor, or the heaviest sacrifice, if required for promoting the object to which he had devoted himself. He also possessed gifts considered essential to eminent usefulness in a minister of the Gospel. He was deeply interested in his work, and took special care of the lambs of his flock. To gather them together in the Church, for the purpose of giving them religious instruction, was one of his

chief pleasures. He strictly and faithfully observed the good old usage of catechization, which from the beginning has existed in our church, assured from the experience of his own labors, that this instrumentality "had been owned and blessed of God to the salvation of thousands." In his lectures to catechumens, he is said to have been peculiarly happy. The Catechism was not passed over mechanically, as is too often the practice, but he tried to have every part of it not only carefully committed to memory, but thoroughly understood and impressed upon the heart.

In his views of Divine truth he was sound. No one ever questioned his orthodoxy. There was also a truly catholic spirit, happily blended with his evangelical faith. His large heart embraced all in the common faith and love of Christ, by whatever name called, who walked in the footsteps of their Master, and were imbued with his spirit.

His efforts in the pulpit are represented as having been evangelical and earnest, characterized by great simplicity and directness, and delivered with much tenderness and force. He fearlessly proclaimed the whole counsel of God, and faithfully admonished his hearers in reference to the dangers to which they were exposed. He also knew how to comfort those who were mourning the absence of God's face, or were distressed in mind from other causes. The glory of God in the salvation of the soul, was the leading object, the impelling motive, which seemed to urge him on in all that he did.

As a scholar, Mr. Flohr was, by no means, deficient. His mind was well balanced, and all parts of it possessed nearly the same strength. He was fond of study, and diligently devoted his time to the acquisition of knowledge, so far as his professional engagements allowed. His acquaintance with the German and French was thorough and extensive, and his attainments in Latin and Greek quite respectable. The *Lutheran Intelligencer*, in an obituary published at the time of his death, speaks of him as a man of "great literary acquirements."

The subject of our narrative was of medium stature, rather tall, with a commanding figure, presenting a very reverential appearance, and commanding respect wherever he was seen. He was neat and tidy in his dress, and, in accordance with the custom of the times, wore long stockings with bright buckles at the knees and on his shoes. He occupied a pleasant country residence, to which, in the minds of those who knew its former tenant, a sacredness still attaches, in conse-

quence of the associations and reminiscences of the past. The countenance that once shed its cheering light, however, no longer diffuses its wonted charm through the house; the hand that was ever kindly extended to those who crossed its threshold, is motionless; the voice which gave so cordial a greeting to all, is silent, and the heart that beat with so warm a sympathy, is hushed in death; but influences there exerted, hopes inspired, and impulses awakened, still live! The house may moulder into ruin, and every thing around suffer decay, but these cannot yield to the corroding influence of time; the principles which he disseminated will not be destroyed—

> "These shall resist the empire of decay
> When time is o'er and worlds have passed away;
> Cold in the dust the perished heart may lie,
> But that which warmed it once, can never die!"

ARTICLE V.

SCHMID'S DOGMATIK OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

Actual Transgression.

Sec. 27. Original sin is the foundation and fountain of all actual transgressions: By these we are to understand, not only sins which manifest themselves in outward acts, but also those which depend only on the internal acts of man. Hutterus. "Actual transgression is every act, whether external or internal, which conflicts with the law of God. (1) They are numerous and diversified, and are divided, according to Quenstedt, in the following manner:

I. "In respect of an internal defective cause in the agents, into *voluntary and involuntary. A voluntary sin* is an act by which man transgresses the divine law, by a deliberate volition, contrary to the dictates of conscience. *Involuntary sin* is an act not conformed to the law, and not having proceeded from certain knowledge, nor from a deliberate volition." Involuntary sin is again divided into sins of *ignorance and of infirmity.* (2)

II. "In respect of a sinner supposed to transgress, 1) *into our own sins and the sins of others.* Our own sins are those

which we ourselves contract, either by doing what has been prohibited, or by omitting to do what was commanded. They are called the sins of others, in heart they are indeed perpetrated by others, but we communicate with them, or are participants in them. (3): 2) into *venial* and *mortal. Venial sins* are those which, as soon as they are committed, and at the very moment when they are perpetrated, have pardon connected with them by an indissoluble bond. *Mortal sins* are those which produce spiritual death at the very moment when they are committed. (4)

III. *In respect of the material* (*in qua*) *in which* they are committed, they are divided into *internal* and *external. Internal* are those of the heart: *external* are those of word and deed. (5)

IV. *In respect of the material about which* (*circa quam*) they are committed; into sins against the first table immediately and directly, and against the second table (i. e.) against God, against a neighbor, and against the proper person itself of the transgressor.

V. *In respect of the sinful act itself:* into sins of commission and of omission. *Sins of commission* are those which consist in positive acts which come into conflict with a negative precept. *Sins of omission* consist in the refusal or omission of acts which are presented by a positive precept.—Beahr. (6)

VI. *In respect of the effect:* into sins which *cry out for punishment*, and those *which do not. Of the former kind* are vicious acts which provoke God to revenge, although the men were silent or only conniving at them. *The latter* are those which God endures through his long-suffering, and either postpones the punishment, or if they are no longer committed by the regenerate, he forgives. (7)

VII. *In respect of their adjuncts*, sins are divided into, 1) *more or less grievous*, (on account of the greater or less fault or deformity connected with them) (8): 2) into *secret and manifest;* 3) *into dead and living.* (9) *Dead sins* are those which indeed remain in us, but are not known as sins, or certainly not as great as they really are. *Living sins* are those which are known to be such, and rage even after the knowledge of the law.—Rom. 7: 8, 9; 4) *into remaining and remitted sins. A remaining sin* is that which yet oppresses the sinner by its guilt and weight. *A remitted sin* is that whose guilt has been removed from the sinner, by the grace of God, for the sake of the merits of Christ; 5) *into*

sins connected with hardness of heart and blindness of mind, and those unconnected with them (10); 6) *into pardonable and unpardonable sins.* Of the latter class there is only the sin against the Holy Ghost. (11) This sin consists in a malicious denial, a hostile attack, and a horrid blasphemy of divine truth, evidently known and approved by conscience, and an obstinate and finally persevering rejection of all the means of salvation. Hollaz. Matt. 12 : 31, 32; Mark 3 : 28, 29; Luke 12 : 10; Heb. 6 : 4, 6; 10 : 26–29.

NOTES ON THIS SECTION.

(1.) *Calovius.*—"Actual sin is a departure from the law, by which human thoughts and actions proceeding from the flesh, transgress the divine law given by Moses, and thus it exposes the transgressor to temporal and eternal punishment."

Hollaz.—"Actual sin is a turning away from the rule of the divine law, of a human act either committed or omitted, which incurs guilt and exposure to punishment."

Quenstedt.—"The word act and actual, in this place, is used not strictly for external acts only, and sins of commission, but with such latitude that it embraces also internal vicious emotions, both primary and secondary, and also sins of omission.

In the sacred Scriptures, actual sins are called *works of the flesh*, Gal. 5 : 19; *unfruitful works of darkness*, Eph. 5 : 11; *deeds of the old man*, Col. 3 : 9; *dead works*, Heb. 6 : 1; 9 : 14; *unlawful deeds*, 2 Pet. 2 : 8."

(2.) Here these additional remarks are to be added: *a*) Quenstedt. "Sin is here called voluntary, not because it is with the will or in the will, for thus also involuntary violations of duty would be voluntary, but it is thus understood as opposed to that which is done through ignorance and inconsiderately." *b*) Hollaz. "Voluntary sin is viewed both *in respect of conscience, and in respect of the purpose of the will. Sin against conscience* is fourfold. For it is committed either against a *correct conscience*, when a man, either by action or omission, does not follow, but despises the dictate of conscience when it agrees with the divine law; or against *an erroneous conscience*, when a man, either by action or omission, turns away from the dictate of conscience imbued in error; or against a *probable conscience*, when any one is delinquent contrary to the dictate of the intellect, which

urges, for probable reasons, that something should be done or omitted now and at this place; or against a *doubtful conscience*, when any one does or omits that, concerning which it is doubtful whether it should be done or omitted. *Voluntary sin*, in respect of the purpose of the will, is viewed in a twofold aspect. *The one* is that which is committed from mere malice and a will plainly free: *The other* is that which is committed under the power of a will influenced by force or fear, and by surrounding dangers.—Matt. 26: 70, 72, 74; Mark 14: 68, 70, 71; Luke 22: 57, 58, 60; John 18: 25, 27." *c*) *Involuntary sins* are, 1. *Sins of ignorance*, which overtake the regenerate unwilling, in consequence of the darkness of the mind, which has not been yet entirely removed by the illumination of the *Holy Spirit*. 2. *Sins of infirmity*, which overtake the regenerate without any certain purpose of sinning, such are sinful emotions of the mind, which have suddenly arisen in the regenerate unwilling, and whatever unlawful words or deeds are the result of inadvertence or precipitancy, and contrary to the purpose of the will. Gen. 9: 21; 16: 5; 18: 12; Numbers 20: 11, 12; Acts 15: 39; Rom. 7: 15; Gal. 2: 12, 13, 14; 6: 1."

(3.) *Hollaz.*—"*Our own sin* is a vicious act, produced by a real influence of our own; *the sin of another* imputed to us, is an unlawful act, to the production of which we concur indeed by no real influence, yet by an efficacious intention, so that it can justly be imputed to us. (He concurs, by efficacious intention, in the sin of another, who commands, consults, connives, and who does not oppose, or give information, and thus is the moral cause of the sin of another) Eph. 5: 7 and 11; 1 Tim. 5: 22; 2 John 11; Apocalypse 18: 4."

(4.) *Hollaz.*—*a*) "*Venial sin* is every involuntary sin in the regenerate, which neither removes the indwelling grace of the Holy Spirit, nor extinguishes faith, but in the moment in which it is committed, has pardon connected with it by an indissoluble bond. The distinction of sin into mortal and venial, does not arise from the demerit of sin, for every sin, of itself, and by its own nature, in a court of law is damnable: But 1) from the different conditions of the subject, or the person sinning. For a venial sin is committed by the regenerate, a mortal sin by those who either never were regenerted or, having been overcome by the predominating power of the flesh, fell from a state of grace. 2) From the estimate which God has made in the Gospel; because God, a reconciled and gracious father, does not impute to the regenerate sins of in-

firmity and ignorance, as a crime to be punished. 3) From the event. *A mortal sin* precipitates the sinner into a state of wrath, death and condemnation, so that, if he should die in this state, and without repentance, he would be certainly condemned; but a *venial sin*, because it has individual pardon as a companion, can consist with the grace of God and saving faith. The *causes* of forgiveness or non-imputation are, the compassion of God, the satisfaction and intercession of Christ (1 John 2: 1, 2; Rom. 8: 1), the efficacious operation of the Holy Spirit, and the daily penittnce of the regenerate." *b*) *A mortal sin* is that by which the regenerate, having been overcome by the flesh, and thus, not remaining in a regenerate state, transgress the divine law by a deliberate purpose of the will, contrary to the dictates of conscience, and thereby lose saving faith, reject the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit, and cast themselves into a state of wrath, death and condemnation."

(5.) *Hollaz.*—"Sins of the heart are depraved thoughts and desires which are cherished within the human breast: *sins of the lips* are wicked words and gestures expressed by the lips: *sins of deed* are actions which are performed contrary to the divine law, by an external effort of the members. Matt. 5: 21, 22."

(6.) *Hollaz.*—"*Sins of commission* are positive acts, by which the negative precepts of God are violated. *Sins of omission* are the neglect of acts prescribed by the affirmative precepts of God.—James 4: 16, 17. *Note.* Although there is oftentimes, in a sin of omission, a certain improper *positive act*, or internal act of the will; as, for example, to will to omit what had been commanded; or an external act, as an operation by which any one is hindered from that which he ought to do. Yet such a positive act is not always nor necessarily sought after, but it is sin for one not to do what has been commanded."

(7.) *Hollaz.*—"*Outcrying sins* are the following, the Scriptures being witness: 1) The fratricide committed by Cain. Gen. 4: 10. 2) The sins of the Sodomites.—Gen. 18: 20. 3) The oppression of the Israelites in Egypt.—Exod. 3: 9; of widows and orphans.—Exod. 22: 22. 4) The denial of wages due to hirelings.—James 5: 4."

(8.) *Hollaz.*—"*One sin is more grievous than another*:—1) In respect of the efficient cause or person sinning. A Christian sins more grievously than a heathen, though he commit the same crime. 2) In respect of the impelling cause.

He who commits adultery with his neighbor's wife, for the sake of gratifying his lust, sins more grievously than he who steals when compelled by hunger. 3) In respect of the object. He is more guilty who slays his father than he who slays an enemy. 4) In respect of the law. He sins more grievously who violates the first table of the law, than he who violates the second. 5) In respect of the effect. That sin is regarded as the more grievous, which is attended with the greater injury."

(9.) *Hollaz.*—"*A secret sin* is that which is either unknown to the person himself who sins, or which is known only to him who sins, and a few others who wish it suppressed. *An open sin* is that which is known by many, and, if it be connected with offence to others, is called a *scandal. A scandal* is an open sin which furnishes an occasion of sinning to those who know it. It is usually divided into *given or active scandal, and received or passive.* The former is an open sin which is the occasion of sinning to others; the latter is a word or deed of another, not in itself evil, by which others are offended, or take occasion to sin."

(10.) *Hollaz.*—"Sin, connected with hardness of heart, is the most atrocious of all, by which the mind of man, having been polluted, remains averse to the word of God and blind, the will, confirmed in wickedness, resists the Holy Spirit, the appetite indulges in beastly pleasures, and sins to such a degree that, being with difficulty or not at all corrigible, it brings upon itself temporal and eternal punishments. The cause of this hardness is not God; but partly the devil, who multiplies evils, blinds the mind, and fills the heart with wickedness—2 Cor. 4 : 4; Acts 5 : 3; Eph. 2 : 2; partly man, who rejects the ordinary means of salvation, and is continually selling himself to the desire and practice of sin.—Matt. 13 : 15." In reference to Exodus 7 : 3, Hollaz remarks :—"God does not harden men *causally* or *effectively*, by sending hardness into their hearts, but *judicially, permissively and by forsaking them.* For the act of hardening is a judicial act, by which, on account of antecedent, voluntary and inevitable wickedness, God justly permits a man habitually wicked, to rush into greater crimes, and withdraws his grace from him, and finally delivers him up to the power of Satan, by whom he is afterwards driven on into greater sins, until he finally cuts him off from the right of the heavenly inheritance."

(11.) *Quenstedt.*—"The word Spirit here, is not received in the sense of essence, as a common name for the three per-

sons of the Deity, but it is used personally, for the third person of the Deity; yet respect being had, not so much to the person itself of the Holy Spirit, as if this sin were committed immediately against it, as to his office and blessings, for example, as far as he strives to illuminate men through the doctrines of the Gospel. . . Therefore, the Holy Spirit must here be viewed in relation to his office, and the sin is said to be against the Holy Spirit, partly in respect of his ministry, and partly in respect of his testimony.–Rom. 8: 16."

Gerhard.—"The sin against the Holy Ghost, therefore, is an intentional denial of evangelical truth, which was acknowledged and approved by conscience, connected with a bold attack upon it, and voluntary blasphemy of it. For we must observe, that this kind of sin was proved against the Pharisees by Christ; for although they were constrained, by the force of the truth uttered by him, and were convicted in their consciences by its illumination, yet they raged against him by their wicked impiety, to such a degree that they blushed not to ascribe his doctrines and miracles to Satan. The epistle to the Hebrews thus describes those who sin against the Holy Ghost, that they, having been previously illuminated, have also tasted the heavenly gift, and have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, also tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, yet afterwards fall away, and thus crucify to themselves afresh the Son of God, and put him to an open shame. Also that, by voluntary apostacy, they trample under foot the Son of God, and esteem his blood, by which they were sanctified, an unholy thing, and bring contempt upon the spirit of all grace."

Quenstedt.—"The form of the sin against the Holy Ghost consists, 1) In a denial of evangelical truth, which was evidently and sufficiently acknowledged and approved, and which denial was effected by a full, free and unimpeded exercise of the will.—Heb. 6: 4; 10: 26, 29. 2) In a hostile attack upon the same.—Matt. 12: 31, 32. 3) In voluntary and atrocious blasphemy.—Heb. 10: 26, 29." To this we must yet remark, that these essential requisites of this sin must always be taken conjointly, and never separately, and that then *that* must be called the sin against the Holy Ghost, concerning which all these can be conjointly verified. The following additional description flows from the nature of the subject: Not infants, but adults, commit this sin, who are not destitute of the revealed word of God, but having been illuminated and convicted by conscience of the certainty of di-

vine truth, yet have fallen from the desire and love of it into bitter hatred against it: to which Baehr adds, "either that doctrine was once approved by the assent of divine faith, and a public profession, or only was so clearly perceived that the mind having been convicted, had nothing which it could oppose to it. In the former mode, those apostates sin against the Holy Ghost, who deny the truth once acknowledged and believed, and utter reproaches against it, as Paul describes Heb. 6: 4. The Pharisees and Scribes belong to the latter class, who never, by their confession, approved of the doctrines of Christ. In the meantime, they were so convinced of their truth, from the Scriptures and the miracles of Christ, that they could oppose nothing but reproaches. As adjuncts of this sin, Quenstedt adds: 1) Final impenitence, Heb. 6: 4, 6; 2) Absolute irremissibleness, Matt. 12: 31; Mark 3: 28; Luke 12: 10; 3) Exclusion from prayer, 1 John 5: 16."

Hollaz.—"It is irremissible, not through any want of divine grace, or inadequacy of the atonement of Christ, or any want of the efficacious influence of the Holy Ghost, but on account of a wicked rejection of all the means of grace, and by reason of final impenitence. On the other hand, the sin against the Son of man is remissible.—Matt. 12: 32; Luke 12: 10. Quenstedt. "The sin against the Son of man is either a denial of the truth of the Gospel already acknowledged, concerning the Son of God, who became man, resulting from infirmity of the flesh, and fear of danger, but not united with a hostile attack and blasphemy, or an attack or blasphemy through ignorance of the truth not acknowledged.

ARTICLE VI.

History of the Christian Church. By Philip Schaff, D. D., &c. New York: Charles Scribner. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.—1859.

It is a gratifying circumstance that in the present state of the Christian Church, when so many conflicting sentiments prevail on religious subjects, the study of Church History is prosecuted with increased vigor. Among the human means which may be regarded as correctives of various abuses in doctrine and practice that are tolerated in numerous American

congregations, a wisely conducted study of Church History is unquestionably one of the most efficacious. The lights and shadows of Christian life are distinctly marked in the history of the Church in general, as well as in that of her individual members; while the former are full of encouragement to the believer, these shadows present most solemn warnings, which are well adapted, when they are conscientiously received, to expose and defeat the efforts of the great Adversary of man to injure the cause of holiness and truth. The English community has already been favored with translations of the works of several of the best of recent German Church historians (Gieseler, Neander, Hase, &c.). Still these are mere translations, and while there is something flattering to our pride in Dr. Schaff's remark, p. 25, that "America is, as yet, more engaged in making history, than in writing it," it does not console us for the long absence of original works. But we now have the pleasure of greeting a visitor who approaches us as one of our own citizens, addresses us in an original work in our own language, and, at the same time, exhibits such learning, ability, impartiality and general fitness for the difficult task of a Church historian, that we are induced by a sense of justice, to assign to him a rank equal to that of the first writers of the age. We think that the modest hope which the author of the work, the title of which is given above, expresses in his preface, is fulfilled—the work *does* meet a want in our theological literature, and *does* commend itself to the respectful attention of the American student.

The author first presents in the Table of Contents a sketch of the arrangement of his materials, which is characterized by great taste and skill; it is so natural and lucid, that the student at once surveys the whole field before him, and can, with the additional aid of a very full Index, which is appended to the volume, direct his steps with ease to any spot which may specially claim his attention. After the successful efforts of his predecessors, the author could not be expected to exhibit any novel features in the General Introduction of the work; this portion, corresponding to similar matter in Guericke, Kurtz, Lindner and the best writers, also includes the author's Division of Church History, and a "Literature" or brief account of leading authors on the subject. The determination of principal and subordinate periods of time, for the purpose of assisting the memory in the mechanical duty of retaining dates, varies more or less in all the authors, as no one seems willing to adopt his predecessor's system. We re-

gard this unwillingness to adopt the same series of epochs, as an unfortunate circumstance for the student who is disposed to consult more than one author—it deranges in his mind, to some extent, the regular succession of events, as he had at first conceived it. Both Hase and Kurtz, in the larger work of the latter, assign a prominent position to the age of Charlemagne; the personal, political and ecclesiastical importance oft his great man, entitles him to such a distinction, independently of the circumstance that the date of his coronation, A. D. 800, is one easily retained by the memory. Dr. Schaff has preferred, on p. 14, a division which gives a predominating influence to the papal element; the ecclesiastical importance of Gregory I., Hildebrand, that is, Gregory VII., and Boniface VIII., (Innocent III. is not mentioned), certainly plead for it. Still, as the political or imperial element is recognized by him in Constantine, the same principle of division would justify the admission of Charlemagne, as a personage fitted to give a name to an era. The present volume extends to the close of the author's Second Period—Constantine, A. D. 311.

In the "Literature of Church History," § 7, a succinct account of writers on ecclesiastical history is given with sufficient fulness, and, perhaps one or two exceptions, with strict impartiality. The author concedes that the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, that work of stupendous learning and diligence, rendered the highest services; still the praise which he accords, seems to be extorted from him, and the prominence which he gives to its imperfections, from which, as a human production, it is no doubt not free, must make an unfavorable impression respecting it, on his reader's mind, which the distinguished merits of the work by no means justify. Guericke's masterly work, which in twenty-five years passed through eight editions, amid all the success which attended numerous rival works, deserved perhaps a fuller notice than it has here received. In fulness and accuracy of details, in a devout and churchly spirit, and in adaptedness to a student's special wants, that work, which covers the whole ground, still remains without a superior. Dr. Schaff, with great felicity, says that Prof. Shedd's recent publication is a "transfusion," rather than a "translation," doubtless meaning that during the process of commingling Guericke's matter with his own, the best parts of the forner were poured aside and lost.

The First Period—the Church under the Apostles, A. D. 1—100—is described in five chapters, pp. 28—141, entitled:

Preparation for Christianity; Founding and growth of the Church; Apostolic theology and literature; Christian life and worship; Organization of the Apostolic Church. From the nature of the case, special facts do not constitute the mass of the matter here presented; general statements, derived from the study of such historic materials as existing records furnish, form the staple of this part. We would specially refer to §§ 12—14, as models of historico-philosophical discussion, and the same remark applies to various other sections. The N. T. isagogic sections, 25—31, do not strictly belong to a professed Church *History;* but our author has interwoven so much purely church-historical matter with them, that no reader would now consent to expunge them. The large amount of foreign matter, exegetical disquisitions, biographical details, &c., which swelled the author's earlier work on the Apostolic Church, and which were inconsistent with the conception of a *History*, while their intrinsic value undoubtedly made them very welcome, are not introduced in the present work. It is true that § 34, on the Spiritual Gifts, assumes altogether an exegetical character; still the *facts*, independently of other considerations, form an element in any historical description of the apostolic church, of such importance that we cannot object positively to this full exhibition of them. The 36th §, on the Several Parts of Worship, if carefully studied, would tend to remove the prevalent opinion that "Preaching" constitutes the main part of *public* worship, and lead many to assign due importance to other constituent parts of the worship of an assembly of believers, namely, the congregational Song, (we would have preferred the word *Hymn*), Confession of Faith, &c. The author's exhibition of the "Church, the Body of Jesus Christ," § 45, is admirable. At this early and pure period, the Church manifested none of the features of modern Congregationalism. Believers in all parts of the Roman Empire seem to have felt that they belonged to one and the same Church—to one widely extended organism, and individual congregations were far from entertaining the disintegrating and enfeebling views of New England Independency.

One or two points are however introduced in this portion of the work, to which we seriously take exception, although our author's views may be sustained by other modern authorities. Some writers are disposed to represent the "speaking with tongues," Acts 2 : 4 ; 1 Cor. ch. 14, γλώσσαις λαλεῖν, as a difficult

problem, while to others the explanation seems simple and easy. Dr. Schaff, adopting the views of Neander and some others, who are regarded as orthodox, believes that when the apostles spoke "with other tongues," the sense is, not that they spoke in languages *other* than their mother tongue, as even de Wette acknowledges, and as every unbiased reader would believe to be the precise fact intended to be stated by the sacred writers, but something very different. "The Gift of Tongues is," according to our author, p. 60, p. 116, "an utterance proceeding from a state of unconscious ecstacy in the speaker, and unintelligible to the hearer unless interpreted — — in a peculiar language inspired by the Holy Ghost. The soul is almost entirely passive, an instrument on which the Holy Spirit plays his heavenly melodies. This gift has, therefore, properly, nothing to do with the spread of the church among foreign people, and in foreign languages, &c., &c." Our author adds to this, on p. 121, that "the speaking with tongues in the apostolic churches, whether song or prayer, was always in the elevated language of enthusiasm." As we observe no traces of *enthusiasm* in Christ or the apostles, in the usual English sense of the word, we should object to its use, if we were not satisfied that the author had in view the admirable but untranslatable German word *Begeisterung ;* but we object most decidedly to the general theory itself. We believe, without here attempting to investigate a subject so extensive, that the plain common sense of any reader of the New Testament, can furnish no better explanation, nor, indeed, any amount of theological learning devise a better, than that which belongs to the old orthodox system, according to which the apostles were *so* inspired as to speak fluently in foreign languages, which they had never understood before the day of Pentecost.

In another case, Dr. Schaff appears to us to carry a favorite view of some German theologians to an extreme, when he discriminates so sharply (if we may employ this German idiom) between the Pauline, Petrine and Johannean types of doctrine, as he does in this work. He says, for instance:— "The Catholic church is Jewish-Christian or Petrine in its character; the evangelical [doubtless here a synonym of *Protestant*] is equally Gentile or Pauline," p. 74. The theory is more fully developed in § 23, where "three types of doctrine" are distinguished: "1. The Jewish-Christian type," represented by James, "the apostle of the law," Jude, and pre-eminently Peter, "the apostle of hope." "2. The

Gentile-Christian," represented by Paul, "the apostle of faith." "3. The perfect unity of Jewish and Gentile Christianity," represented by John, "the apostle of love." Unquestionably every sacred writer has his characteristic features—a diversity of temperament, natural talent, educational culture, clearness of vision, &c., appears already in the Old Testament. Abraham, Moses and David were all very differently constituted—Isaiah, Jeremiah, Jonah and Daniel resemble each other almost exclusively in the circumstance that the gift of prophecy was exercised by each of their number. Now the views of Dr. Schaff do not tend, it is true, to impair our confidence in the accuracy or fulness of divine truth of any New Testament book; still, we have never understood the practical value of these distinctions which some authors have found in the modes in which the sacred writers respectively present divine truth, in so far as those modes are determined by their personal peculiarities. We can easily understand the circumstance that even in Christians who have advanced far in the divine life, original constitutional, temperamental and educational differences are not effaced; but in faith, hope and charity, all exhibit a distinct resemblance to the Savior—if, in the latter, they still differ in degree, that difference cannot embarrass us, as long as their example is not *our sole guide*. Paul's mere style differs widely from that of John, his mode of reasoning differs from that of Peter, his choice of topics from that of James—still we find in all the same precious doctrines directly taught or unmistakably presupposed. We cannot admit that they differed even formally in their views of Christian doctrine or duty, or of the relation which the details of these respectively bear to each other, that is, when they professedly teach as inspired writers. The differences which do exist cannot have materially modified the flow of inspiration, if our old-fashioned theory of inspiration is correct, and hence we can regard no theory with favor which implies that "different types of the apostolic doctrine" exist in the New Testament. Our author's views are not clearly unsound, but we do not like the phraseology.

Dr. Schaff's statements respecting the "Lord's day," as distinguished from the Jewish Sabbath, are presented in an admirable manner on p. 118, and p. 128. He is far from denying the duty of the Christian to observe the day, but he exhibits none of those Judaizing tendencies of Puritanism, which time and clearer views of the nature of the Gospel,

have not yet overcome. "So far as we know, the Jewish Christians of the first generation, at least in Palestine, scrupulously observed the Sabbath, the annual Jewish feasts, and the whole Mosaic ritual, and celebrated, in addition to these, the Christian Sunday, &c.," p. 118. Our author does not distinctly say, as the writings of Tertullian, Irenæus, &c., (given by Hengstenberg in his *Tag des Herrn*) would fully justify, that the conception of the Christian Sunday as *a mere transfer* of the Jewish Sabbath, was unknown to the early Christians; indeed this latter prevalent but inaccurate view is almost endorsed by him, when he remarks: "Thus the Jewish Sabbath passed into the Christian Sunday." p. 119. But he also remarks with strict truth and accuracy, that "the special divine injunction of a weekly Sabbath, which stands in the Decalogue, and is rooted even in the creation, is, in its essence, more than a merely national, temporary and ceremonial law, &c." p. 128. The Puritanical fashion, which may be traced to an affectation of piety, or to false views of the nature of sanctity, of giving the Jewish name to our Christian Holy day, the Lord's, that is, Christ's day, (Rev. 1: 10) receives little countenance from our author. "Sunday was devoted to the commemoration of the Savior's resurrection, and observed as a day of thanksgiving and joy." p. 129. The Christian is placed under more solemn obligations to observe the Lord's day, than those which attached to the Sabbath of the Jews; the reasons are obvious. "The apostolic congregations — — from the beginning, held the first day of the week particularly sacred as the "Lord's day," for the thankful celebration of his resurrection, and of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost."—p. 128.

The author's Second Period, extending from A. D. 100 to 311, occupies the larger portion of the volume, and even exceeds the former in interest. An unusually large amount of information is here compressed, which, without including details in every instance, supplies precisely the general matter which the student desires to find. The eight chapters of this part, treat on the following subjects: Spread of Christianity; Persecutions; Literary contests with Judaism and Heathenism; Development of Church doctrine; Christian life; Worship; Organization and Discipline; Church Fathers. We have read with special interest, our author's masterly treatment of one of the most difficult problems of ecclesiastical history—Gnosticism, its origin, character and purposes. His desire to give distinctness to his statements, may have possi-

bly led him to represent Gnosticism too positively as a purely "paganizing heresy," in order to form an antithesis to the opposite Judaizing heresy of Ebionism; he admits, however, that Jewish and Christian ideas were at least often combined with it. Cerinthus and Valentine, for instance, are sufficient, as far as their history is known, to invalidate the theory that Gnosticism is absolutely pagan in its origin. In other respects we have found our author, whose narrative is as strictly original as the nature of the case will admit, unusually successful in combining brevity with fulness of detail. We can scarcely read any modern historian on this intricate subject, without being embarrassed by sudden breaks, by repetitions, and by mere conjectures, mingled undistinguishably with established facts. Dr. Schaff seems to us to have succeeded more fully than any of his predecessors whom we have ever consulted, in presenting a lucid, well-connected and complete account of Gnosticism; he is doubtless the first English writer who has treated the subject with all the aids which history, theological science, philosophy and sound sense can furnish, and satisfied all the reasonable demands of a reader.

If we should attempt to select those portions of this Second Period which seem to us to exhibit in the highest degree, skill, fidelity, distinctness of narrative, tasteful arrangement and comprehensiveness of views, it would be absolutely necessary to specify nearly every chapter. The reader who begins the study of this work for the purpose of learning, will be richly rewarded for the time and attention which he bestows upon it. In place, therefore, of pointing out its excellences in detail, we refer to the whole work itself.

It was occasionally necessary for our author to discuss subjects which are creating a profound interest in our own day, and on which it is almost impossible for an historian to furnish a narrative, without incidentally betraying a personal bias in favor of one or the other of the conflicting parties of modern times. The irritating subject of Slavery is introduced on p. 112 and p. 315. Our author writes here as a faithful historian, an enlightened Christian, and a wise judge. He neither admits, on the one hand, a divine right for slavery in its modern form, nor, on the other, does he, in the fanatical spirit of the Abolitionists, deny the Christian character to a slave-holder. If the sound, practical, moderate views expressed by him, were heartily adopted by the mass of our citizens, the alarming indications furnished by the present state of feeling between the North and the South,

would pass harmlessly away. With regard to the vexed question of Episcopacy, we refer to p. 134 and p. 414. Our historical materials, as far as they are furnished by the New Testament and the earliest ecclesiastical writers, are confessedly insufficient to furnish precise *dates* on the subject, with the exception of the negative evidence derived from the New Testament, that bishops, in the sense of the Church of Rome and Church of England, did *not* exist during the age of the apostles. Dr. Schaff appears to have collected all the materials which are accessible to the modern writer, with the utmost diligence, and examined them with strict fidelity to the truth; he presents the results in § § 107, 108. He has evidently devoted much time and study to the subject, and we regard this portion of his work as one of the most successful; it deserves to be carefully studied.

The opinions of our author on the Sacraments, will be very closely examined by critics belonging to different schools, and we can only refer to them in general, as additional evidences of his ability to deal with historical materials. We observe, however, with regret, that on several occasions he assents to a generally received but erroneous view, without rigorously weighing, in this particular case, the authorities himself, as he usually does—that is, he admits the validity of immersion as a genuine form of Holy Baptism, and even says that it "expresses the idea of baptism more completely than sprinkling," (p. 123) thus ignoring the chief purpose for which Baptism was instituted, the impartation of spiritual life, forgiveness of sins, &c. He adduces as evidences, not historic *facts*, nor Scriptural testimony, nor any respectable authority to prove that the "usual form of the act was immersion," but supports this assumption by Baptist arguments which have been repeatedly proved to be most frivolous, such as, the original meaning of the Greek word *Baptizo*, &c.," the "analogy of John's baptism in the Jordan," which can only by a total disregard of the language of the evangelists and the circumstances, be twisted into the shape of an immersion, &c.—pp. 123, 385. He himself proves, however, unintentionally, that immersion has no positive evidence for it as a primitive rite, and that it is sustained only by conjectural and conflicting statements, when on p. 398 he loosely says that baptism was performed "with either three successive immersions, or only a single one." Now it is well known that quite a feud exists between our American immersionist sects, re-

specting the orthodox *number* of actual *dips*, while all are alike misled by false views of the subject.

Another opinion, however, of the author, may be mentioned in this connection, which we regard as involving the gravest error that occurs in the whole work. We refer to the following two passages: "Infant Baptism—needs to be completed by a subsequent act like confirmation, &c."—p. 125. "Confirmation was originally closely connected with baptism, as its positive complement, &c."—p. 400. To the latter sentence, as the statement merely of a historic fact, we do not object, although it would possibly have been more precise to say that Confirmation, with its various ceremonies, *was regarded as* completing the act or acts by which baptismal grace was supposed, after the age of the apostles, to be communicated. But the former sentence occurs as a statement of the author's own opinion, which other recent writers have also expressed, since Schleiermacher's authority unfortunately gave it currency. He fully recognizes the scriptural character of Infant Baptism in §§ 37 and 104, as well as the importance of a Christian education after the administration of the rite. But he does not unfold fully the old doctrine of baptismal grace, usually, and perhaps not very happily termed in English: Baptismal regeneration. He says, it is true, that "in theory Christian baptism coincides with regeneration," p. 123, but he does not advance with sufficient fulness the earliest views, which are those now occurring in the doctrinal system of the Lutheran Church. The most explict remark is the following, on pp. 402, 403: "In the mind of the ancient church, baptism and regeneration were intimately connected, and by Irenæus [born before A. D. 140, and styled on p. 402, "the faithful bearer of Johannean doctrine"] himself, in another passage, they are distinctly identified. In an infant, in fact, any regeneration but through baptism is inconceivable, &c." We may here incidentally remark, that the General Council of Carthage, at a subsequent period (A. D. 418,) which condemned the noxious errors of Pelagius in the most decisive terms, specially noticed his low views of Baptism; if the doctrine of Original Sin is denied, which was one of his heresies, then the baptism of infants is reduced to a mere unmeaning form, as he accordingly taught. Indeed we may ascribe the general indistinctness with which the benefits of Infant Baptism are regarded by many of the men of this generation, and the sinful neglect with which it is treated, even by those who confessionally adopt it, to a

Pelagian feeling which seems to be unconsciously extending in the United States. The council just mentioned, accordingly, while asserting other points of the ancient faith, adopted at the same time a canon which was expressed in unequivocal terms: it disowned Pelagius and all others who, like him, either denied that newly-born children ought to be baptized, or who maintained, on the one hand, that these were indeed baptized for the remission of sins, but, on the other hand, that no original sin, adhering to them from Adam was expiated or removed by the washing (bath, ablution, Titus 3: 5) of regeneration; for, as they added, it would thence follow that no truth was presented by such a baptism, and that it was only an illusory form, or unmeaning ceremony. As our author does not, however, pronounce a decision on the matter, we pass to his other declaration on p. 125, which represents Confirmation as an act supplementary to Baptism. We do not allude to the well-known inconsistency of the Episcopalians, who also mistake the true relation of these two rites to each other, and ignore the important point that the one is of divine origin, and a holy *Sacrament*, the other, in no sense clothed with that exalted character; nevertheless, the Episcopal priest, belonging to an inferior order, is permitted to administer the Sacrament, the other (a rite, the apostolic origin of which is even contested, and which is certainly not a Sacrament,) is reserved for the highest functionary, the Bishop alone. Dr. Schaff seems to regard Baptism as incomplete in itself; we think, on the contrary, that the divine grace which is connected with Baptism is already of a positive nature, and is not given by the Savior in a form so imperfect that it is quite inefficacious without human aid. The early Lutheran Church assigned the highest importance to the *religious education* of baptized children, as the means appointed by the Lord for developing the spiritual life given by the Divine Spirit at its second birth, that is, when it is born of water, regenerated in Holy Baptism. The Church, at the same time, regards a *voluntary and intelligent confession of faith* on the part of the baptized child, at the earliest period, as also a point of the utmost importance. If Dr. Schaff comprehends under the term "Confirmation," as we wish to believe, the religious education of the baptized child, and this subsequent confession of faith, as necessary to the full enjoyment of the benefits of Baptism, his language receives a very satisfactory interpretation, although the precise terms do not readily suggest it. The practice of the Luther-

an Church, in which our modern Confirmation originated, was seriously affected during the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. The devout Spener found the church bleeding at every pore, in consequence of that war, which well nigh extinguished all religious life in the countries that were made desolate by it. He labored long and earnestly in the work of restoring energy to the Church, and, among other measures which he adopted, he was induced to revive the early simple Lutheran rite of Confirmation. He gave it, however, a new form when, on his own authority, and without ecclesiastical sanction, he communicated to it the character of a vow, while originally it was specially a confession of faith. It was now regarded as a confirmation on the part of the individual, of the original baptismal covenant; Spener first required each catechumen to give his hand at the altar, as a pledge that the vow should be kept. This practice of Spener is now, we believe, partially misunderstood among us in the United States, and supposed to be also "the right hand of fellowship"—apparently an improvement even on Spener!

When Pietism was succeeded by Rationalism, the latter, destitute itself of the life-giving power which dwelt in Spener, and denying the cardinal doctrines of the Church, gave an unnatural prominence to the mere external act of Confirmation, that is, the imposition of hands. The hymns, alternately sung by the congregation and the catechumens, the processions, the ostentatious service, intended by its factitious "solemnity," to atone for the absence of spiritual life and a confession of the true faith, the white articles of apparel, the dignified but Christless addresses, the labored efforts to produce an effect—were all more or less introduced by the Rationalists for the purpose of giving a body to Confirmation, after they had renounced the spirit of the Gospel of Christ. In this form, but without the heterodoxy, it may at times be seen in the United States. When the rite of Confirmation is now administered, a much deeper interest is frequently manifested by the congregation than the divine ordinance of Baptism creates. The same persons who were dissolved in tears as they beheld the "young people" approaching the altar, will leave the church without a sign of emotion at the time when a little child is brought to Christ in Holy Baptism, and the regenerating influences of the Divine Spirit are imparted. No doubt the opinion of Dr. Schaff is very prevalent in the Lutheran and German Reformed congregations in the

United States—that is, the opinion which his words may seem to imply. But it is, nevertheless, erroneous in all its aspects, and can only tend to degrade from its true rank a life-giving Sacrament, for which the Church is indebted to its Divine Head. If even we believe that Confirmation is, ultimately, of apostolic origin, and even if we assign to it a very high value, as we sincerely do—that is, when viewed in connection with religious instruction and the subsequent confession of faith—still, as the mere formal act by which new members of a congregation are received, it is as little necessary to complete Baptism, as the agapæ or love-feasts sanctioned by the apostles, were necessary to complete the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

It is a frequent complaint that the English theological literature which our English pastors usually study, is so much tainted with the foreign element of Puritanism, or pervaded by a still more unchurchly spirit. It is, accordingly, a relief to meet with a work like the one before us, the solid learning of which betrays no pretension, and the devout Christian spirit of which is free from formality, from a sickly piety, and from all religious affectation. We were, therefore, the more surprised on meeting with the following sentence on p. 311: "Against the intoxicating and immoral amusements of the heathen, the Christian life of the early church took the character of an inexorable Puritanic rigor." Surely that rigor was wisely and properly exercised, as the context indeed implies; as an ethical principle, it is sustained by numerous passages of the New Testament. Was it not then a scriptural, a *Christian* rigor? Why should a moral principle, conscientiously and intelligently applied, and flowing from a divine source, (independently of any anachronistic irregularity in the phrase) be characterized by a term indicating a purely human origin, of doubtful character? Still, we are gratified in the highest degree, to find the work before us entirely free from any tendency to encourage the adoption by the Church of any of those "measures" which modern, and often fanatical, sects have introduced; some of their practices, as well as the theories on which they rest, have unhappily been introduced among those whose fathers had transmitted to them a faith so pure and perfect, and church usages so scriptural and complete, that nothing really useful in doctrine or practice could be further learned from any sect, however loudly it might exclaim against our formality, and require us to adopt its vain human devices.

Two of the excellent features which occur in German works of the class to which the present volume belongs, but which have not hitherto acquired the same prominence in the works of English writers, are here presented, namely, references to "Sources" or original writers from whom the materials are directly or immediately derived, and the "Literature," that is, the principal authors who have written on the special subject discussed, in monographs or otherwise. Dr. Schaff's acquaintance with German, French and English writers, obtained from a study of the works themselves, has enabled him to present a rich array of names, which will be of material service to the student. Although his present position, as he mentions with regret in his Preface, does not give him access to large University libraries, he seems to have fully overcome that disadvantage by his laborious researches; his familiarity with the best productions of the British press, of the present and of earlier times, furnish indubitable evidence of the enlightened zeal and ample success with which he has sought an avenue to every source of knowledge.

We have read the second half of the work with even more pleasure than the first. The style is vigorous and flowing, and reflects the highest credit on the taste and ability of the translator. The following passage is, for instance, so successful in conception and execution, that we cannot forbear to transcribe it:

"Ebionism is a particularistic contraction of the Christian religion; Gnosticism, a vague expansion of it. The one is a gross realism and literalism; the other, a fantastic idealism and spiritualism. In the former the spirit is bound in outward forms; in the latter it revels in licentious freedom. Ebionism makes salvation depend on observance of the law; Gnosticism, on speculative knowledge. Under the influence of Judaistic legalism, Christianity must stiffen and petrify; under the influence of Gnostic speculation it must dissolve into empty notions and fancies. Ebionism denies the divinity of Christ, and sees in the Gospel only a new law; Gnosticism denies the true humanity of the Redeemer, and makes his person and his work a mere phantom, a docetistic illusion.

The two extremes, however, meet; both tendencies from opposite directions reach the same result—the denial of the incarnation, of the true and abiding union of the divine and the human in Christ and his kingdom; and thus they fall together under St. John's criterion of the antichristian spirit of error (1 John 4: 1—3). In both, Christ ceases to be me-

diator and reconciler, and his religion makes no specific advance upon the Jewish and the heathen, which place God and man in abstract dualism, or allow them none but a transient and illusory union."—pp. 211, 212.

The apprehension of the author that "occasional Germanisms" possibly escaped notice, may, no doubt, be safely dismissed. The only one which specially attracted, at least our notice, occurs on p. 478, where a patristic work is said to "fall into three books," from the German *zerfällt*. A few obscurities, perhaps, remain in the earlier part of the volume. On p. 42, the omission of the word "man's" before "original," instead of "the," is an instance. On p. 60, the apostles are "transported into an element." Thus too, on p. 97, the Gospel of John is said to "breathe the peaceful air of eternity." We observed a slight repetition on p. 76 and p. 88, where a sentence referring to Paul, introduces precisely the same consecutive terms. The phrase on p. 170, "Maximus fell again to persecution," resembles an antiquated English construction. The sentence on p. 272, beginning: "All plainly, &c.," of which the grammatical construction is incomplete, may be a typographical oversight. The "aversion" mentioned on p. 332, could not at once have *arisen* as a *prevalent* aversion. These are nearly all the inaccuracies we observed, and they are all of little importance. But we noticed several expressions which are either offensive to good taste, or otherwise inappropriate, and which could easily be altered. They are the following: "Mary, the bride of the Holy Ghost," p. 55; the "blunder" of Peter, p. 77; "the metaphysical discourses of the Lord," and "the evangelists follow their hero," both on p. 97; "the tragedy of the cross," p. 126; "the demigods" mentioned on p. 144; "the Holy Ghost—closely allied to the Father and the Son," p. 278. These occasional lapses are the most serious which we observed, and as they are all more or less susceptible of a good explanation, they furnish the evidence that the body of the work has been prepared with the utmost fidelity, conscientiousness, taste and accuracy.

The work is the most valuable addition which our English theological literature has received for a very long period; it will grace the finest library; it will instruct and charm every intelligent mind; and if the author will proceed in his noble work, on which we sincerely invoke the divine blessing, and should be spared until he has completed it, he will become one of the greatest benefactors known to the friends of learning and truth.

ARTICLE VII.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The earnest Christian, Memoirs, Letters, and Journals of Harriet Maria Jukes, wife of the late Rev. Mark R. Jukes. Compiled and edited by Mrs. H. A. Gilbert. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway.—1859.

This is one of those delicious christian biographies with not a few of which the religious public has, for some years past, been favored. It is the memoir of one who, in her English home, gave herself in early life to the Lord, resolving to be wholly his, and to make his service her life's one great concern: who, in the happy relations of the home-circle, walked, in strict but cheerful consistency, with God, shedding the light of a bright example around her, and exerting an influence for immeasurable good upon all with whom she associated: who subsequently as governess, then as the wife of a god-fearing and devout emigrant to Canada and settler in that province, continued to maintain that close communion with her Lord, and that godly walk and conversation which had so long characterized her; who afterwards removed to Ohio with her husband, who there entered the sacred ministry in the Episcopal church, in which new relation she continued instant in prayer and in well-doing, and in earnest devotedness to her duties as a member of the church, as a pastor's wife, and as the mother of a numerous family, until after a couple of years, herself and husband were, within two days of each other, swept into the grave by cholera. Her numerous letters, her journal, her entire walk and conversation breathe throughout the most fervent love to the Savior and his people, an earnest desire, ever exhibiting its sincerity in appropriate action, to win souls to Him whom her soul loved, a severe conscientiousness in dealing with herself, a meek, gentle and loving fidelity to all the duties of the christian in life's varied relations, all which renders the book one of the most attractive, interesting, instructive and edifying, which it has been our privilige to recommend to our readers. To young and old we accordingly recommend it as a precious testimony to the power of religion in the soul, and a powerful witness for the beauty and blessedness of holiness.

Christian Hope. By John Angell James. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 530 Broadway.—1859.

It seems quite needless to recommend this volume to the christian public of this country, where the name and works of the author have been so well known for many years, and where his reputation is a sufficient passport for any religious works to the favor of serious and devout readers. In his dedication of the work to his colleague, the Rev. R. W. Dale, the author says: "What I here send forth has, with no considerable variation, been the subject of my ministerial teaching for more than half a century. It exhibits my latest, as well as my earliest, views of the truth as it is in Jesus." With the prospect before him of being removed, at no distant period, from the sphere of his faithful labors on earth to his glorious reward in heaven, this venerable servant of Christ here sends forth his parting words to that world, in which he has been made the blessed instrument of turning many to righteousness. Under a variety of heads he considers the christian grace of hope, discussing its nature, foundation, object, &c., with a clearness of intelligence, varied richness of experience, an earnestness of well instructed and thoroughly disciplined zeal, and a chastened fervor of spirit, such as we can look for only in one who has grown gray in the service of the Master. Without being prepared to adopt every sentiment which it presents, we cannot hesitate to say that the work contains a mine of solid thoughts, of lucid exposition, of devout reflections, of happy christian experiences, of wise counsel and earnest exhortation, and that to all true christians, whether ministers or laymen, it cannot fail to be a faithful monitor, and a most instructive and edifying companion, not only in the secret inquiries and exercises of the closet, but in the pursuits, the struggles and conflicts, and the sacred duties of this probationary state.

Country School-Houses: containing Elevators, Plans and Specifications, with Estimates, Directions to Builders, Suggestions as to School Grounds, Furniture, Apparatus, etc., and a Treatise on School-House Architecture. By James Johonnot, with numerous Designs by S. E. Hewes. New York: Ivison & Phinney, 321 Broadway. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.—1859.

This handsome octavo volume ought, we think, to be a most acceptable acquisition to all who are entrusted with the superintendence and management of public schools in the country. Its specific design is, to benefit the country, in which little attention has been paid to the matters here so efficiently discussed, whilst in the cities and larger towns schoolhouses have generally been built in a style conformable to the improved

architecture prevailing around them. The importance of having tasteful —handsome or, at least, neat school-houses, duly ventilated, well and judiciously windowed, appropriately furnished, and in pleasant localities, is so obvious, and by intelligent persons so well understood, that it requires no elaborate demonstration. And yet it seems needful to urge it upon the consideration of those, whose duty it is to select sites and to adopt plans for country school-houses. To such persons the work before us will furnish, point for point, in most ample and minute detail, all necessary information. It reduces to system, the great mass of valuable information previously collected, but never connectedly presented, and develops from it principles of universal application. It contains plans specially adapted to the wants of the country districts, with all the details of building, estimates, bills of material and labor, specifications, and full and accurate descriptions, so that any ordinary builder can construct a school-house precisely as described. A few plans of a more elaborate character have also been added. The work is, in every sense of the word, decidedly, intensely practical, free from all idle verbiage. The forms of architecture recommended are illustrated with twenty designs exhibiting a progressive scale of artistic beauty, rising from the most simple compatible with good taste, to the most elegant likely to be adopted in rural districts, and accompanied with all necessary draughts of internal arrangements. We trust the work will find an extensive circulation; we hope it will make its way into every school-district in the country, and gain many readers every where, and we bespeak for its valuable information and its sound principles the careful attention of all school-boards or committees—of all who have any influence in the educational affairs of our land.

Sermons by the Rev. John Caird, M. A., Minister of the Park Church, Glasgow, Author of "Religion in common Life"—A sermon preached before the Queen. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway.—1858.

The sermon which the author of the discourses before us preached before the Queen, having been republished here by the Carters, has made him extensively known in this country. The present volume contains twelve of his sermons on a considerable variety of subjects, all of the profoundest interest. Although of a decidedly practical character, they are written in a style of great elegance, perhaps too uniformly and perfectly sustained throughout to suit the taste of some readers. And yet they are characterized by great simplicity and directness, the beautiful style appearing to be the garb in which the author's thoughts naturally clothe themselves. There is nothing pedantic, nothing far-fetched about them; there is no clap-trap, no straining after effect. They are the sol-

emn and impressive utterances of a serious mind and a devout and earnest spirit upon subjects of the highest moment to man: the fresh and vigorous outpouring of a heart full of the love of Christ and of souls. Thoroughly evangelical in doctrine, rich in profitable applications of sacred truth, clear in exposition and happy in illustration, they present fair models of sermonizing to a large class of minds, offer many happy suggestions to preachers generally, and afford most instructive and edifying reading to christians of all classes.

The Science of common Things; A familiar explanation of the first Principles of physical Science. For Schools, Families and young Students. Illustrated with numerous Engravings. By David A. Wells, A. M.

Wells' Natural Philosophy; For the use of Schools, Academies, and Private Students: Introducing the latest Results of Scientific Discovery and Research: arranged with special Reference to the practical Application of Physical Science to the Arts and the Experiences of every day Life, with 375 Engravings. By David A. Wells, A. M., author of "The Science of Common Things," Editor of the "Annual of Scientific Discovery," "Knowledge is Power," &c. Tenth Edition.

Wells' Principles and Applications of Chemistrg; for the use of Academies, High Schools and Colleges: Introducing the latest Results of Scientific Discovery and Research, and arranged with special Reference to the practical Application of Chemistry to the Arts and Employments of Common Life. With 240 Illustrations. By David A. Wells, A. M., author of "Wells' Natural Philosophy:" "Science of Common Things:" Editor of the "Annual of Scientific Discovery," etc. New York: Ivison & Phinney, 321 Broadway. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co., 39 & 41 Lake St. Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach, Keys & Co. St. Louis: Keith & Woods. Philadelphia: Sower, Barnes & Co. Buffalo: Phinney & Co. Newburg: T. S. Quackenbush.—1858.

We have linked together, as the heading to a general notice, the three works named above, published or re-issued, during the course of the year, by the same well-known house in New York, and by a number of affiliated establishments elsewhere. Our multiplied engagements forbid our subjecting these works to that minute examination, which would warrant us in gnaranteeing their perfect freedom from error. We have found

no errors; and we happen to know that the second work in our list has met with an enthusiastic reception from a great number of instructors and principals of academies, and obtained the warmest encomiums from men eminent for their scientiffc attainments. While therefore we speak in good company in expressing our own favorable opinion, we need scarcely say that this has not been formed without an extensive examination of the three volumes themselves. If we were disposed to be hypercritical, we might point out some slight inaccuracies of expression or statement; but they are of so little consquence as not to call for specific notice. We admire in these books, in the first place, their simple arrangement, and the direct continuity of development with which their respective subjects are presented. The subjects treated in the work first named above belong both to Physics and to Chemistry: they are presented and explained in a succession of Questions and Answers, and illustrated with many engravings. The great merit of this book consists in its freedom from mere technicalities, its plainness of language, and its eminently practical character, which qualities will render it a most welcome and useful instructor to ordinary readers, not possessed of scientific knowledge, or able to pursue scientific studies, and yet also well adapted to prepare such persons for the successful prosecution of more strictly scientific research. It is a work which ought to be in the hands of all who would pass for ordinarily intelligent members of society. So far as our acquaintance with text-books in Natural Philosophy extends, and it is not very limited —we are free to say that we regard the one before us as by far the best that we have seen. It is much more copious in matters, more full in explanation and illustration, than any other that we have met with. The facts to be communicated, the doctrines and principles to be inculcated, are stated with great simplicity, clearness and precision, and so amply unfolded and elucidated, that it must require great obtuseness of intellect not to comprehend the instruction thus given. The same is true of the work on chemistry, both as to the general arrangement, and to the execution in detail. Facts and doctrines are every where stated in terse, comprehensive and clear propositions, which are then further commented upon, unfolded, explained, illustrated, or enriched with other important but kindred matter, in smaller type, and the reader or student is carried along on a smooth but briskly flowing tide of vivid and lucid exposition, into the very heart of the most interesting sciences, and to a familiarity with all the rich and fully established results of the most recent researches in their respective domains. The author has effectually defended himself against the gratuitous attack recently made upon his Natural Philosophy in a popular monthly, and shown how the errors charged upon *him* accidentally crept into the earlier editions of his work.

We most cordially recommend the three works betore us to instructors in academies and schools, to parents who would aid their children in the

acquisition of useful knowledge, and to those who are obliged to contend with the difficulties, and desire to master the mysteries of Natural Science, without the aid of teachers or professors.

A Golden Treasury for the Children of God, whose Treasure is in Heaven: consisting of Select Texts of the Holy Scriptures, with practical observations in prose and verse for every day in the year. By C. H. Von Bogatzky. Translated from the German for the Lutheran Board of Publication. Philadelphia: Lutheran Board of Publication, 732 Arch Street.

This work has been long known and valued by Christians. In the original it has had a high reputation, and been blessed to the good of many souls. We hail with great pleasure the appearance of the present edition, presented in so attractive a form by our Lutheran Board of Publication, and free from the mutilations which have characterized other editions of the work issued in an English dress. The book is worthy of a place in every dwelling, and we sincerely trust its circulation may be as wide as its merits are deserving. Our pastors would do much towards promoting a devotional spirit among their people, by recommending its introduction and daily perusal in every family of their charge.

Smith & English have published Dr. Fairbairns' Hermeneutical work, which we recommended in a former number. It can be procured now from them.

The state of the impenitent Dead by Dr. Hovey, published by Gould & Lincoln is a very interesting discussion of an important subject, called for by the efforts of Universalism, in various forms, to propagate itself.

The New England Theocracy by H. F. Wheden, translated by H. C. Conant and published by the same house, we have read with much interest, and as a history of Congregationalism in New England, it is very instructive.

Lindsay & Blakiston have brought out the 8th number of the translation of Dr. Herzog's Encyclopedia of Theology. It seems to be growing in favour.

Hengstenberg's able work in the prophecies in the new Edition has been completed in 4 vols., and can be had of Smith & English, Philadelphia.

Smith & English will publish an edition of Winer's New Testament Grammar, last edition, translated—first vol. on hand—a Classic.

Notices of several interesting books omitted for want of space.

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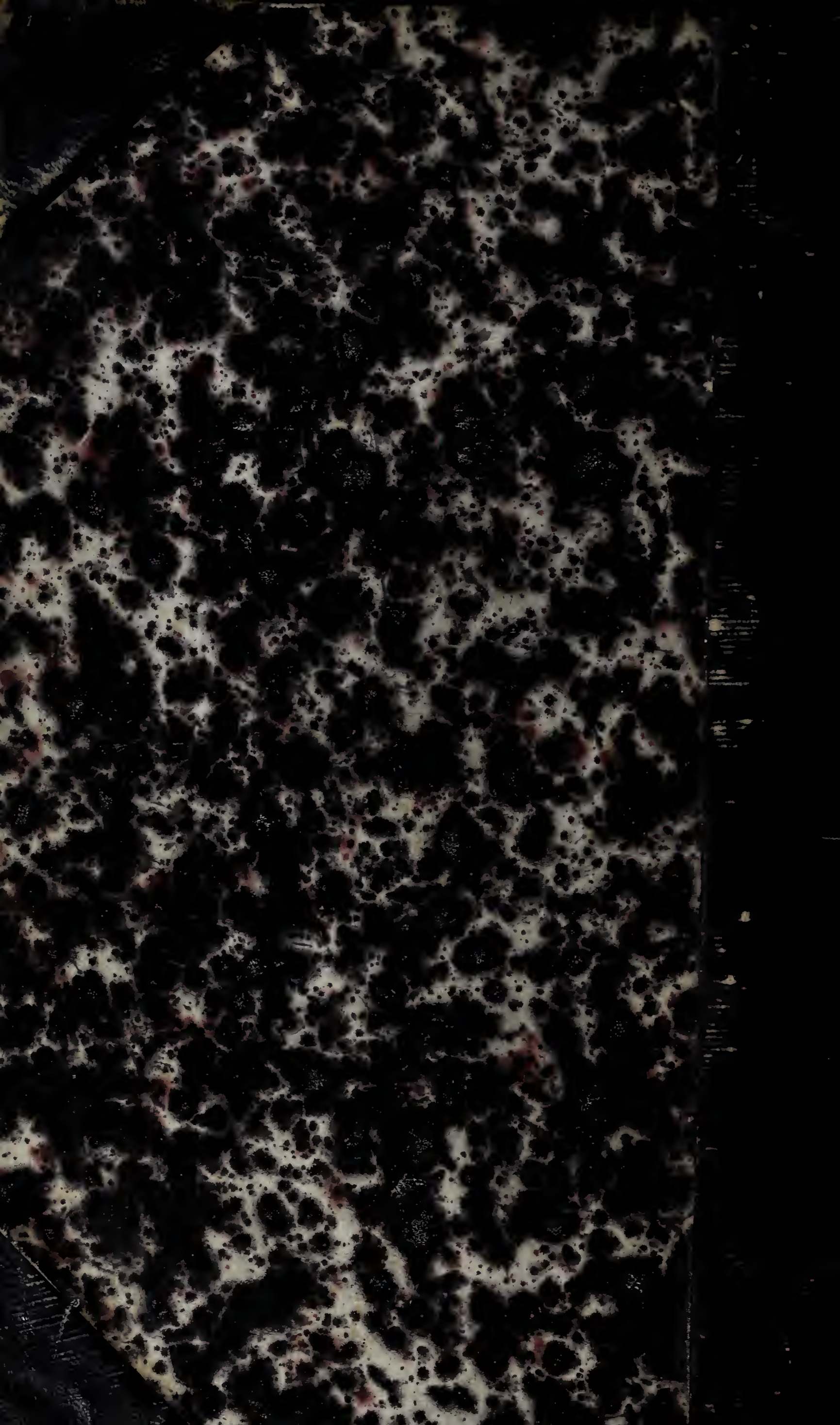
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